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Expressing Gratitude in a Foreign Language: Concept-Based Language Instruction to Teach
Thanking in L2 Japanese

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Abstract

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In the field of L2 pragmatics instruction, there have been calls to re-consider how L2 pragmatic competence is evaluated. L2 pragmatic competence consists of pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic knowledge. The former refers to the ability to use linguistic items to realize speech intentions, while the latter refers to the knowledge of the appropriate selection and usage of language in accordance with social conventions. L2 learners' pragmatic competence is usually assessed based on L2 learners' pragmalinguistic choices in comparison to native speaker data. In other words, L2 learners are expected to produce the target L2 pragmatic features in the same way as native speakers do. In reality, there are variations in native speakers' pragmatic choices, and native speaker data do not capture the diversity of native speaker choices and pragmatic behavior. In the foreign language classroom, pragmatics materials are often developed based on

the writer's or teacher's intuitions, and the full meaning of sociopragmatic information is not adequately provided. This may risk creating a sense of "this is how people behave in the target culture" and simply following native speaker norms without cultivating a way for L2 speakers to fully express themselves. Extensive reliance on native speaker norms also ignores L2 learners' agency and personal pragmatic choices. Sometimes, L2 learners refuse to conform to L2 norms when the norms do not accord with their identities, beliefs, and personalities. Resisting L2 norms does not always mean a lack of L2 competence. Other times, L2 learners find a creative way to supplement the lack of their proficiency and make pragmatic choices different from the L2 norm. However, their L2 pragmatic competence is considered to be "problematic," if they do not follow these norms. These learners may possess proper sociopragmatic knowledge but intentionally select different pragmalinguistic choices from L2 norms. Assessing L2 pragmatic competence based on native speaker norms risks overlooking L2 learners' subtle development that is not related to native speaker norms.

This dissertation explores a novel way to teach L2 pragmatics through concept-based language instruction (C-BLI), grounded in L.S. Vygotsky's sociocultural theory of cognitive development. Vygotsky claimed that systematic and abstract knowledge, which he called scientific concepts, can be applied to a wide range of situations and raise the likelihood of successful task completion. Derived from Vygotsky's claim, C-BLI aims to develop L2 learners' pragmatic competence by first teaching scientific metapragmatic concepts and the meaning potential of language. Bringing language socialization theory into the C-BLI unit, the present study focuses on the speech act of thanking in Japanese and promoting the internalization of metapragmatic concepts. Through the analysis of various internalization tasks, the study examines (1) the development of learner production; (2) the development of sociopragmatic

conceptual understanding; (3) the impact of language socialization opportunities; (4) the development of L2 learner agency; (5) the proper proficiency level for the C-BLI unit; and (6) the impact of language proficiency. The results show development in understanding scientific concepts of the target pragmatic feature and abilities to perform the target speech act. The development was promoted by various mediational means, including instructional materials and language socialization opportunities. I also found that the development of sociopragmatic knowledge provided L2 learners with tools to make pragmatic choices that achieve their communicative goals. Both third- and fourth-year learners benefitted from the C-BLI unit. Third-year learners benefitted more in concept development and less in the development of pragmalinguistic skills, while fourth-year learners benefitted in both sociopragmatic concept development and in their ability to use a range of thanking strategies and expressions in Japanese.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Background of Study

This dissertation is motivated by my personal experiences as an L2 English speaker and Japanese instructor. As an L2 English speaker, many times, I have struggled to find ways to convey my gratitude effectively when I wanted to thank people who kindly helped me. Then, I noticed that my intermediate-level students of L2 Japanese switched to their L1 English when they expressed gratitude. When they do so in Japanese, they apparently face difficulties to elaborate their emotions. While students practice thanking in the language classroom, they still have limited opportunities to practice expressing themselves. Therefore, this dissertation addresses a need to design an L2 pragmatics curriculum to provide high quality metapragmatic information to help L2 learners become active participants in the target speech community and proposes to do this via a pedagogical framework called Concept-Based Language Instruction (C-BLI).

Within the field of L2 pragmatics instruction, there is a need to develop adequate metapragmatic teaching that represents spontaneous pragmatic language as observed in natural conversation (Bardovi-Harlig, 2017; Cohen & Ishihara, 2013). While research shows that L2 pragmatics development can be accelerated with explicit presentation of metapragmatic information, pragmatics materials are usually developed based on writers' intuitions without the full meaning of sociopragmatic information (Cohen & Ishihara, 2013; Golato, 2003; Kasper, 1997; Taguchi, 2015), which may result in failing to teach how the target language and context interact in social situations. This risks creating a list of what one should or should not do, or a

sense of “this is how people behave.” Consequently, L2 pragmatics instruction may lack nuance or a way for L2 speakers to fully express themselves. Insufficient pragmatic knowledge can only be applicable to limited circumstances and, as a result, may leave L2 learners in confusion and lacking confidence in L2 communication (Ohta, 2017; van Compernelle, 2014).

There have also been calls to re-consider extensive reliance on native speaker (NS) norms when evaluating L2 pragmatic competence. With the assumption that all NSs behave in a similar manner, comparison of L2 data with merged native speaker baseline data is still a dominant approach today (Taguchi & Li, 2020). In reality, NS behaviors are not always uniform. NSs make different pragmatic choices for different reasons (Cohen, 2020; Ichihara, 2016; Sirirut, 2011). Sirirut (2011) found variations among native Japanese speakers’ linguistic choices in thanking. In the same situations, some NSs used gratitude expressions for thanking while others used apology expressions. Some participants also used a combination of both. Ichihara (2016) also found variations in pragmatic choices among native Japanese speakers when re-thanking, a common speech act in Japanese for expressing gratitude about a previous favor. She found that when and with whom to conduct re-thanking varied among NSs. Some NSs stated that they do not perform re-thanking to someone who is socially close, while others reported that they extend re-thanking to anyone regardless of social distance.

Just as NSs make different pragmatic choices, so do L2 learners. Reliance on NS norms for L2 pragmatics assessment may ignore L2 learners’ agency and subjectivity in their pragmatic choices. L2 learners may resist L2 norms when they do not accord with their subjectivities, identities, beliefs, values, and personalities. In Masuda (2011), a male L2 Japanese learner, who had misconception about the interactional particle *ne* being a feminine linguistic feature, resisted using *ne*. He intentionally avoided using *ne* to conform to his masculine identity and his desire to

display himself in a non-feminine manner. Other times, L2 speakers may make unique pragmatic choices to express their beliefs and negotiate them with others. A Japanese director of a US university volleyball team in Ishihara (2010) found that her student players' informal language use conflicted with her own subjectivity that was formed in her L1 culture, which values speaking properly and respectfully to seniors or someone of higher status. Although this director was aware that speaking casually to their coach, in English, in the US was not a problem, and that students perhaps were trying to construct a relaxed and informal relationship with her, she insisted on her students speaking politely with her. Ishihara (2019) stated that "(l)anguage learners do not acculturate to perceived native-speaker norms entirely and unidirectionally as if in a sociocultural vacuum but instead discursively negotiate their translingual identities, which are loaded with complex and sometimes conflicting values, beliefs, and worldviews" (163). However, such learners' subjectivity, pragmatic choices, and identities have not been extensively examined by research that accepts NS-norms as an unproblematic standard.

Sometimes, lack of L2 proficiency may leave learners no choice but to make a pragmatic choice different from NS norms. In Siegal (1996), an L2 Japanese speaker named Mary avoided honorific language in conversations with her professor, due to lack of confidence with honorifics. Although she was aware that it was socially expected to use honorific language when speaking to a superior, Mary avoided honorifics and instead chose other strategies to show politeness, such as polite speech formulas, gestures, and conversational interjections. While her choices were critiqued by the researcher, it is interesting to note that her unique pragmatic choices did not appear to offend her professor. Considering her professor's acceptance of her interactional choices, we might wonder how Mary's pragmatic competence should be evaluated. Is Mary pragmatically competent, because she successfully communicated with her professor,

effectively using the linguistic resources available to her to show respect, even though these deviated from NS norms? Or is she pragmatically incompetent, because she made pragmatic choices that would be considered inappropriate in the target culture if uttered by a native speaker? NSs are usually pragmatically competent; therefore, NS norms are helpful as a baseline for researchers and are useful resources for language learners. However, this practice ignores NS variability in pragmatic choices and risks a negative impact on learners: the extensive reliance on an NS baseline risks always using a deficit model for evaluating learners rather than exploring what they are able to accomplish. This results in labeling L2 learners' unique pragmatic choices, like Mary's, as "inappropriate" or "under-developed," even when learners' language choices effectively make use of the linguistic tools at their disposal at that particular point in time in their Japanese language development.

Moreover, L2 pragmatic competence tends to be measured predominantly based on learners' pragmalinguistic choices. L2 learners are expected to produce the target L2 pragmatic features in the same way as native speakers do. Otherwise, their L2 pragmatic competence is considered to be "problematic." However, this type of assessment risks overlooking L2 learners' subtle development that is not related to NS-norms. Investigating L2 Japanese learners' development of requests during an 8-week study abroad program in Japan, Iwasaki (2008) rated learners' production using NS norms and found little gain in their production; she thus concluded there to be "no remarkable development." However, Iwasaki's data can be re-considered from a developmental perspective. On the pre-test, students' responses were short and showed a lack of awareness of conventional indirect requests and linguistic resources. On the post-test, the students tried to incorporate more sophisticated linguistic devices, resulting in incomprehensible utterances. Due to these uses of more complex linguistic devices, some of the participants

produced more incomprehensible requests than they did on the pre-test. Looking at student responses, we can see that learners' pragmatic awareness has improved. Most likely, their proficiency limited their ability to apply their more sophisticated sociopragmatic knowledge effectively. Investigating both pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic development would give us a better understanding of how the course of L2 pragmatic development occurs.

Tateyama's (2001) study captured L2 learners' sociopragmatic development although it was not the focus of her analysis. Comparing explicit and implicit instruction groups in a beginning Japanese-as-a-foreign-language (hereafter JFL) classroom by giving four treatments over an 8-week period, Tateyama taught three functions of the routine Japanese formula *sumimasen*: getting attention, apologizing, and expressing gratitude. After the first and the fourth treatments, students' production was assessed using two role-play tasks, in which students participated individually with an NS of Japanese (Role-play 1 and Role-play 2, hereafter). The mean rating score was assessed based on NS-judgments. The results showed that the change between Role-play 1 and Role-play 2 was very subtle in both groups, showing no statistical significance between the groups. From Role-play 1 to Role-play 2, the implicit group showed a slight increase (3.14 in Role-play 1 to 3.35 in Role-play 2) while the explicit group showed a decrease (2.94 in Role-play 1 to 2.81 in Role-play 2). The result is not surprising in that role-plays could not capture the development in a group of students at this level of proficiency. For novice-level students, production tasks like role-play performance require high cognitive demand; connecting their sociopragmatic knowledge to linguistic forms on the spot was likely too challenging. However, despite the lack of improvement in their linguistic production, students' self-reports showed evidence of development. Their responses indicated that they attempted to make appropriate pragmatic choices but failed due to their limited proficiency. One

student wrote "...I was thinking of saying *mooshiwake arimasen*, but I think I said *sumimasen*. I wanted to say the other one. I don't know why I said that" (217). Another student reported that she forgot to include the routine formula *sumimasen* to get attention, because she had been concentrating on trying to recall the proper structure to ask a question in the role-play. These students' comments suggest that they made progress in developing appropriate sociopragmatic understandings but could not yet apply their understandings to spontaneous production due to a lack of proficiency.

These two studies show the limitations of using production data as evaluated by native speaker norms for discerning pragmatic development. There is a need to assess L2 pragmatic competence more holistically, including exploration of learners' metapragmatic, metalinguistic, and conceptual development rather than narrowly focusing on pragmalinguistic development or outcome of development using NS norms. Accurate, appropriate, and comprehensible production is indeed important to achieve desirable communicative goals. However, analysis of production data only partially captures L2 pragmatic development and overlooks learners' process of development, which involves changes in the content of their thinking. Looking at the process of development is critical, especially for novice and intermediate learners whose proficiency limits their ability to produce native-like utterances.

1.2 Focus of Research

The purpose of this dissertation is to investigate, using a pedagogical framework called Concept-Based Language Instruction (henceforth C-BLI), teaching L2 pragmatics in the foreign language classroom, as it relates to (1) providing L2 learners with systemic metapragmatic information, (2) guiding learners to develop L2 agency, and (3) exploring L2 learners' processes

of developing pragmatic competence. This dissertation draws mainly on theoretical and empirical research from the sociocultural theory of mind, developed by Lev S. Vygotsky and his colleague Piotr Gal'perin. Further, the present study incorporates aspects of language socialization theory in designing C-BLI curricula to provide L2 learners with rich interpersonal socialization and mediational experiences.

Sociocultural theory sees human consciousness as dialectically comprised of the natural biological system and higher mental structures arising from cultural and historical development of the person. Elementary functions are biological in origin and shape the foundation for higher thinking. Higher mental functions, on the other hand, are historical in origin and develop through participation in culturally organized activities. Our experiences are mediated and formed by culturally constructed artifacts, such as numbers, charts, figures, art, and language, that work both outwardly and inwardly. They work outwardly, intended for other persons, in social communication. They also work inwardly by mediating, regulating, and controlling the individual's psychological processes. Cultural artifacts and practice allow humans to control biological functions through auxiliary means and transform elementary functions to higher cognitive levels. To explore higher forms of human psychological functioning, one needs to investigate the person's historical development, which Vygotsky called *microgenetic analysis* (Vygotsky, 1978, 1986).

Microgenetic analysis focuses on the process of development rather than the product of development. Vygotsky differentiated learning from development. Learning refers to the developmental process of performing with the help of another person or mediational artifacts. Development, on the other hand, refers to the outcome of learning that results from the internalization of that assistance, when learners can accomplish an action independently,

including the ability to generalize or extend their abilities to different circumstances. To

Vygotsky, learning and development are inseparable processes, as he explained in the notion of the *zone of proximal development* (ZPD), which Vygotsky defined as:

the distance between the actual development level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers. (Vygotsky, 1978: 86)

Development occurs within the ZPD, and the quality of mediation is important in promoting internalization. Vygotsky criticized traditional assessments which heavily focused on the outcome of development. He stressed the importance of uncovering processes of development and discovering the potential abilities of the person.

Building on Vygotsky's theoretical framework related to developmental education, Piotr Gal'perin (1969; 1989; 1992a; 1992b) formulated a pedagogical approach called *Systemic Theoretical Instruction* (STI); today, in applied linguistics, we have built Concept-based Language Instruction (C-BLI) on Gal'perin's approach. The central concept of Gal'perin's pedagogical model is orientation, which determines quality of an action. Gal'perin proposed three phases of orientation: materialization, verbalization, and internalization. Learners' orientation is initially controlled by cultural artifacts in the materialization phase and gradually moves to the verbalization phase, in which learners rely on their language to manipulate their orientation. During the materialization and verbalization phases, learners' actions are guided by others including teachers, peers, artifacts (pedagogical materials) and other experts. As internalization takes place, learners' reliance on elaborated language gradually disappears, and they become able to engage in the new action psychologically. The goal of Gal'perin's model is to lead students to successful orientation on the psychological level, that is, internalization of new knowledge and skills.

C-BLI focuses on teaching the meaning potential of language and considers scientific concepts as a minimal unit of instruction. In contrast to knowledge obtained from empirical (daily life) experiences, scientific concepts are academic knowledge that are consciously learned in educational settings. Because scientific concepts are abstract and systematic knowledge, orientation based on scientific concepts can be applied to a wide range of situations, raising the likelihood of successful task completion. Therefore, C-BLI in L2 pragmatic instruction first teaches scientific concepts, namely the meaning potential of pragmatic actions or sociopragmatic knowledge. The target sociopragmatic knowledge is first presented in a form of materializations called *Schemas for a Complete Orienting Basis of an Action*, or SCOBAs. Learners engage with SCOBAs while verbalizing their understanding with others or themselves. This process is called *linguaging* (Brooks et al., 2010; Swain, 2006). Linguaging is also encouraged when doing internalization tasks. These mediational processes create a ZPD and promote internalization within the ZPD. Along with teaching sociopragmatic knowledge, the C-BLI curricula presented in this dissertation further work to connect sociopragmatic knowledge to pragmalinguistic knowledge. I explore how the formation of L2 learners' sociopragmatic concepts can aid pragmalinguistic development. This can be strengthened by bringing aspects of language socialization theory (hereafter LST), a perspective which is under the umbrella of, or has its roots in, sociocultural theory.

Like sociocultural theory, LST also considers how linguistic and cultural knowledge is constructed, but LST places more emphasis on social perspectives rather than considering the dialectical unity of cognition and social aspects. Language socialization theory explores aspects of the sociocultural environment where L1 or L2 acquisition takes place. This is particularly useful for constructing C-BLI, because creating a social environment that promotes development

is what we, as language instructors, aim to do. Language socialization theory focuses on the importance of expert-novice interactions in linguistic and cultural development. Novices learn appropriate language use options from experts as they participate together in the target speech community. Sometimes, novices receive explicit socialization, where experts overtly explain social norms and appropriate language use. Other times, novices are implicitly socialized into the target community through participation in language activities. Through experts' mediation, both explicitly and implicitly, novices learn what it means to be a member of a new speech community while becoming a part of that community. However, while experts can carry out language activities adequately, they do not necessarily possess accurate sociopragmatic knowledge. Experts' metalinguistic explanations are generally based on empirical (everyday) knowledge or folk beliefs that do not reflect the range of actual practices of speakers in the target community (Cook, 2009); this is not a problem for L1 development, because novices are well-socialized through implicit socialization opportunities, even without a scientific understanding of pragmatic practices. L2 learners, however, need accurate scientific information on which to base their L2 development. Experts' mediation based on inaccurate pragmatic information may result in unsuccessful internalization of the target concepts. Thus, for the instructional unit in this dissertation, experts (NSs) were explicitly taught the target sociopragmatic and pragmalinguistic concepts, to provide an environment for explicit expert-novice conversations applying the scientific concepts to practical L2 situations.

Another form of mediation often discussed in LST is modeling (Burdelski, 2013; Clancy, 1999; Cook, 1996; Eisenberg, 1986). For example, adults provide children with modeling of how certain linguistic expressions are used in particular contexts, such as writing compositions (Cook, 1996), affective responses (Clancy, 1999), and teasing (Eisenberg, 1986). Appropriate

pragmalinguistic choices reflect the values of the speech community. For example, children learn the linguistic manner of presenting a public-self by using the *masu*-form in writing compositions at school. By following adults' models, children acquire the significance of culturally organized activities in meaning-making while learning to make appropriate pragmatic choices. Following the notion of modeling in LST, the proposed curriculum in this study provided Japanese language learners with modeling. Modeling included excerpts from the media, conversation data, and NS answers from a discourse completion task (DCT). For example, experts showed their thanking expressions from DCTs they completed, and discussed their answers with learners using the target concepts. The purpose of modeling was not to force learner compliance with L2 norms. Rather, modeling was provided to help learners to understand how the target sociopragmatic concepts connect to sociolinguistic choices that reflect the speaker's intentions, while, at the same time, helping L2 learners to consider sociocultural knowledge that is commonly shared and understood in the L2 speech community. The purpose of including these language socialization processes in the curriculum is to equip learners with sociopragmatic and pragmalinguistic tools that, as their proficiency develops, they will be able to use to accomplish their own goals when speaking Japanese.

The target of instruction in this dissertation was the speech act of thanking in Japanese. I chose thanking as the instructional target for three reasons. First, although thanking is perhaps a universal speech act, appropriate thanking involves various sociocultural factors and therefore differs in performance across cultures and languages. Despite the need for sociopragmatic understanding of how sociocultural factors affect appropriate linguistic choices, these sociocultural factors are rarely presented in language textbooks and traditional classes. Second, compared to other speech acts such as apology and refusal that are more conventionalized and

formalized in Japanese, thanking occurs with a variety of pragmalinguistic expressions and elaborating strategies. Simple strategies that are conventionally taught thus fall short of providing learners with diverse linguistic expressions and strategies that vary according to different situations. Third, therefore, this variety of expressions and situations makes thanking an interesting instructional target where students can be given ample practice in making choices; there is ample room for students to practice expressing their intentions and extending thanking. Hence, I believe that thanking is a good speech act to teach and develop L2 learner agency.

The present study draws from the above research to offer a novel approach to teaching thanking in Japanese to L2 learners. The study comprises two experimental studies: the laboratory study (Study 1) and the study in intact courses (Study 2), in which the same C-BLI unit that I created was implemented. The laboratory study (Study 1) was designed to test out the instructional material and addressed the following research questions:

1. In what ways does C-BLI affect the development of the learner's production?
2. In what ways does C-BLI affect conceptual development related to gratitude expressions?
3. How do language socialization opportunities contribute to learner internalization?
4. How does C-BLI affect developing students' agency to make pragmatic choices?
5. How appropriate are materials for students in third-year Japanese (i.e., 300-level)?

The result of Study 1 showed that some tasks were challenging to the 300-level students. Thus, I selected two 400-level courses to conduct the study in intact classes (Study 2). Study 2 also explored the research questions 1 through 4 above. Additionally, it also addressed the following research questions:

6. How appropriate are materials for students in fourth-year Japanese (i.e., 400-level)?
7. How do the materials impact students at different levels of instruction?

8. What level might be appropriate for conducting a study in an intact class?
9. How does language proficiency impact C-BLI in terms of conceptual development and learners' ability to realize their intentions in L2 production?

Vygotsky's microgenetic method was employed to collect and analyze data from two different JFL populations at a large research university. For Study 1, six JFL learner volunteers from third-year Japanese (300-level) or above participated. For Study 2, thirteen JFL learners enrolled in two intact fourth-year Japanese (400-level) courses participated. Additionally, six native Japanese volunteers were trained with study materials and then participated with the L2 participants in discussion sessions, in which explicit language socialization was offered.

The instructional unit took place over a 6-week period for Study 1 and 6- and 10-week periods for Study 2, in which L2 learners participated in interactive lectures, pair work, and discussion sessions with Japanese participants, along with various internalization tasks. In interactive lectures, I introduced the target concepts with SCOBAs and guided discussions. The lectures included frequent pair-work opportunities for students to engage in languaging and enhance understanding. L2 participants also completed various internalization tasks in lectures and for homework. They also participated in discussion sessions with Japanese NS participants, in which L2 participants discussed the target concepts and received feedback from NSs.

1.3 Overview of the Dissertation

This dissertation is organized as follows. Chapter 2 provides theoretical frameworks of sociocultural theory, language socialization theory, and C-BLI. I introduce an overview of sociocultural theory relating to C-BLI and explain how language socialization theory can strengthen the application of C-BLI. The chapter concludes with consideration on how C-BLI

can contribute to L2 pragmatics instruction, especially the speech act of thanking. Chapter 3 defines the speech act of thanking in Japanese and shows the sociopragmatic knowledge L2 learners need to perform thanking successfully. Then, I present the development of SCOBAs and lectures that materialize the target concepts. Chapter 4 provides an overview of Study 1 and Study 2. Then, the discussion turns to results of the studies in Chapters 5 and 6. The final chapter, Chapter 7, provides the conclusion of this dissertation and considers teaching implications, as well as future research.

Chapter 2

Theoretical Background

2.1 Introduction

This dissertation draws from theoretical and methodological frameworks of Vygotskian sociocultural theory of mind (SCT), language socialization theory (LST), and concept-based language instruction (C-BLI). Lev S. Vygotsky (1866-1934) was a Soviet psychologist, who worked on the development of children's higher cognitive functions. His work has inspired interdisciplinary applications, including in applied linguistics. James P. Lantolf and his colleagues brought Vygotsky's principles into L2 acquisition and teaching. Today, known as sociocultural theory or SCT, Vygotsky's work is widely used in applied linguistics research. Vygotsky's work also influenced the linguistic anthropologists Elinor Ochs and Bambi B. Schieffelin, who established language socialization theory (LST). Hence, sociocultural theory and language socialization theory share similar views. Bringing language socialization theory into concept-based language instruction or C-BLI, a pedagogical framework grounded in sociocultural theory, this dissertation investigates teaching the speech act of thanking in the JFL classroom. C-BLI is different from traditional pedagogical frameworks in that it aims to develop L2 learners' meaning potential and considers concepts as a target of instruction. It also offers ample opportunities to apply the target concepts in practice in interactive settings and, consequently, provides learners tools to exercise agency in making pragmatic choices.

In what follows, I first explore Vygotsky's theoretical frameworks relevant to this dissertation, specifically focusing on different types of human knowledge, mediation, and internalization. I explain how Vygotsky saw human knowledge and how different types of

knowledge have varied effects on human activities. In SCT, mediation is the central concept to understanding the development of the human mind. In the process of internalization, learners' activities are mediated by external sources, such as a teacher, peers, and artifacts. Interactions with external support create zones of proximal development or ZPDs, the difference between what a learner can do by themselves and what the same learner can do with assistance, and the learner's internalization progresses within the ZPD. I then examine LST by focusing on the theoretical compatibility with SCT. Both LST and SCT: (1) value sociocultural influence of language learning, (2) believe that novice and expert interactions are essential for language development, and (3) consider the importance of culturally organized activities in meaning-making and learning. Third, I introduce C-BLI, a pedagogical framework originated from Vygotsky's colleague Piotr Gal'perin's work. Gal'perin's notion of orientation and his pedagogical approach are explored, followed by a guideline for designing a C-BLI unit. Lastly, I consider how C-BLI can contribute to L2 pragmatics instruction.

2.2 Vygotskian Sociocultural Theory of Mind

This section presents Vygotsky's theoretical framework on the development of human's higher cognitive functions. Vygotsky proposed two types of knowledge: everyday concepts and scientific concepts. Everyday concepts are concrete knowledge obtained empirically through daily experiences, whereas scientific concepts are abstract knowledge obtained through academic settings. Because scientific concepts are abstract, they should be systematically and strategically taught, and mediation is central for internalization of scientific concepts. Vygotsky claimed that human activities are mediated by physical tools and symbolic signs. Higher cognitive development is guided by symbolic mediation, among which language is the most important

symbolic tool. Humans use language both outwardly by communicating with others and internally by regulating one's actions. Communicating with others potentially creates zones of proximal development, in which development emerges and progresses.

2.2.1 *Everyday and Scientific Concepts*

Vygotsky classified human knowledge into *everyday* (also called *spontaneous*) and *scientific concepts*. Everyday concepts are knowledge obtained from personal experience through everyday life. For example, children likely categorize tomatoes, cucumbers, squashes, and eggplants as vegetables based on their life experience of, for example, seeing the items in the vegetable aisle at local markets (Lantolf & Tsai, 2018). Children later learn that these items are botanically considered to be fruits, because they have seed-bearing structures that are formed from the ovary after flowering. This latter knowledge is an example of a scientific concept. Scientific concepts are the result of “generalizations of the experience of humankind” (Karpov, 2003, p. 71) and are consciously learned in educational settings.

Everyday and scientific concepts share different features; as Vygotsky wrote: “the strong side of one indicates the weak side of the other, and vice versa” (Vygotsky, 1986, p. 158). Everyday concepts are deeply rooted in one's experience, allowing individuals to use them unconsciously to solve problems. However, these concepts are often inaccurate or insufficient, and not widely transferable across contexts. In contrast, scientific concepts are presented to students as academic knowledge in “the form of precise verbal definitions” (Karpov, 2018, p. 103). Because scientific concepts are abstract and decontextualized, they can be difficult for children to acquire. However, once internalized, scientific concepts are transferable across contexts and enhance problem-solving capacities.

2.2.2 Mediation

For acquisition of scientific concepts, mediation is essential. According to Vygotsky, human activities are mediated through culturally constructed artifacts. Cultural artifacts consist of physical and symbolic tools. Physical tools, such as hammers, sticks, and whisks, enable humans to extend abilities and help produce a desired outcome (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006). For example, a whisk enables a cook to make whipped cream to decorate a cake. In other words, the whisk mediates human activity and produces a desired outcome. Without this physical tool, the results may not be possible. Humans also use symbolic tools, semiotic means that regulate humans' physical and psychological behavior. Examples of symbolic tools are arithmetic systems, writing, conventional signs, gestures, facial expressions, diagrams, and language. For instance, we rely on arithmetic operations to do multiplication (Lantolf, 2000; Wertsch, 1998). Symbolic tools allow humans to engage in abstract and complex mental activities. In this sense, symbolic tools are crucial for knowledge construction.

Among symbolic tools, language is the most important mediating tool (Vygotsky, 1987). Vygotsky saw language not only as a communication tool but also as a tool that mediates cognitive activity. From observation of children's behaviors, Vygotsky considered how language mediates our thinking. Children's behavior is initially regulated by objects, which Vygotsky called object-regulation. Let's say a parent tells a child to go to their room and get their teddy bear. If another toy catches their attention as they enter the room, they may start playing with it and forget about the original goal. In other words, the child's behavior is influenced by surrounding objects. As children start following parents' instruction, object-regulation becomes other-regulation. Children's behaviors are now regulated by other individuals, and they can accomplish tasks with the help of others through language. Eventually, children regulate their

own actions, which is called self-regulation. In this phase, children use language to themselves to control their actions. This is often observed through self-talk (Lantolf, 2000). This use of language to themselves is called *private speech*. Private speech appears among adults as well, especially when a task is complex and requires a heavy cognitive load (Frawley & Lantolf, 1985; Guerrero, 2018), showing how private speech guides humans to regulate their actions. When engaging in a task, language mediates cognitively complex thinking and allows humans “to focus the attention of, to develop, to organize, to control one’s own higher mental functions” (Swain & Lapkin, 2013, p. 105). Thus, language plays a crucial role for internalization of knowledge.

2.2.3 Internalization and the Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD)

Internalization occurs when one appropriates mediational means and transforms them into their psychological system. Vygotsky proposed that new cognitive development appears twice in the process of internalization:

Any function in the child’s cultural development appears twice, or on two planes. First it appears on the social plane, and then on the psychological plane. First it appears between people as an interpsychological category, and then within the child as an intrapsychological category. This is equally true with regard to voluntary attention, logical memory, the formation of concepts, and the development of volition...it goes without saying that internalization transforms the process itself and changes its structure and functions. Social relations or relations among people genetically underlie all higher functions and their relationships. (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 57)

As stated in his quotation, Vygotsky considered how cognition emerges through engagement with others, and social interaction plays a critical role in cognitive development. During social interactions, the *zone of proximal development (ZPD)* emerges and leads cognitive growth.

Vygotsky defined the ZPD as:

the distance between the actual development level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving

under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers. (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 86)

The ZPD informs a child's current ability as well as their potential development. What a child can do without assistance reflects their growth up to the current moment. On the other hand, what the same child can do when assisted by others suggests their potential future development. Namely, the child will be able to accomplish the task on their own once internalization takes place. Development occurs within the ZPD, and the quality of mediation determines the success of internalization. Mediation should be provided in a way that one's other-regulation is gradually transformed into self-regulation within the ZPD.

Although Vygotsky discussed the ZPD in terms of child development, it can be applied to adult L2 acquisition. Ohta (2001) adapted Vygotsky's definition to the adult L2 context and defined ZPD as:

the distance between the actual developmental level as determined by individual linguistic production, and the level of potential development as determined through language produced collaboratively with a teacher or peer. (9)

L2 research has documented the emergence of ZPDs among adult L2 learners. Aljaafreh and Lantolf (1994) investigated mediated learning in the ZPD, by exploring how error corrections were negotiated in one-on-one interactions between a tutor (expert) and an L2 English learner (novice). Their findings showed that different ZPDs emerged for different learners and, as a result, different mediation was necessary. Even when two learners made the same errors, the levels of self-regulation differed. For example, one learner noticed and self-corrected her error after the tutor merely suggested that something was wrong. On the other hand, the other learner needed explicit feedback and extensive support from the tutor to work on the same problem. Although the two learners worked on the same error, they were different in terms of the course of

development. The former learner was very close to self-regulation, with an ability to use the target grammar almost by herself. On the other hand, the other learner's actions were largely other-regulated, suggesting that she would probably continue to need more assistance. In their following study, Lantolf and Aljaafreh (1995) also found that L2 learners' development was not linear but dynamic. Sometimes, learners showed regression, though regression does not necessarily mean that internalization failed. Rather, it refers to a stage of a learner's other-regulated behavior that requires continual mediation to transform to self-regulation.

ZPDs do not only emerge from mediation between an expert and a novice. Peers can also support one another in different ways than an expert does. For example, peers together notice problems, find gaps in knowledge, test their hypotheses, or co-construct their knowledge to solve problems. Donato (1994) documented how L2 learners complemented each other's knowledge, pooled their knowledge, and co-constructed solutions during group works in the L2 French classroom. His study showcases how peer mediation can create a unique learning environment, where L2 learners collectively achieve what they could not accomplish alone. Ohta (2001) also found that L2 learners assisted each other in ways that may not necessarily occur in teacher-student interaction. For instance, in pair-work activities, a peer interlocutor patiently gave their partner ample time to make their own attempts and assisted if needed. A peer interlocutor also helped their partner by repeating a word or giving a syllable so that their partner could continue. Peers also supplied words or phrases alternately and produced utterances collaboratively. Ohta's findings show that peer mediation allows students to experiment with the target language and offers different learning experiences than teacher-fronted instruction. An important implication of these works is that learning can emerge without the presence of an expert, and expertise can

be collaboratively constructed. In this sense, mediation is not necessarily unidirectional (i.e., from expert to novice), but can be bidirectional.

ZPDs can also be created by artifacts such as textbooks, dictionaries, and tasks (Foley, 1990, 1991; Ohta, 2006). Ohta (2006) proposed that ZPDs should not be limited to social interactive contexts but also can be applied to artifacts. In the interviews with advanced L2 learners, Ohta's participants reported that they sought assistance from not only other people but also from artifacts such as dictionaries, annotations written in the past, and the internet, showing that adult L2 learners are capable of tailoring mediation appropriately to their learning goals. They also decided to withdraw assistance when necessary, such as reading a text without annotations. Ohta's finding is significant in understanding adult L2 learners' capabilities to manage their own ZPDs using both interpersonal and artifact mediations, which may not be observed in child development.

According to Vygotsky, human consciousness is dialectically comprised of the biology of the brain and higher mental structures arising from cultural and historical development of the person. Biological processes are the basis of cultural development, and cultural artifacts mediate cognitive activity and reshape biologically endowed cognitive processes into higher forms of psychological functions. Vygotsky differentiated learning from development. Learning is what a learner can do with assistance from another person or mediational artifacts. Development, on the other hand, results from the internalization of that assistance, in which learners can accomplish an action independently and extend their abilities to different circumstances. Dialectically unified in the ZPD, learning and development are inseparable processes. Vygotsky pointed out that traditional methodologies of assessments have heavily focused on the growth of what a student can achieve on their own without support. As discussed earlier, two learners, who made the same

errors on the same assignment, which they completed without assistance, performed differently when assistance was provided. One learner was able to perform better with little help while the other was not, suggesting that the two learners had different developmental trajectories.

Vygotsky stressed the importance of discovering a potential ability of the person and uncovering the processes of development. To Vygotsky, instruction, learning, development, and assessment are not separate activities; rather they are inseparably interconnected in a dialectic unity.

2.3 Language Socialization Theory, in Relation to SCT and C-BLI

Vygotsky's theory of mind has inspired a wide range of applications and has developed in many directions, including early language socialization research (e.g., Ochs, 1988; Schieffelin, 1990; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986). With interests in aspects of the sociocultural environment where children acquire their L1, language socialization studies were originally grounded in interdisciplinary fields, including anthropology, sociolinguistics, and child language acquisition (Clancy, 1986; Eisenberg, 1986; Ochs, 1988), and later the scope of research expanded to adult L2 acquisition. Because both language socialization theory (LST) and sociocultural theory (SCT) are influenced by Vygotsky's framework, they share similar theoretical views (Duff, 2007). This dissertation brings LST into concept-based language instruction (C-BLI), a pedagogical framework grounded in SCT. In the following, I explain compatibility of LST and SCT, followed by the potential of incorporating LST into C-BLI.

First, both LST and SCT deny the over-emphasis on the universal and cognitive aspects of language learning (e.g., Watson-Gegeo, 2004). LST emphasizes the significance of nurture in children's emergent communication through socially situated activities and participation, as Ochs and Schieffelin (2011) wrote:

Language socialization assumes the biological immaturity of children, the social urgency for children to be nurtured by caregivers, and the universal cultivation of children's awareness of self and other. At the same time, it assumes that children's and other novices' social awakening is inextricably tied to their entry into social order and the cultural significance of their own and other's actions, demeanors, and signs (pp.8-9).

LST considers linguistic and cultural knowledge as mutually constructed, and therefore "language learning and enculturation are part of the same process" (Watson-Gegeo, 1992, p. 52). In a socially organized activity, one's choice of particular linguistic forms and sequential organizations are influenced by social, cultural, and political dimensions (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2011). In Japanese, a speaker is expected to choose appropriate speech styles depending on different sociocultural factors, including the relationship with an interlocutor, speech contexts, and roles. L1 Japanese children gain the ability to select proper speech styles through interactions with adults. Caregiver-child interactions are typically carried out using casual plain forms; however, sometimes parents shift to polite forms to demonstrate socially appropriate behaviors. In Cook (2008), by providing appropriate polite form expressions to help with his child's composition homework, a father taught his child the appropriate speech style (the polite form) for a particular speech genre (composition). In another episode, a mother demonstrated the use of the polite form and showed her child how to introduce herself to a high-status stranger. By modeling, the mother demonstrated to her child the social norms and customs of the speech community.

Second, for both LST and SCT, "[l]earning, knowledge-construction, and socialization – that is, the development of the human mind and the socialized individual – are seen to be processes that are mutually engaged in by members in a community over time" (Duff, 2007, p. 312). Initially, novice learners start engaging in communicative acts with guidance from more knowledgeable persons and eventually function independently in the speech community (Clancy,

1986; Eisenberg, 1986; Ochs, 1988). This view accords with the notion of a ZPD except that LST does not discuss how development occurs or link the socialization processes to the development of higher cognition as SCT does. Interaction between a novice and an expert creates ZPDs, with the expert being the mediational means to teach a novice how to think, feel, and act in accordance with the values, ideologies, and traditions of the group and guide the novice's transition toward social and cultural competence. In Burdelski (2013), a preschool teacher intervened in children's play and encouraged them to act in a socially appropriate manner in a particular pretend-play situation, such as visiting someone's home. When a child entered the make-believe "home," the teacher made the child's role of a guest explicit, by saying *okyaku-san na n da kara* 'since you're a guest,' and prompted her to use a formulaic expression for entering the home, *ojama shimasu* 'I will disturb you.' The teacher's comment, *okyaku-san na n da kara* 'since you're a guest,' conveys the social meaning of the expression, displaying deference towards the host and their space by using the formulaic expression in the honorific form. In Clancy (1999), mothers gave their two-year-olds empathy training and guided them to feel a certain way through role-plays, modeling and explanations. Through interactions with their mothers, children learn not only the appropriate behaviors but also beliefs of community. Using affect words, mothers and children negotiate the appropriate affective responses, such as when one should feel empathy and how they should or should not express it.

Third, both LST and SCT stress "the importance of culturally organized activities in meaning-making and learning" (Duff, 2007, p. 312). LST considers the acquisition of linguistic knowledge and sociocultural knowledge as interdependent. There are two types of language socialization processes: socialization to use language and socialization through language (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2011). Socialization to use language refers to interactional sequences in which

children or novices are taught how to use language in specific ways. This is usually explicitly presented: for example, explicit feedback on novices' use of language, prompting to perform a certain speech act, modeling expected behavior, or an explanation of a certain moral dimension. Eisenberg (1986) showed how L1 Spanish toddlers were socialized into teasing, which commonly takes place in Mexican homes as a way to build interpersonal relationships between individuals. When a toddler's uncle teased her, her aunt directed the toddler in what to say and provided explicit linguistic assistance. Through this socialization experience, this toddler was learning how to use language to respond to teasing.

Socialization through language, on the other hand, refers to the use of language and social practice to encode and create cultural meaning, which is implicitly conveyed to novices. When another toddler in Eisenberg's study refused to give her neighbor a kiss, the neighbor and her mother teased her that the neighbor would not love her and would not give her what she wanted anymore. Although this interaction did not provide explicit guidance on teasing, it taught the child local cultural meanings, namely one should give a kiss when asked. By participating in socially organized activities, the toddlers were immersed in sociocultural knowledge, which involved understanding the meaning that was embedded in cultural systems and went beyond the literal meaning. Thus, LST considers how development of linguistic competence co-occurs with development of sociocultural competence.

Adults also learn an L2 through language socialization. In a study-abroad setting, Shively (2011) examined the role of language socialization for L2 pragmatic development by investigating different sojourn occasions, where L2 Spanish learners from the U.S. interacted with local people during their stay in Spain. In the classroom, L2 students received explicit pragmatic instruction on speech acts and completed examination tasks of different speech act

scenarios focusing on strategies, social factors, and cross-cultural comparisons. At service encounters in the community, students learned appropriate ways to make requests by observing interactions among local people and performing it by themselves. After her opening was ignored by service providers on multiple occasions, an L2 student learned that the common conversation opener in her L1 culture, *cómo estás?* ‘How are you?’ was not appropriate to open a request and did not convey friendliness. L2 students also learned appropriate linguistic choices from their host families. Another student asked his host father about appropriate phrases for service encounters and learned different nuances projected by different linguistic forms. Shively’s study documented how the sojourn experience can offer socialization to use language as well as socialization through language for study abroad students’ pragmatic development.

Language socialization also takes place in the classroom. Ohta (1999) focused on an interactional sequence called the IRF (Initiation-Response-Follow-up), in which a first speaker asks a question or introduces a topic, a second speaker answers, and then the first speaker provides a comment (e.g., *I like it, too*), assessment (e.g., *That’s great*) or a follow-up question (e.g., *Who did you go with?*). Ohta examined FL learners’ language socialization into IRF sequences in the first-year Japanese classroom at a U.S. university over an academic year and showed students’ development in their interactional style. In teacher-fronted IRFs, the teacher asks a question, a student answers, and the teacher provides feedback. Hence, the follow-up turns are mostly taken by teachers and rarely uttered by students. However, Ohta found that L2 learners were being socialized into IRF sequences and started producing follow-up turns. For instance, students engaged in mini-dialogue practice, in which the initiation and follow-up turns were scripted. Although the focus of the practice was to produce a target grammatical form, the practice guided students to provide affective alignment in the follow-up turn. In another instance,

the teacher invited students to respond with a follow-up turn when greeting them. In Japanese, commenting on the weather is a common opening in greeting. At the beginning of the class, the teacher assessed the weather in the initial turn with a sentence final particle *ne*, *Kyoo wa iya na tenki desu ne*, ‘The weather is unpleasant today *ne*’. The sentence final particle *ne* in the teacher’s utterance was an assessment, which invited students to respond. Then, students responded with the aligning *ne*-marked assessment, *Soo desu ne*: ‘It is, isn’t it?’ This greeting exchange guided students into practicing aligning with an initial assessment made by the teacher. By the end of the academic year, Ohta found that some students spontaneously produced follow-up turns using aligning *ne*-marked assessments. Although interactional sequences are not usually highlighted in the classroom instruction, students are socialized into the IRF sequences and develop their interactional styles.

While both LST and SCT share perspectives on the role of social interaction in human development that are rooted in Vygotskian perspectives, a significant difference between the two theories is that LST does not highlight cognitive development, but places an emphasis on behavior. Meanwhile, SCT, with its interest in the development of higher cognition, emphasizes human psychological processes and looks at the dialectical connection between psychological processes and social actions that involve both speaking and thinking. C-BLI, grounded in SCT, works to develop both language (speaking) and concepts (thinking). Incorporating LST-inspired activities also potentially works to promote both of these two aspects (Ohta, personal communication). Thus, LST and SCT can be joined together to make C-BLI more robust. Both theories emphasize the importance of teaching language within socially meaningful activities. From the LST perspective, language and sociocultural competences are interdependent and develop simultaneously. Through language socialization, novices learn how to use language in

particular ways. At the same time, they learn cultural systems and customs through language. While LST research sees both explicit and implicit socialization leading to language development, for L2 learners, implicit socialization does not always guarantee learning. The L2 learner in Shively (2011) realized that a how-are-you-greeting was not expected and did not convey friendliness at the service counter in the L2 culture. This student wrote in her journal, “[the cashiers] really don’t care and that [the grocery store] is just a place to get what you need and leave” (p.1825, square brackets are in the original). Her comment shows a lack of awareness of how Spaniards show friendliness in service encounters. Spaniards convey friendliness by engaging in small talk at the end of the service encounter, not the beginning. According to Schmidt’s (1993) Noticing Hypothesis, noticing is necessary for L2 learning, because it prompts L2 learners to become aware of previously unrecognized features and begin incorporating them into their interlanguage. The finding in Shively’s study suggests that implicit socialization may not necessarily trigger L2 learners’ noticing sociocultural features. C-BLI provides explicit instruction that orients L2 learners’ extensive attention to sociocultural aspects. C-BLI can enrich L2 learners’ language socialization experiences by reinforcing learners’ noticing to sociocultural concepts behind linguistic choices.

Both LST and SCT also view expert-novice interaction as essential. ZPDs emerge through interaction with experts, peers and/or artifacts, and novices’ linguistic and sociocultural competence develop within the ZPD. Novices learn appropriate language use from experts and from the target speech community. Modeling is an interesting example of language socialization in LST research that may be of interest to sociocultural scholars. Adults provide children with modeling of how particular linguistic expressions are used in certain circumstances, such as writing compositions, self-introductions, and teasing. Children learn appropriate linguistic

choices and actions by following the model and imitating it. Imitation is also considered in SCT, as a creative “process through which socioculturally constructed forms of mediation are internalized” (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006, p. 166). Children often modify the original model to tailor it to their communicative goals, and something new is created (Holzman, 2018). From a Vygotskian perspective, imitation is not mere repetition or parroting of a model but comprises creative and transformative processes. The influence of modeling and imitation in C-BLI needs to be more explicitly specified. By incorporating modeling and imitation into C-BLI, the instructional unit in this dissertation supports L2 learners’ pragmalinguistic development while also deepening their sociopragmatic knowledge. For instance, L2 learners analyze models provided by expert speakers and imitate their linguistic choices in production tasks. In this way, this dissertation explicitly incorporates findings of LST into C-BLI, which is based on SCT.

Lastly, experts’ assistance is highly significant in both theories. However, it is important to note that experts’ pragmatic knowledge is not always accurate, and that successful internalization depends on the quality of mediation. In Cook (2008), a host mother provided an L2 Japanese learner with an explicit metalinguistic explanation about gendered speech and polite language in Japanese. Cook noted that the host mother’s explanation was based on folk beliefs and did not reflect actual practice of Japanese speakers. This is a good example of how even native speakers’ everyday concepts can be inaccurate or insufficient. C-BLI can fill this gap, by teaching scientific concepts, which makes it possible to generate expert-novice conversations around target language concepts (which may also be new to native speakers) rather than around folk beliefs. This dissertation uses C-BLI to teach both experts and novices the same scientific concepts and have them work together using the target concepts. In the next section, I provide

more details about C-BLI and further discuss how C-BLI can contribute to L2 pragmatics teaching.

2.4 Concept-Based Language Instruction (C-BLI)

This section presents the theoretical background of C-BLI and outlines the pedagogical framework proposed by Piotr Gal'perin and his colleagues, who applied Vygotsky's theoretical notions and developed a teaching methodology called *Systemic Theoretical Instruction* or STI. Gal'perin's framework has been utilized in applied linguistics research and is called Concept-Based Language Instruction or C-BLI (Lantolf et al., 2021). C-BLI is a new research field but has reported promising results on the teaching/learning of diverse grammatical concepts such as aspect, tense, and mood in Spanish (Negueruela, 2003), phrasal verbs in English (Lee, 2012), voice in French (Lapkin et al., 2008), and an aspectual form in Japanese (Tsujiyama, 2022). van Compernelle (2012, 2014) first applied C-BLI to L2 pragmatics, focusing on self-presentation, social distance, and power in use of pronouns and negation in French. Researchers then have also used C-BLI for other L2 pragmatics topics, such as sarcasm in English (Kim, 2013), (im)politeness in Spanish (Martí, 2021) and request in English (Myrset, 2022)

There is very little research done in application of C-BLI to L2 Japanese pragmatics. Topics investigated in L2 Japanese pragmatics include addressee honorifics and expressing modes of self in Japanese (Ohta, 2017), self-deprecating humor (Maeda, 2018), subjective construal, motion verbs and benefactives in Japanese (Masuda & Ohta, 2021) and interactional particles (Masuda, 2023).

2.4.1 Gal'perin's Pedagogical Model

The central notion of Gal'perin's (1992b) pedagogical model is *orientation*, which determines the quality of human mental actions. Using the notion of orientation, Gal'perin proposed the relationship between mental actions and the process of internalization.

Gal'perin classified human cognitive actions into three levels of orientation: material, verbal, and psychological levels. At the material level, an action is executed using external mediating tools such as physical objects, pictures, figures, and diagrams. Thinking is done through manipulation of and mediation by these external tools and the teacher. External assistance is gradually replaced by the learner's verbal speech, and the action is performed at the verbal level, which consists of two kinds of verbal speech: communicated and dialogical thinking (Haenen, 2001). Communicated thinking is social speech about action. Following Vygotsky's claim about the emergence of development first on the social level, in communicated thinking, one's mental actions are regulated through interactions with others. Thinking aloud about an action or discussion with others is an example of communicated thinking (Aljaafreh & Lantolf, 1994; Donato, 1994; Ohta, 2001; Swain & Lapkin, 2013). This type of thinking promotes internalization through the emergence of ZPDs. Verbal speech can also be dialogical thinking or "external speech to oneself" (Gal'perin, 1989, p. 53). While "dialogical" is usually understood as talking with another person, in Gal'perin's dialogical thinking, the action takes place via talk-to-the-self in a learner's mind or in private speech. Although the speech is inwardly (or, if uttered, outwardly) directed to the self, it is still the mediational means of the action. Hence, Gal'perin called dialogical thinking "the audible image of the word" (Gal'perin, 1989, p. 263). Through dialogical thinking, internalization gradually transitions from social to psychological activity. As the action is performed internally, external assistance and verbal speech gradually disappear.

Eventually, the action is performed completely and automatically at the psychological level without relying on speech.

Grounded in the notion of orientation, Gal'perin proposed guidelines to design an instructional unit. The three levels of orientations mentioned above are equally important and require different sorts of teacher guidance: therefore, each level should be carefully mediated in the instructional process. It is important for a teacher to understand students' current level of orientation, which Gal'perin called *Orienting Basis of Action*, or OBA. Initially, students' performance is mediated by everyday concepts, such as their L1, other language knowledge, or what they've learned from previous L2 instruction. Everyday concepts are often incomplete and insufficient, and do not guarantee successful execution. Following Vygotsky's tenet that development is not only about improving performance but is also about developing conscious awareness of one's action, the goal of C-BLI is to transform students' incomplete OBA into a high-quality orienting function by restructuring and raising everyday concepts to a higher cognitive level so that students are able to engage in context-independent thinking. Hence, Gal'perin's pedagogical model considers a scientific concept as the minimal target of instruction.

Now, I outline how each orientation can be mediated to move to the next higher orientation. These steps are not a linear progression; rather, there is overlap and dynamic interaction across the levels (Haenen, 2001). First, the teacher explains the goal of the action, brings students' attention to the target action, and stimulates students' motivation. Next, students learn new actions by manipulating artifacts including material objects or symbolic representations, such as charts, diagrams, and drawings. These pedagogical artifacts are called *Scheme of a Complete Orienting Basis of an Action*, or SCOBA. SCOBA represents "the desired and intended form of the orienting basis" (Haenen, 2001: 162) and promotes correct execution.

Therefore, SCOBAs must be “high-quality, understandable, useable, and generalizable knowledge organized in a holistic” format (Lantolf & Tsai, 2018, p. 35).

SCOBAs are usually presented in visual images, such as charts, diagrams, pictures, and/or tangible objects. These visual representations are introduced with the target concept. Then, the teacher guides students to perform the target action at the material level. When using a SCOBAs, students are guided to engage in two types of actions: orienting to the SCOBAs and executing actions using the SCOBAs. For the former, students verbalize their understanding about the content of the SCOBAs. For the latter, students engage in activities designed to practice using SCOBAs: for example, meaning interpretation tasks (Lee, 2012), grammatical judgment tasks (Tsujiyama, 2022), script writing tasks (Kim, 2013), and role-plays (Ohta, 2017). Once students become familiar with performing the action with SCOBAs, students move to the stage of verbal speech.

Swain (2006) called an activity of verbal speech languaging and defined it as “the process of making meaning and shaping knowledge and experience through language” (Swain, 2006, p. 98). In this verbal level, student’s reliance on material objects is replaced by speech, and an action now becomes a verbal action. Although Gal’perin (1992b) suggested a material action (manipulating SCOBAs) and a verbal action (engaging in languaging) in distinct phases, most L2 C-BLI research combines these two phases and implements them simultaneously. For instance, students engage in languaging while they are completing SCOBAs tasks.

The teacher should include both communicated and dialogical thinking in languaging tasks. Students can engage in communicated thinking with teacher or peers, by, for example, explaining their understanding of the target concepts to the teacher or peers (Ohta, 2017) or analyzing sentences with the target forms in pairs (Tsujiyama, 2022). A teacher can prompt

dialogical thinking by giving students space to work on their own, such as for homework (Negueruela, 2003), encouraging them to talk aloud to themselves, etc. As learners practice applying the target concepts in communicative activities, their reliance on the external support of the SCOPA diminishes and eventually disappears, indicating that their action is becoming more self-regulated. Once the target scientific knowledge is internalized, learners can spontaneously manipulate the knowledge in accordance with their intentions and communicative goals. This does not mean that they will not make L2 mistakes. To produce utterances accurately, L2 learners also need to expand their pragmalinguistic knowledge; for example, to develop a wide repertoire of semantic formulae, increase linguistic processing, and develop automatization of access to their pragmalinguistic knowledge (Taguchi & Roever, 2017). Thus, mapping sociopragmatic and pragmalinguistic knowledge requires time.

2.4.2 Application of C-BLI to Teaching L2 pragmatics

This section examines how C-BLI can contribute to L2 pragmatics instruction. C-BLI explicitly teaches high-quality metapragmatic information, which is widely applicable across contexts. Subsequent practice is carefully designed to promote languaging, discussion of sociocultural elements, and practice production by connecting sociopragmatic knowledge to linguistic forms in interactive settings. In light of L2 pragmatics research that found direct metapragmatic information and production practice to be beneficial (Cohen & Ishihara, 2013; Taguchi, 2015), these elements of C-BLI are particularly helpful in promoting acquisition. Because of the focus on the development of sociopragmatic concepts, C-BLI can also help learners make proper pragmatic choices while supporting L2 learner agency. In the following, I examine each point in detail.

First, C-BLI provides high-quality metapragmatic information. Research shows that L2 pragmatics development can be accelerated when instruction explicitly presents metapragmatic information and promotes learners' noticing (Schmidt, 1993; Taguchi, 2015). However, classroom instruction usually lacks adequate metapragmatic teaching, and textbooks usually "do not represent spontaneous pragmatic language as used in natural conversation" (Cohen & Ishihara, 2013, pp. 119–120). Materials are often developed on teachers' or textbook writers' intuitions, which may be unreliable and inaccurate (Cohen & Ishihara, 2013; Golato, 2003; Kasper, 1997). Additionally, to make things easier for L2 learners, textbook authors or teachers simplify sociopragmatic information to "rules of thumb," which do not capture the full complexity of the language, do not work in all situations, and may lead the learner to inappropriate behavior. Incomplete and unsystematic presentation of knowledge may create rules-of-thumb instruction that may fail to reflect the full meaning of sociopragmatic information, and may inhibit L2 learners from deepening understanding, developing control, and promoting internalization adequately (Negueruela & Lantolf, 2006; van Compernelle, 2019).

An example of rules-of-thumb pragmatics instruction in the L2 Japanese classroom is addressee honorifics. According to Ohta (2017), L2 Japanese learners are typically taught addressee honorifics based on their textbooks' presentation of the rule-based system called *wakimae* or 'discernment politeness' (Ohta, 2017, p. 189). There are two types of addressee honorifics: *masu*-form (also called the polite form) and plain form (also called the informal form). *Wakimae* teaches learners that the polite and plain forms are related to politeness and social distance, and the choice between the two forms depends on relative social status and social distance between the interlocutors. Typically, learners are instructed not to mix the two forms. However, the notion of *wakimae* does not accurately represent the actual usage of addressee

honorifics (Cook, 1996; Ohta, 2017; Okamoto, 2011). In reality, superiors mix the two forms in conversation with their students or subordinates (Okamoto, 2011). At the same time, the polite form appears in situations, where the *wakimae* does not apply, such as mother-child conversation (Cook, 1996). These examples show how the notion of *wakimae* diverges from actual usage. Linguists have extensively studied Japanese style-shifting, and there are usage-based explanations that more accurately reflect actual usage. This mixing of the forms, rather than being language mistakes, relates to the notion of self-presentation called *disciplined and spontaneous modes-of-self* (Cook, 1996). The disciplined mode-of-self projects “buttoned-up self-presentation” (Ohta, 2017, p. 202) through the *masu*-forms. On the other hand, the spontaneous mode-of-self displays “casual self-presentation” through plain forms. To choose the form, Japanese speakers consider different contextual factors: for example, the relationship with the interlocutor and setting of the conversation, along with their desired self-presentation that reflects the type of relationship they want to have with the interlocutor. Modes-of-self can shift even moment by moment in the same conversation and results in mixing in styles.

Teaching modes-of-self as a conceptual target of instruction, Ohta (2017) used C-BLI and re-taught addressee honorifics to JFL learners, who had already been introduced to addressee honorifics based on the rule-based *wakimae* system. In the pre-test survey, students expressed both their belief in, as well as their confusion about the *wakimae*-based addressee honorifics usage. A student mentioned the gap between what she had seen in real conversations and what she was taught in the classroom, reporting that she had seen Japanese people mixing these two forms although she was instructed in the classroom not to mix them (Ohta & Tsujihara, 2017). Felicia, a focal student in Ohta (2017), wrote that she lacked confidence in deciding what forms to use and had generally relied on interlocutors’ cues, indicating a lack of autonomy in her

language choice. She stated her concern that she might offend Japanese people by choosing the wrong form. Students' pre-test comments illuminated the fact that incomplete sociopragmatic knowledge built from rules-of-thumb instruction both confused L2 learners and reduced students' confidence in L2 communication. On the post-instructional survey, students showed a solid understanding of the modes-of-self. Felicia indicated her ease and confidence in selecting forms and her relief that mixing forms would not offend her interlocutor. Additionally, Felicia effectively and appropriately shifted styles in the post-instructional role-play production task. Ohta's studies suggest that high-quality metapragmatic information not only promotes the development of more systemic sociopragmatic knowledge, but also supports L2 learners in building confidence in making pragmatic choices.

Just as C-BLI has the potential to build learners' confidence in their pragmatic choices, it also promotes L2 learners' agency development. Traditionally, L2 learners' pragmatic competence has generally been assessed in comparison to native speaker norms. L2 learner's pragmatic competence has generally been considered "developed" when they perform in the same way as native speakers do: otherwise, it tends to be marked as "inappropriate" or "underdeveloped." C-BLI, however, does not force native speaker norms upon students, but rather promotes students' conceptual understanding of both pragmalinguistics and sociopragmatics so that they are empowered to make their own pragmatic choices. L2 learners sometimes consciously make pragmatic decisions that are not in line with native norms (Ishihara, 2010; Iwasaki, 201; Siegal, 1996). In Ishihara (2010), a professor from the U.S. who lived in Japan chose not to follow the Japanese address-term norm. In Japan, people address others by the last name, especially in a formal setting like a workplace. This professor found this norm "unfriendly," "cold," "unnatural," "stiff," and "formal" (36). He decided not to respond when his

colleagues addressed him by his last name and title. While he understood that this was not an ideal and expected way to behave, this was the only option to express his subjectivity. Although we do not know the consequence of this professor's pragmatic choice, incomplete or inaccurate sociopragmatic knowledge may wrongly guide learners to make inappropriate pragmatic choices, give unintended impressions, and invite unexpected communicative outcomes.

Working with L2 French learners at a U.S. university, van Compernelle (2012, 2014) designed a C-BLI unit and taught how social meaning (i.e., self-presentation, social distance, and power) is indexed in use of the second-person pronouns *tu* and *vous*, the first-person plural pronouns *on* and *nous*, and the presence or absence of the negative particle *ne* in verbal negation in French. He found that internalization of sociopragmatic concepts enabled learners to make meaningful and personalized choices, which sometimes did, and sometimes did not accord with native speaker norms. In a hypothetical situation, where a student is meeting with a professor in an office hours meeting, a student chose the informal form of the pronoun *on*, which may not follow the L2 norms. Her choice was based on a motive for being herself: she intended to portray herself as “a relaxed, informal, young student” (van Compernelle, 2014: 84). At the same time, this student was also aware that using *vous* and keeping distance would be appropriate in this context. She accomplished this goal by mixing the *vous* form with *on* and omitting *ne*. Omitting *ne* is, according to van Compernelle, often observed in informal or everyday French. This shows that this student appropriated the target concepts and personalized them in a meaningful and relevant way for her. Teaching meaning potential, C-BLI empowers L2 learners to express subjectivity. The extensive focus on teaching sociopragmatics provides L2 learners with the tools they need to make pragmatic choices that align with their subjectivity.

Lastly, C-BLI works to develop both conceptual understanding and production abilities through practice. While promoting processing through practice is essential in L2 pragmatic instruction (Taguchi, 2015), textbooks usually lack “sufficient interactive exercises for practicing the introduced forms and discussing sociocultural norms of the target language.” (Cohen & Ishihara, 2013, p. 122). In C-BLI, learners’ processing is reinforced through languaging, following Vygotsky’s (1978) notion that language is the most significant mediational means for internalizing higher cognitive growth. In C-BLI, students verbalize their understanding of metapragmatic information, discuss the target features with others, and apply the concepts to use. Because L1 is more suitable than L2 to work through abstract and complex thinking, learners should be permitted to use their L1 to engage in languaging (Swain & Lapkin, 2013).

Knouzi et al. (2010) taught L2 French speakers the concept of voice in French and captured how languaging was relevant to internalization. During the intervention, students engaged in languaging: they orally explained their understanding about the concept of voice to the researcher in their L1 English. The findings revealed that students were connecting scientific concepts to their everyday concepts while languaging. Students were also forming hypotheses, paraphrasing, analyzing, self-assessing, re-reading the explanatory cards given to them, summarizing, and justifying their actions. They further found that the students who produced more languaging demonstrated a more accurate and more in-depth understanding of the concept. Their findings suggest that C-BLI can provide quality practice through languaging, since languaging serves as “an instructional tool for attention focusing, selection analysis, and synthesis and thus is directly connected with internalization and concept formation” (Negueruela & Lantolf, 2006, p. 86).

By delivering high-quality metapragmatic information and engaging students in interactive practice via languaging, C-BLI can address some of the challenges raised in L2 pragmatics research. What is distinctive about C-BLI is that instruction aims at guiding students to understand the meaning potential of pragmatic actions and teaching sociopragmatic concepts in relation to pragmalinguistics. van Compernelle (2018) underlined the significance of teaching sociopragmatic concepts rather than focusing on particular pragmalinguistic forms first. As reported in previous research discussed in this section, extensively focusing on development of sociopragmatic competence not only deepens students' understanding and increases control over pragmatic choices, but also support learners' subjectivity in accordance with their values, beliefs, and personalities.

For the next step in C-BLI research, it is worthwhile to explore how the formation of L2 learners' sociopragmatic concepts can aid in the development of pragmalinguistic competence within C-BLI. Thus, the instructional unit in this dissertation further works to have students practice connecting sociopragmatic knowledge to pragmalinguistic use to perform thanking. This can be accomplished by incorporating aspects of language socialization theory into C-BLI. Combining with languaging, L2 learners in my instructional unit discussed with expert Japanese speakers regarding thanking in Japanese, made observations and wrote reflections, and practiced expressing gratitude following models provided by the experts. These language socialization activities, I believe, enabled learners to make appropriate pragmalinguistic choices while deepening their understanding of sociopragmatic knowledge.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter has provided an overview of the theoretical frameworks of sociocultural theory, language socialization theory, and concept-based language instruction, and explored possible contributions of C-BLI to L2 pragmatics instruction. This dissertation applies C-BLI to develop L2 learners' pragmatic competence in the speech act of thanking in Japanese. Thanking is ideal for the target unit of instruction because; (1) thanking requires an understanding of complex cultural concepts, (2) there are a variety of pragmalinguistic options to express gratitude, and therefore (3) L2 learners have abundant ways of expressing their agency. Speech acts are difficult to learn, due to, among other things, contextual intricacy, individual variation, and linguistic complexity (Cohen & Ishihara, 2013, p. 120). C-BLI uses abstract scientific concepts as targets of instruction and visually presents these concepts with SCOBAs, which draw L2 learners' careful attention to sociopragmatic knowledge. Languaging offers learners opportunities to engage their minds using language as a mediational tool to deepen their understanding. Through languaging, L2 learners build a depth comprehension of sociopragmatic knowledge, make appropriate pragmatic decisions and exercise their agency. Just as there are individual variations among native speakers (who also may deviate from L2 norms), L2 learners also may present subjectivity that may be different from L2 norms. C-BLI supports L2 learners in making pragmatic choices based on scientific concepts, rather than based on native speaker norms. This allows L2 speakers to make pragmatic choices that, even without conforming to native speaker norms, can still be pragmatically appropriate. Making a unique pragmatic choice is not necessarily inappropriate-it is creative and productive language usage. What L2 learners need to know is the balance between subjectivity and pragmatic appropriateness. Our goal is to empower students so that they can accomplish their own goals with the L2. To this end, in the

next chapter, I discuss how thanking works in Japanese from both sociocultural and linguistic perspectives.

Chapter 3

Materialization of Thanking in Japanese

3.1 Introduction

This chapter considers previous research on the speech act of thanking and materialization of Japanese thanking for a C-BLI unit based on theoretical frameworks. The first half of the chapter considers the speech act of thanking. It begins with a review of works in speech act theory based on Austin (1962) and Searle's (1969) theoretical frameworks, focusing on the concepts that apply to this study. The next section focuses on thanking and introduces Coulam's (1981) argument that thanking and apology are related. Then, the section lays out existing research regarding how thanking is performed in Japanese and considers how apology expressions appear in Japanese thanking. Lastly, it also presents how Japanese thanking is elaborated with various thanking strategies and linguistic variables that highlight the speaker's emotions. Grounded on these research findings, the second half of the chapter introduces materialization of the concepts for a C-BLI unit to teach Japanese thanking in the foreign language classroom.

3.2 Speech Act Theory

Speech act theory describes how language can be used to do things rather than merely to say something. For instance, when a minister or wedding officiant says, "I now pronounce you husband and wife," the couple is wed. Speech act theory originates from work in philosophy of language by John L. Austin (1962/1975). Austin proposed three kinds of acts that are performed when language is used: locutionary, illocutionary, and perlocutionary acts. Locutionary acts refer

to a referential value such as uttering certain sounds, using particular words, and constructing utterances by following the grammatical rules. Illocutionary acts refer to acts done in speaking such as marrying, questing, and thanking. Perlocutionary acts are a consequence of speaking. Take the example of “I now pronounce you husband and wife.” The utterance itself is a locutionary act. The illocutionary act is pronouncing a couple husband and wife. The perlocutionary act is that the couple is now married. According to Austin, rather than being dependent on truth conditions, performative utterances are dependent on conditions that must be fulfilled for the speech act to be valid. For example, it is not considered a legal marriage if a child says “I now pronounce you husband and wife” when they are playing. It must be uttered by an authority (a minister or wedding officiant) in an appropriate context (the presence of witnesses). Austin called these conditions felicity conditions.

Building on Austin’s ideas, John R. Searle further developed speech act theory. Searle refined Austin’s framework and proposed four felicity conditions: propositional content and preparatory, sincerity, and essential conditions (Searle, 1969). Propositional content requires interlocutors to understand language. In preparatory conditions, the speaker’s authority and the speech act’s circumstances must be appropriate. Sincerity conditions require the speech act to be performed seriously and sincerely. In essential conditions, the speaker expects an utterance to be acted upon by the hearer. The next section examines Searle’s four felicity conditions, focusing on the speech act of thanking, and considers how thanking is performed.

3.3 The Speech Act of Thanking

Searle (1969) considered thanking an illocutionary act performed to express a psychological state and outlined the felicity conditions shown in Table 3.1. “S” refers to the

speaker/beneficiary, who received a favor or help from a hearer/benefactor. “H” refers to a hearer/benefactor, who provided a favor or help. “A” refers to an act that leads to thanking.

Table 3.1: Searle’s Proposal on the Felicity Conditions of Thanking (Searle, 1969, p. 67)

Propositional content	Past act A done by H
Preparatory	A benefits S and S believes A benefits S.
Sincerity	S feels grateful or appreciative for A.
Essential	Counts as an expression of gratitude or appreciation

Thanking is based on a past act performed by the hearer (Propositional content), which the speaker believes to have benefited them (Preparatory). The speaker feels grateful (Sincerity) and makes a statement which counts as an expression of appreciation (Essential).

Leech (1983) agreed with Searle that thanking was an expressive act that showed the speaker’s psychological attitude but considered it from a more socially oriented perspective. Leech claimed the illocutionary goal of thanking to be establishing and maintaining polite and friendly social relationships. Coulmas’ (1981) argument is in line with Leech’s. Coulmas considered thanking a strategic means, “whose most important function is to balance politeness relationships between interlocutors” (81).

Coulmas (1981) further pointed out thanking situations where a received favor prompts indebtedness. “Thanks for the lunch. I’ll take you out next time,” implies that the speaker who was treated to lunch has a sense of indebtedness and feels the need for reciprocation to the hearer who paid for lunch. Coulmas argued that indebtedness can lead to both gratitude and regret, therefore thanking and apology are related. The felicity conditions of apology are summarized as follows, in Table 3.2:

Table 3.2: Felicity Conditions of Apology (Coulmas, 1981)

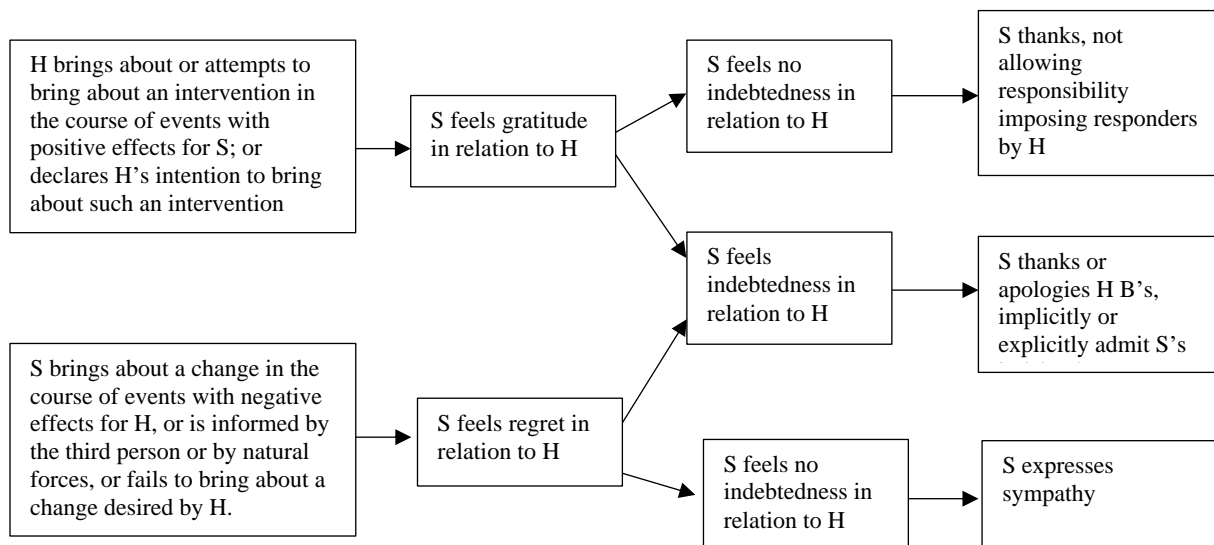
Propositional content	Past act A done by S
Preparatory	A damaged, annoyed, or inconvenienced H and S believes A damaged, annoyed, or inconvenienced H.
Sincerity	S regrets A.
Essential	Counts as an expression of regret

Note: S refers to speaker, H refers to hearer, and A refers to act.

Apology is based on a past act performed by the speaker (Propositional content), which the speaker believes to have caused damage, annoyance, or inconvenience to the hearer (Preparatory). The speaker regrets the action (Sincerity) and makes a statement which counts as an expression of regret (Essential).

Thanking and apology may overlap when the speaker is indebted and tries to re-construct or maintain politeness between interlocutors. Thanking conveys a speaker's indebtedness as a recipient of a benefit, whereas apology expresses the speaker's indebtedness for having performed a detrimental action to the hearer. Coulmas illustrated the relationship between gratitude and apology as follows (Figure 3.1):

Figure 3.1: The Relationship between Gratitude and Apology



Note: S and H represent speaker and hearer, respectively.

Adapted from Coulmas (1981, p. 80)

Although this relationship between gratitude and apology may exist in any language, it is linguistically visible in Japanese. The next section presents how thanking is performed in Japanese.

3.4 Thanking in Japanese

Nakata (1989) proposed felicity conditions for Japanese thanking as follows:

Table 3.3: Felicity Conditions for Gratitude in Japanese

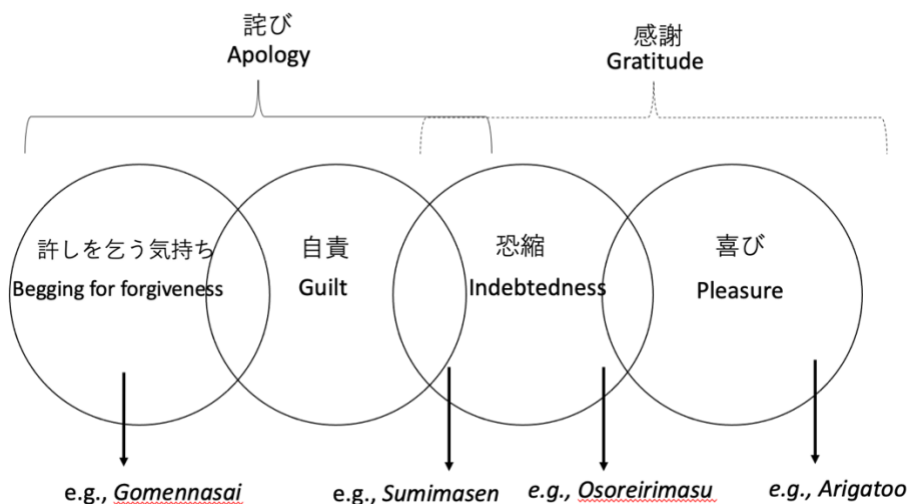
Propositional content	Past act A done by H
Preparatory	A benefits S and S believes A benefits S (and/or) A has a negative effect on H and S believes A has a negative effect on H.
Sincerity	S feels grateful or appreciative for A (and/or) S feels regretful or sorrowful for A.
Essential	S expresses gratitude or appreciation for A (and/or) S expresses sorrow or regret for A.

Note: S refers to speaker, H refers to hearer, and A refers to act.

We see that the felicity conditions of Japanese thanking contain both aspects of thanking and apology. Goffman (1971) described apologies as gestures “through which an individual splits himself into two parts, the part that is guilty of an offence and the part that dissociates itself from the delict and affirms a belief in the offended rule” (113). When the situation violates a social rule, blaming oneself and extending an apology is an important part of repair. Because violation of a social rule causes loss of face in Japan, where maintenance of face is a central value, apologies signal the speaker’s willingness to conform to social rules (Coulmas, 1981). Hence, in Japan, apologies are observed on occasions where there is no serious or real offense.

Sakuma (1983) paid attention to the speaker/beneficiary’s feelings about a received favor as a factor in the occurrence of apology expressions for Japanese thanking. Figure 3.2 is adapted from Sakuma (1983).

Figure 3.2: Apology and Gratitude in Relation to the Speaker’s Feelings



Adapted from Sakuma (1983). English translations by the author

Starting from the right side of the figure, we see the concept of 感謝 *kansha* ‘gratitude’ under the dotted, horizontal, and angle bracket. Gratitude may invoke feelings of 喜び *yorokobi* ‘pleasure’, 恐縮 *kyooshuku* ‘indebtedness’, and/or 自責 *jiseki* ‘guilt.’ Depending on what emotion a speaker/beneficiary feels from the received favor, the speaker selects a different gratitude expression. Example expressions are presented at the bottom of the figure. If the beneficiary feels complete pleasure, a strong gratitude expression may occur such as *arigatoo* ‘thank you’. When gratitude co-occurs with a feeling of indebtedness, an apology expression such as *osoreimasu* ‘sorry’ is selected. If the feeling is more towards guilt, a more apologetic expression could occur such as *sumimasen*. The concept of apology is depicted below the word 詫び *wabi* ‘Apology’ under the solid, horizontal, and angle bracket. Apology may invoke feelings of 自責 *jiseki* ‘guilt’ and 許しを乞う気持ち *yurushi o kou kimochi* ‘begging for forgiveness.’ There is space in the figure where gratitude and apology overlap, and a speaker feels indebtedness and/or guilt. This is where the speaker would choose an apology-based expression for thanking such as *sumimasen* ‘I’m sorry’. There is also a space where *yorokobi* ‘pleasure’ and *kyooshuku* ‘indebtedness’ overlap, indicating that there is a mixture of the two feelings, therefore gratitude and apology expressions can be mixed.

Kyooshuku in Sakuma’s illustration is usually translated as indebtedness in English. Greenberg (1980) defined indebtedness as “a state of obligation to repay another” (4). Cultural psychologists, who consider some emotions to be socially formed phenomena, regard indebtedness as a culturally evoked emotion rather than an individual phenomenon (e.g., Eid & Diener, 2009; Kitayama et al., 2004; Mesquita, 2007). Psychologists have found that the degree to which indebtedness is felt varies across cultures. Japanese people tend to feel indebtedness more strongly than American people in response to the same situations (Hitokoto, 2016;

Hitokoto et al., 2008; Kitayama et al., 2006; Naito et al., 2005). How indebtedness is appraised also has cultural variation. North Americans generally focus on the beneficiary's benefits while Japanese focus on the benefactor's costs. Hitokoto et al. (2008) collected North American and Japanese participants' recollections of situations, in which they received help from others. Then, their participants answered a questionnaire on a Likert scale regarding their reactions to their experiences. The questionnaire included the benefit the participant gained from the aid, the cost the benefactor incurred to provide the aid, and the benefit to the benefactor from providing the aid. They found that when feeling indebtedness, Americans focused more on the beneficiary's benefits (what benefits the benefactor has provided to the beneficiary) than the benefactor's cost. On the other hand, to Japanese, the benefactor's costs (what cost one might have incurred to the benefactor) were more important. Consequently, when they were helped, Japanese participants reported more negative feelings (e.g., sorry, ashamed, and regretful) than American participants.

When Japanese people feel indebted, they assess the benefactor's costs based on various sociocultural factors, including hierarchy, social distance, expectedness, the initiator of a favor, and the size of a favor (Coulmas, 1981; Hitokoto, 2016; Kumatoridani, 1999; Miyake, 1993; Okamoto, 1991; Rambukpitiya, 2014). Japanese tend to feel more indebted if the favor is done by a socially higher person such as a teacher or a boss (Rambukpitiya, 2014). Even if there is no obvious hierarchical relationship between the interlocutors, they tend to feel more indebted if the favor is done by a socially distant person rather than by a socially intimate person (Hitokoto, 2016; Miyake, 1993; Okamoto, 1991). Whether or not the favor is socially expected also affects the sense of indebtedness (Kumatoridani, 1999). For example, Japanese tend to feel more indebted if a stranger helps them with directions at an unfamiliar train station. In contrast, they tend to feel less or not indebted if the station staff helps passengers with directions, because it is

expected to be part of the station staff's duties. Who initiates a favor also influences indebtedness (Coulmas, 1981). The sense of indebtedness tends to be higher if a beneficiary asks for a favor than if a benefactor voluntarily offers help or gives a gift. Indebtedness tends to be higher when the favor is more significant (Okamoto, 1991). Japanese speakers consider these sociocultural factors and evaluate the extent of indebtedness to decide on appropriate thanking expressions.

As stated above, the speaker/beneficiary's personal feelings regarding a received favor and various sociocultural factors are important to perform thanking. Furthermore, Kumatoridani (1999) proposed a politeness strategy, which he called an *empathy operation*, for using apology expressions in thanking. An episode that triggers thanking is a pleasing event for the speaker/beneficiary, leading to a thanking situation. On the other hand, the same event might be offensive to the hearer/benefactor, prompting the speaker to extend an apology. Kumatoridani called the former event a PS (pleasing-to-speaker) event and the latter event an OH (offensive-to-hearer) event. The empathy operation works to prompt the speaker to see a PS event from the hearer's point of view. He formulated a shift in the focus of evaluation as follows. H, A and S stand for the hearer, the action, and the speaker.

(H did A to S) = PS event
 ↓
 S caused (H did A to S)
 ↓
 S did (H did A to S) to H
 ↓
 (S did A' to H) = OH event

A PS event is described as (H did A to S) because a hearer took an action impacting a speaker and pleasing the speaker. The same event can be an OH event, (S did A' to H), if seen from the hearer's perspective. In the OH event, the speaker is the causer of the event, and therefore needs

to extend an apology to the hearer. Suppose that a speaker asks a hearer to help them move to a new place, and the hearer agrees. It is a PS event for the speaker, because the speaker benefits from the hearer's help. However, if seeing this same event from the hearer's perspective, it can be an OH event. The hearer might experience inconvenience by helping the speaker, such as cancelling other plans, delaying their work, or spending extra money to help. Because the speaker imposes an OH event on the hearer, the speaker owes an apology. This empathy operation shows the speaker's ability to see an event from the hearer's point of view and acknowledges inconvenience the hearer has experienced by providing a favor to the speaker. Therefore, an empathy operation is a strategy to show politeness, humbleness, deference, and/or care.

The empathy operation does not apply under two conditions. One is when thanking is extended in response to "affective speech acts" (Kumatoridani, 1999, p. 11), which show the speaker's psychological state concerning the action or state the addressee is involved in. Examples of affective speech acts are congratulating, giving condolences, complimenting, and giving encouragement. When responding to these affective speech acts, the empathy operation does not apply, and an apology expression does not occur. The other condition is when there is a role relationship between the interlocutors. Kumatoridani defines the role as "the position a person fills in a society" (634). For example, a role relationship between clerks and customers is generally considered to be that clerks provide a service or commodity, and customers pay for it. When a clerk receives money from a customer, they normally say *arigatoo-gozaimasu* 'thank you.' Then the customer may also say *arigatoo-gozaimasu* in return. In this case, the use of *sumimasen* 'I'm sorry' sounds overly apologetic.

So far, we have examined occurrence of gratitude and apology expressions in Japanese thanking. Now, I shift our focus to linguistic variables involved in thanking. The linguistic variables related to thanking can be classified into three categories: common expressions, gratitude elaboration strategies, and emotion expressions. Common expressions refer to a head act or the nucleus of a thanking sequence, which constitutes thanking independently. Common expressions can be categorized into gratitude-based, apology-based, and other formulaic expressions. All three categories appear frequently in Japanese thanking (Chin, 2002; Clancy, 1986; Coulmas, 1981; Ichihara, 2016), and can also be mixed (Li, 2014). Examples of the three categories are shown in Table 3.4.

Table 3.4: Three Categories of Common Expressions and Examples

Categories of common expressions	Examples
Gratitude-based common expressions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Arigatoo</i> 'Thank you' • <i>Arigatoo-gozaimasu</i> 'Thank you-polite' • <i>Arigatoo-gozaimashita</i> 'Thank you-polite-past' • <i>Sankyuu</i> 'Thank you-casual'
Apology-based common expressions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Sumimasen</i> 'Sorry' • <i>Kyooshuku desu</i> 'Sorry to trouble you' • <i>Mooshiwake nai desu/ Mooshiwake arimasen</i> ' 'I feel bad-polite' • <i>Warui ne</i> 'I feel bad-casual' • <i>Gomen</i> 'Sorry-casual'
Other formulaic expressions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Doomo</i> 'Thank you' • <i>Gochisoo-sama deshita</i> 'Thank you for the meal' • <i>Osewa ni narimashita</i> 'Thank you for taking care of me.' • <i>Otsukare-sama deshita</i> 'Thank you for your work' • <i>Gokuroo-sama</i> 'Thank you for your work-casual'

Common expressions are usually followed by elaborating expressions (Eisenstein & Bodman, 1986). Table 3.5 shows examples of Japanese gratitude-elaboration strategies found in previous research (Akahori, 1995; Coulmas, 1981; Li, 2014). This is not an exhaustive list, but includes expressions that repeatedly appear in previous research.

Table 3.5: Summary of Gratitude Elaboration Strategies

Gratitude elaboration strategies		Examples
1. Positive feeling	Surprise/admiration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Iyaa</i> (interjection) • <i>Uwaa</i> (interjection)
	Expressions of pleasure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Ureshii na</i> 'I'm so glad.' • <i>Kangeki desu</i> 'I'm grateful.'
2. Complimenting	Person	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Sasuga!</i> 'I can always count on you!'
	Action/object	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Totemo kirei desu.</i> '(This is) very pretty.'
3. Recognition of imposition	Acknowledging that the hearer experienced inconvenience	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Kore taihen datta deshoo?</i> 'This must have been a lot of trouble, wasn't it?'
	Mentioning that the hearer's act was beyond expectation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Ki o tsukawanakute mo yokatta noni.</i> 'You shouldn't have troubled yourself with this.'
4. Recognition of benefits	Acknowledging that the hearer brought a benefit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Okage de maniatta yo</i> 'Thanks to you, things have worked out.'
	Mentioning use of the benefit in the future	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Zehi sankoo ni sasete itadakimasu</i> 'I will be sure to put this to good use.'
5. Mentioning that the outcome would not have been realized without the act of the hearer		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>XX inakattara maniawanakatta yo.</i> 'Things would not have worked out if not for XX.'
6. Promising reciprocation		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Chikazika ogoru kara</i> 'I will treat you sometime soon.'
7. Mentioning that you have no words to describe your gratitude		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Nante iuka...</i> 'I don't know what to say...'
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Nanto orei o moushiagetara...</i> 'I don't know how I could ever repay you...'

Different thanking strategies are selected depending on the situation. Akahori (1995) reported that thanking tends to be longer, with more elaborating strategies, when the favor or imposition was larger, and when thanking took place in formal situations. Eisenstein and Bodman (1986) found that expressions of surprise and complimenting are rarely observed in formal settings.

Although thanking is an expressive speech act and conveys an emotional attitude (Leech, 1983; Searle, 1969; vanEk, 1977), a mismatch of emotion with a particular speech act is a violation of sincerity conditions (Austin, 1962). In thanking, emotion expressions are not fixed, but rather are fluid, depending on situations, interlocutors, and desired outcomes. Eisenstein and Bodman (1986) reported that emotional expressions are more reserved when thanking a boss for a promotion. In a scenario in which a new employee was given a salary increase by the vice president, L1 English speakers intentionally responded with fewer expressions of their emotions. Their participants reported that they would not want their boss to think they did not deserve a raise by being overly grateful. In contrast, the same participants were willing to express their feelings freely when receiving a gift from a friend.

Further, the way emotions are linguistically displayed varies across languages. To the best of my knowledge, there is no research investigating linguistic variables for expressing emotions in Japanese thanking. However, Baba (2002) explored the use of linguistic affect in indirect complaints and found that the way in which Japanese speakers intensify emotional expressions is different from American speakers. In Baba's (2002) study, American and Japanese participants viewed the same comic strip and orally narrated the story. The comic strip was about a college student being harassed by teenagers on the way to class, who missed a test as a result. Baba found a difference between the two groups in their use of lexical items to label emotions. Japanese participants mostly used strengtheners, interjections, and mimetics, while American

participants used lexicon, especially blame words, more frequently. Her findings also showed a difference between the two groups in the use of inversion (e.g., *Halfway there I realized that...* in English; *Mite kore* ‘Look at this’ in Japanese) and weakeners (*kind of* in English; *nanka* ‘somewhat’ in Japanese). Japanese participants used inversion to get attention or to accompany emotion words, while American participants used it to highlight an important aspect and make the story interesting. For weakeners, Japanese participants used them to mitigate aggressiveness while American students used them to intensify it. Baba’s findings show that speech acts could be accompanied by certain emotional tones that are expressed through cultural norms. Knowing the way linguistic affect is used in the target culture could benefit L2 learners to build better interpersonal communication in their L2.

3.5 Materialization of the Concepts

Grounded on the previous research mentioned above, I developed materials to teach a unit on thanking. The rest of this chapter presents how I materialized the concepts and designed SCOBAs. *Arigatoo-gozaimasu* ‘thank you’ is one of the first expressions L2 Japanese learners learn in the first-year Japanese classroom. In *Genki I* (Banno et al., 2020), a first-year textbook widely used in the U.S., different functions of *sumimasen* ‘I’m sorry’, including showing appreciation, are introduced in Expression Notes (33); however, *sumimasen* for thanking does not appear in the textbook dialogues and is not emphasized during classroom practice until third-year Japanese. As a language instructor, I have noticed that students rarely use *sumimasen* in thanking, even after having practiced it in the classroom. Hence, I conducted an exploratory survey in my third-year Japanese class to understand how students use thanking expressions in L2 Japanese. I created a mini-DCT (discourse completion task), with five hypothetical scenarios,

with different degrees of favor, and with different kinds of relationships. In class, students read the thanking scenarios in English and wrote what they would say in Japanese. Results confirmed students' strong preference for gratitude-based thanking over apology-based thanking.

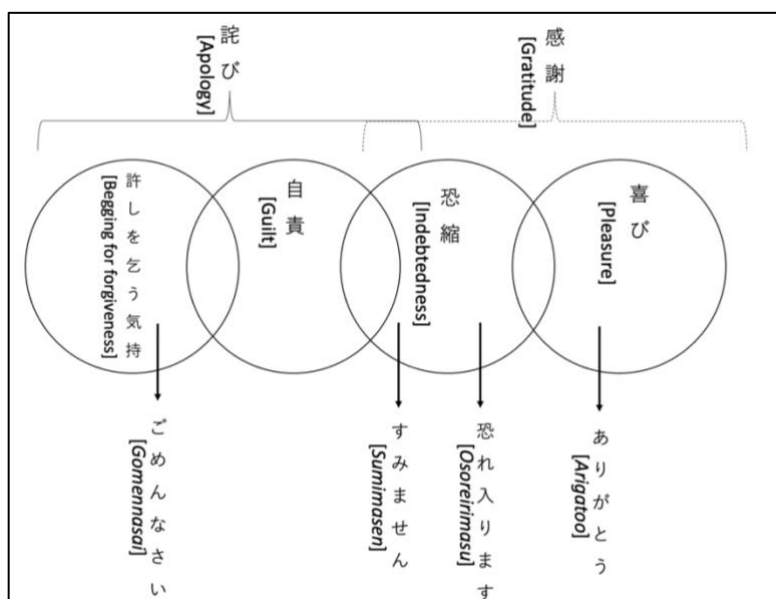
Additionally, I found students lacked skills in elaborating their gratitude in a way that would be appropriate in the different scenarios. As explained earlier in this chapter, indebtedness tends to be higher when a person of a socially higher rank does a favor, when the size of a favor is large, or when the speaker asks for a favor. When indebtedness is higher, thanking tends to be longer and more elaborated. However, students' responses did not distinguish among different sociocultural factors. Similarly, a lack of linguistic expressions to highlight emotions was also observed among students' responses.

I developed SCOBAs to teach concepts of thanking in Japanese. My exploratory survey results, combined with the information from Japanese linguistics research, show that students need to know: (1) that gratitude and apology lay on the same continuum, (2) what prompts indebtedness, and consequently the choice of apology-based thanking, (3) the empathy operation as a politeness strategy, (4) gratitude elaboration strategies appropriate in different situations, and (5) linguistic expressions for showing one's emotions to highlight gratitude. I created multiple SCOBAs. Next, I tested the material in a laboratory study, namely Study 1. Then, I presented my instructional design at a conference and received feedback from other scholars. Reflecting on both my Study 1 findings and the feedback from other scholars, I then revised the material for the second study, Study 2. In the following sections, I introduce the development and revision of each SCOBAs. The original SCOBAs designed for Study 1 are labeled with numbers (e.g., SCOBAs 1, SCOBAs 2, and SCOBAs 3), and the revised SCOBAs for Study 2 are labeled in upper-case letters (e.g., SCOBAs A, SCOBAs B, and SCOBAs C).

3.5.1 Concept 1: The Relationship between Apology and Gratitude in Japanese

For the concept representing the relationship between apology and gratitude existing on the same continuum, I used Sakuma's (1983) diagram (See Figure 3.2) and presented it as SCOBA 1. Figure 3.3 re-introduces Sakuma's figure, adapted here with English translations that were not used in class.

Figure 3.3: SCOBA 1

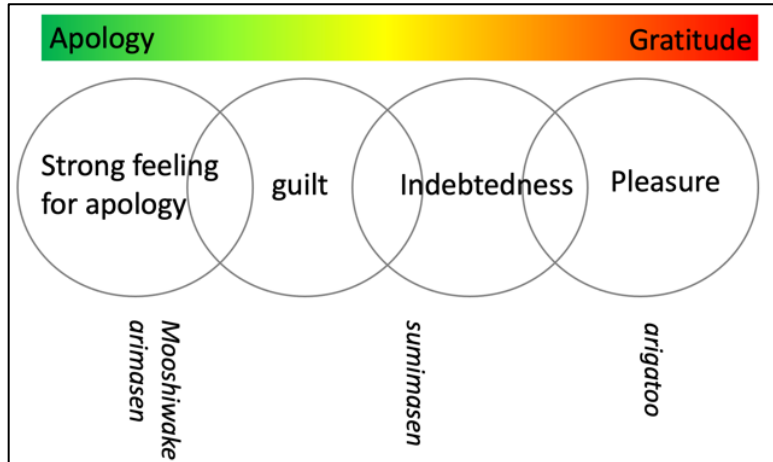


The Japanese words in Figure 3.3 are read vertically, not horizontally as shown in Figure 3.2.

3.5.2 Revising SCOBA 1

When I used this figure in Study 1, the concepts seemed clear to students, yet they had difficulty deciphering and remembering the Japanese vocabulary, nearly all of which was new to them. Because students had difficulty following SCOBA 1 in the laboratory study, I used English only in the revised material for Study 2. Figure 3.4 shows the revised SCOBA.

Figure 3.4: SCOBA A

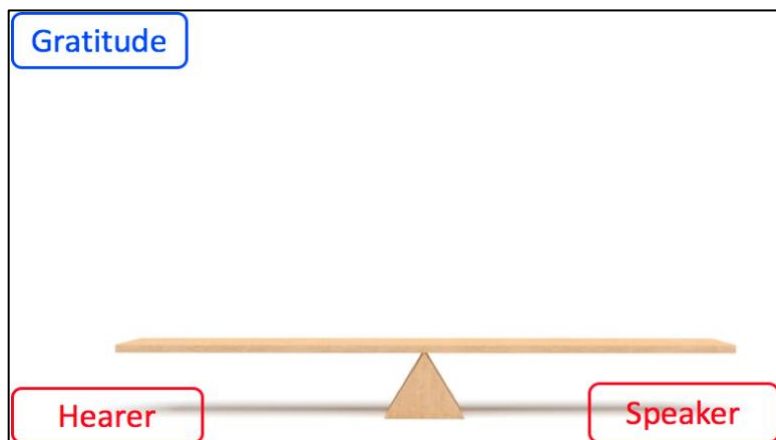


Additionally, I placed apology and gratitude on a continuum, in color from green (apology) to red (gratitude), rather than using brackets. That is, the colors emphasize that apology and gratitude lay on the same continuum.

3.5.3 Concept 2: Assessment of Indebtedness and Choice of Thanking Expressions

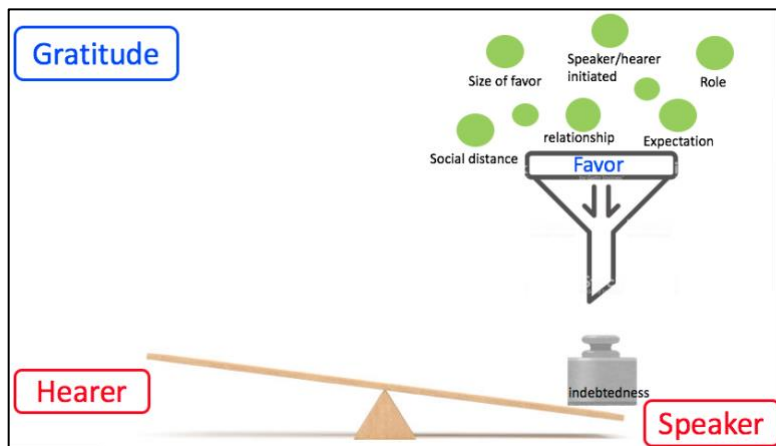
Next, I conceptualized indebtedness in Japanese and how indebtedness prompts the beneficiary to choose gratitude-based expressions, apology-based expressions, or both. I created a sequence of four illustrations to materialize this concept. For SCOBA 2's Illustration 1 in Figure 3.5, I first used a seesaw to represent the state of a social relationship between two persons, a hearer and a speaker.

Figure 3.5: SCOBA 2 Illustration 1



“Hearer” refers to the benefactor who provides a favor, while “Speaker” refers to the beneficiary who benefits from the favor. Before a favor occurs, the social relationship between the two is equal, and there is no indebtedness between the two. By receiving a favor, the balance of the seesaw/relationship shifts, and indebtedness occurs. SCOBA 2’s Illustration 2, Figure 3.6, shows this shift, presenting various sociocultural factors that prompt indebtedness.

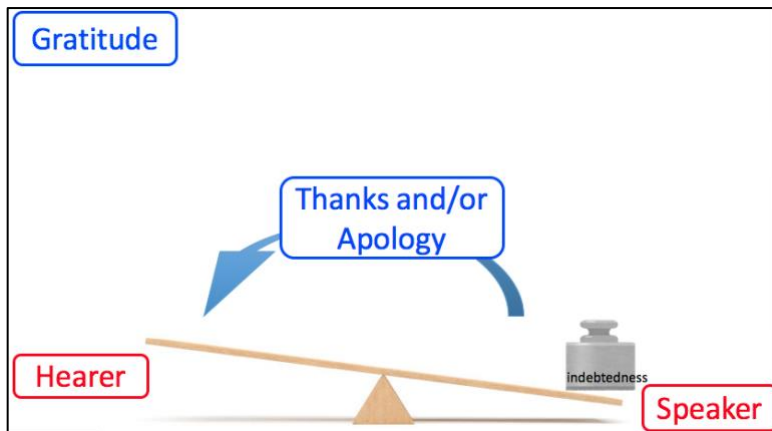
Figure 3.6: SCOBA 2 Illustration 2



The speaker in SCOBA 2 considers various sociocultural factors represented as the green balls in the figure (e.g., social distance, size of favor, and social expectations), and assesses the level of

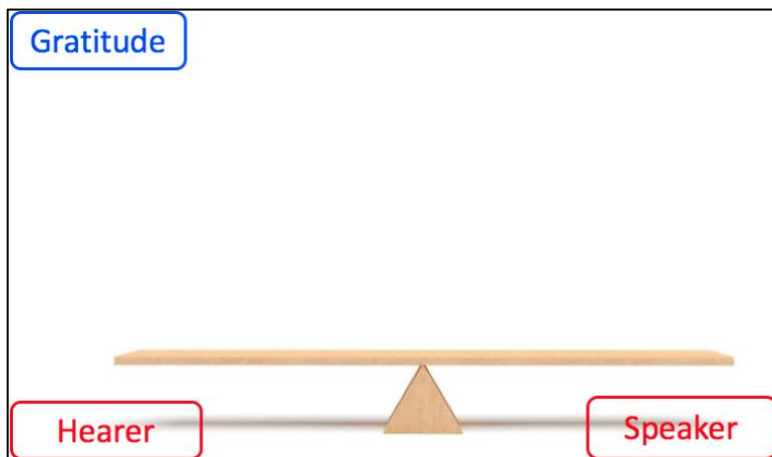
indebtedness. SCOPA 2, Illustration 3 shows how the speaker considers whether gratitude- or apology-based thanking (or both) would be appropriate. This is shown in Figure 3.7

Figure 3.7: SCOPA 2 Illustration 3



The last illustration of the sequence, SCOPA 2, Illustration 4, represents the perlocutionary effect of expressing gratitude, where the balance of the seesaw is restored. See Figure 3.8.

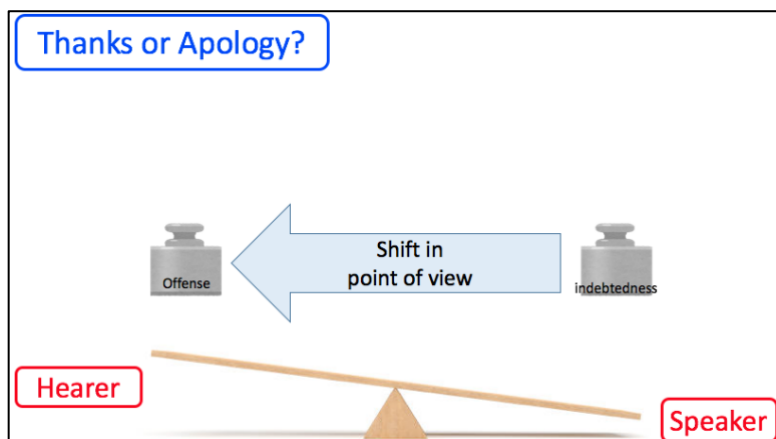
Figure 3.8: SCOPA 2 Illustration 4



3.5.4 Concept 3: Using an Empathy Operation as a Politeness Strategy

Next, I developed SCOBA 3 to introduce the empathy operation proposed by Kumatoridani (1990). Using an empathy operation, the speaker can highlight politeness. SCOBA 3 is shown in Figure 3.9.

Figure 3.9: SCOBA 3



Here, the speaker/beneficiary examines the received act from the hearer/benefactor's point of view and recognizes any possible inconvenience the hearer may have experienced. Due to this empathy operation, the speaker depicted here chooses to use apology expressions for thanking. As an apology shows the speaker's effort to see the situation from the other/benefactor's point of view, it is regarded as considerate, polite, humble, and thoughtful (Kumatoridani, 1990; Sirirut, 2011). This is a good place to explain to students why *sumimsen* can be used even for a small favor, such as receiving a cup of tea.

3.5.5 Revising SCOBAs 2 and 3: Integrating Concepts 1, 2 and 3 into One SCOBA

In Study 1, I first introduced SCOBA 1 to show the relationship between thanking and apology. I then presented SCOBA 2 to prompt students to consider sociocultural factors and

assess the size of indebtedness, in order to select appropriate thanking expressions. I then showed SCOBA 3 to introduce the empathy operation as a politeness strategy. Although students did not have problems understanding each SCOBA, they had trouble making connections between these SCOBAs. Specifically, it was not clear to students how SCOBAs 1 and 2 were linked, namely how the speaker's emotions should be considered in relation to the sociocultural factors. Students also had trouble using the empathy operation, because they were not sure where it fit into the sequence of the process depicted in SCOBA 2. I needed to make these points clearer for Study 2.

In addition to the students' reactions to the Study 1 material, I also received valuable feedback from other scholars when I presented the instructional unit and the results of Study 1 at a conference. The audience pointed out that Americans would probably not see reciprocity in the same way as Japanese people do. For example, Americans would not necessarily feel the need to reciprocate after receiving a gift, while Japanese people would likely do so. The audience feedback prompted me to consider the concept of reciprocity further.

Gouldner (1960) was the first sociologist to hypothesize that a norm of reciprocity is a cultural universal. He explained reciprocity as "a mutually gratifying pattern of exchanging goods and services. ... There is a generalized moral norm of reciprocity which defines certain actions and obligations as repayments for benefits received" (171). Gouldner argues that reciprocity yields social stability in groups and supports interpersonal relationships. As the conference audience pointed out, research reported cross-cultural differences in reciprocity. Compared to North Americans, Asians are less willing to accept a gift when they cannot reciprocate. In Shen et al. (2011), when offered a free soup sample at a supermarket, Hong Kong participants were less willing to taste it than Canadian participants. Hong Kong participants

reported that they would lose face if they did not buy the soup after tasting the sample. Shen et al. accounted that Hong Kong participants avoided losing face, rather than appreciating the offer.

Ways of reciprocating also vary among cultures. There are many anecdotes in which L2 learners of Japanese were perplexed about reciprocity in Japanese culture. For example, Bunkachoo Bunkabu Kokugoka (as cited in Fujimoto, 2011) introduces an episode where an L2 Japanese learner from China shared hand-made sesame balls with her Japanese friends. The next day, one of her friends brought her a confectionary in return. This incident upset the Chinese student. In her culture, although reciprocation is also important, quick reciprocation may indicate the beneficiary's desire to terminate the relationship (Zhao, 2019). Therefore, returning a favor too soon after receiving a gift is inappropriate. On the other hand, quick reciprocation is considered ideal in Japanese culture. In Japan, reciprocity is associated with the debt-credit equilibrium, in which a favor puts a beneficiary into debt in the social relationship and prompts them to repay as soon as possible (Fujimoto, 2011; Lebra, 1969). These anecdotes suggest that although reciprocity exists universally, it is performed differently in different cultures.

To understand reciprocity in Japanese society, Lebra (1969) paid attention to the notion of Japanese *on*. Lebra defines *on* as:

... a favor granted by A to B and to a resultant debt B owes to A. An *on* must be accepted with gratitude since it is an evidence of the giver's benevolence or generosity; at the same time it must be carried as a burden because the *on*, once granted, makes the receiver a debtor and compels him to repay... The *on* can thus be defined in the language of reciprocity such as debt and repayment (130).

Originally, *on* was granted by a master in the form of reward, stipend, or land, and the burden of repayment fell on the subordinate's shoulders. In return, the subordinate fulfilled the obligation of loyalty to the master. Hence, while offering *on* is a matter of choice, repaying *on* is obligatory.

Although this strong connection between a master and a subordinate is no longer obvious in

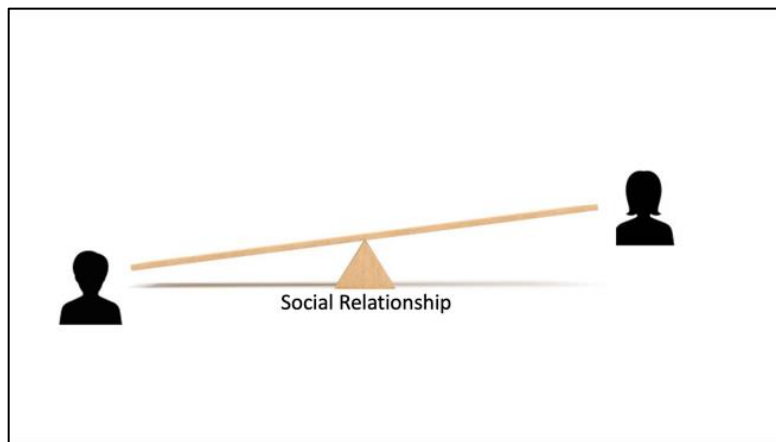
today's Japan, the notion of *on*-reciprocity still permeates Japanese culture and occurs regardless of social hierarchy. As a matter of fact, one can find many expressions relating to *on* in daily conversation. Examples are *on ni kiru* 'lit., to wear (your) *on*; to be indebted (to you)', *on o kaesu* 'lit., to return *on*; 'to reciprocate', and *on o uru* 'lit., to sell *on*; to indebt (someone).' These *on*-related idioms refer "disproportionately more to the debtor's obligation than to the creditor's benevolence" (Lebra 1969: 131), and Japanese present themselves "as bounded by obligations and duties rather than as motivated by rights and choice" (132).

Building on Lebra, Ohashi (2008a, 2008b, 2010, 2013) focused on *rei*, the act of returning *on*. *Rei* is a way "to manage the social debt/credit between individuals in specific situations" (Ohashi, 2008a: 80). Dictionaries define *rei* as 'words, gift, or money gift with which one expresses gratitude', 'expressions of respect' or 'bowing' (cited in Ohashi 2008a: 80). *Rei* can be an action (*rei o suru* 'to do *rei*'). Typically, people do *rei* by giving a gift, bowing, or providing help. *Rei* can also be verbal expressions of gratitude (*rei o iu* 'to say *rei*'), namely the speech act of thanking. Thus, the speech act of thanking is "a verbal symbolic repayment of debt" (Ohashi, 2008b: 2152). Ohashi claimed that the speech act of thanking is achieved by extending *rei* and managing the debt-credit equilibrium between individuals. "In Japanese *o-rei*, the beneficiary insists on reciprocal obligation by acknowledging benefit/debt, and symbolically repays in thanking and/or apology formulae, and debt-sensitive speech formulae" (Ohashi, 2010:187). Ohashi noted that the goal of social relationships is not to pay off the debt and make the equilibrium in balance. Instead, exchanges of reciprocity are expected in the future, therefore, *rei* suggests an individual's willingness to maintain the relationship.

Thus, for Study 2, I highlighted the notion of reciprocity. In addition, reflecting on the students' reactions from Study 1, I revised the SCOBAs to make the connections between each

SCOBA more explicit. Specifically, I integrated SCOBA 1 and 3 into SCOBA 2, presented as SCOBA B. First, I changed the balanced seesaw in SCOBA 2 Illustration 1 (see Figure 3.5) to an imbalanced seesaw, shown in SCOBA B Illustration 1. See Figure 3.10.

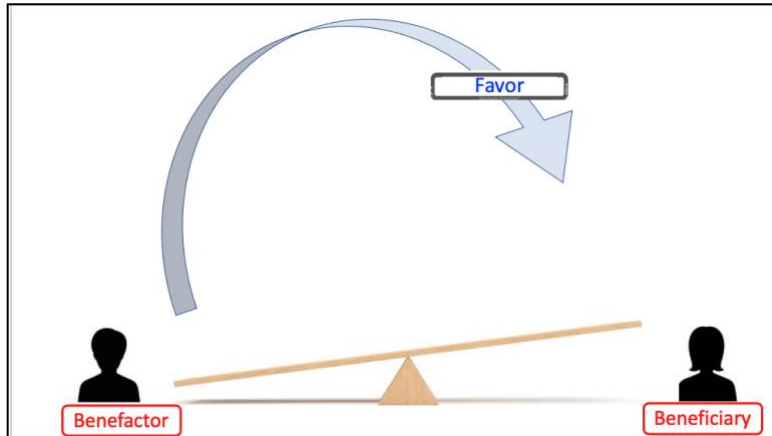
Figure 3.10: SCOBA B Illustration 1



SCOBA B starts with an imbalanced seesaw, representing an on-going social relationship between two individuals. This is to introduce the idea of reciprocity in Japanese culture, and that an imbalanced seesaw is usually an ideal state of the relationship (Lebra, 1976; Ohashi, 2008a; Schwartz, 1967). Being imbalanced represents that one is indebted to the other, suggesting that the indebted one ought to reciprocate.

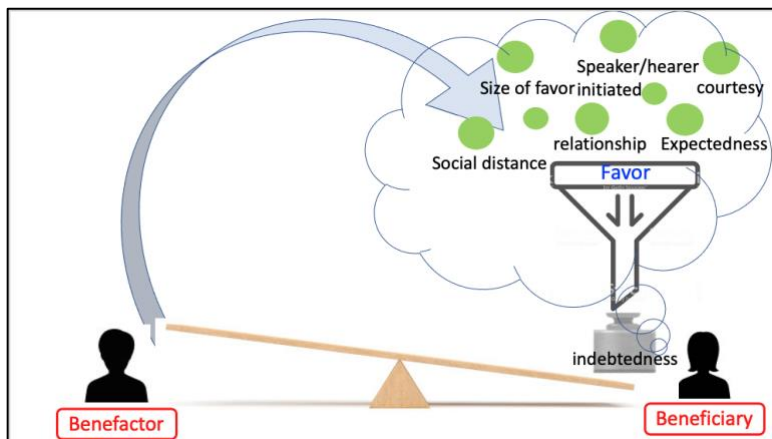
Next, I added SCOBA B Illustration 2, shown in Figure 3.11, to illustrate that the benefactor offers a favor and changes the balance of the seesaw. I also changed the wording *speaker/hearer* to *beneficiary/benefactor* in this SCOBA to clarify the interlocutors' positions.

Figure 3.11: SCOBA B Illustration 2



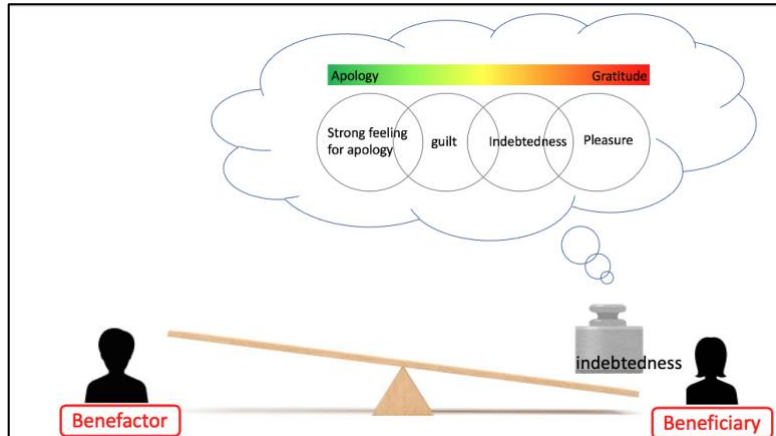
Then, in SCOBA B Illustration 3, the beneficiary considers multiple sociocultural factors to gauge indebtedness. See Figure 3.12.

Figure 3.12: SCOBA B Illustration 3



I then integrated SCOBA A (Figure 3.4) to create SCOBA B Illustration 4. Students had already learned SCOBA A, but here they see how the speaker considers their feelings in connection with SCOBA B. See Figure 3.13.

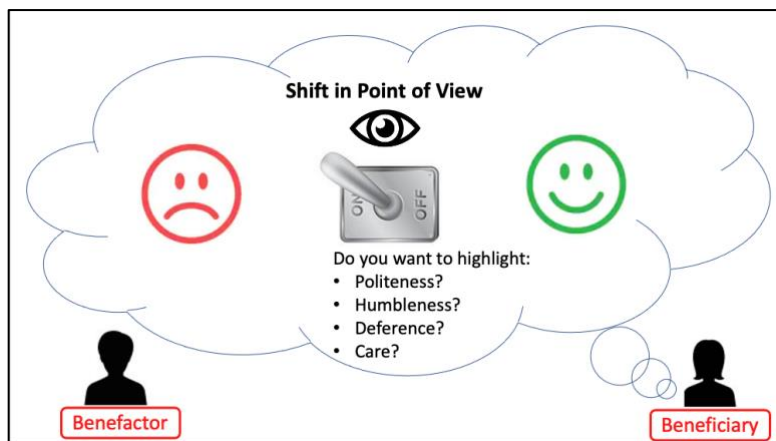
Figure 3.13: SCOBA B Illustration 4



Even if the sociocultural factors indicate indebtedness, the speaker can choose gratitude-based thanking when they feel strong pleasure about the received favor. Conversely, even if the speaker feels pleasure, they may rather choose apology-based thanking (or both) when the sociocultural factors indicate a strong sense of indebtedness. Thus, here the speaker weighs the sociocultural factors and their personal feelings.

I also integrated the concept of empathy operation from SCOBA 3 (Figure 3.9), into this sequence, as SCOBA B Illustration 5, presented in Figure 3.14.

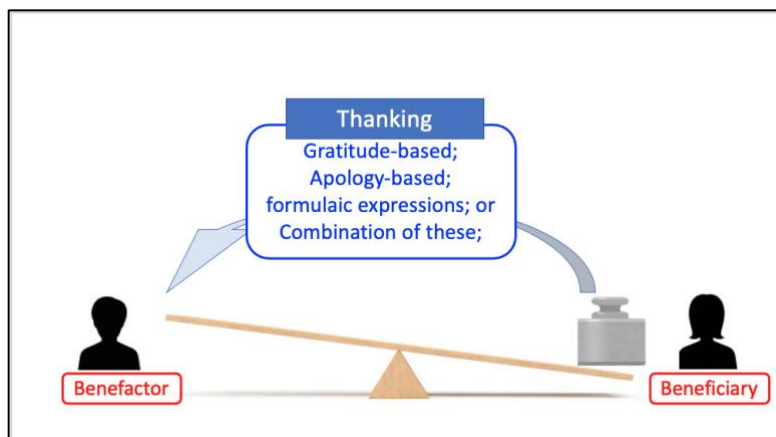
Figure 3.14: SCOBA B Illustration 5



I also made changes to the illustration. First, I took the seesaw away from the illustration because the empathy operation has nothing to do with indebtedness. Second, I changed the two weights representing offense and indebtedness to sad and smiley faces, because the speaker is trying to show empathy with the hearer's feelings, rather than the weight of offense. Third, I replaced the arrow with a switch. The arrow may confuse students that something moves from the speaker to the hearer. The switch with an eye in the revised SCOBA shows that when the empathy operation is 'on,' the beneficiary sees the situation from the benefactor's point of view. Fourth, I added text in the center of SCOBA to remind students when to use the empathy operation.

Finally, I presented SCOBA B Illustration 6, in Figure 3.15, to show that the beneficiary is paying off the indebtedness by thanking. To connect with the next SCOBA, which I will show in the next section, I added three categories of common expressions to this SCOBA.

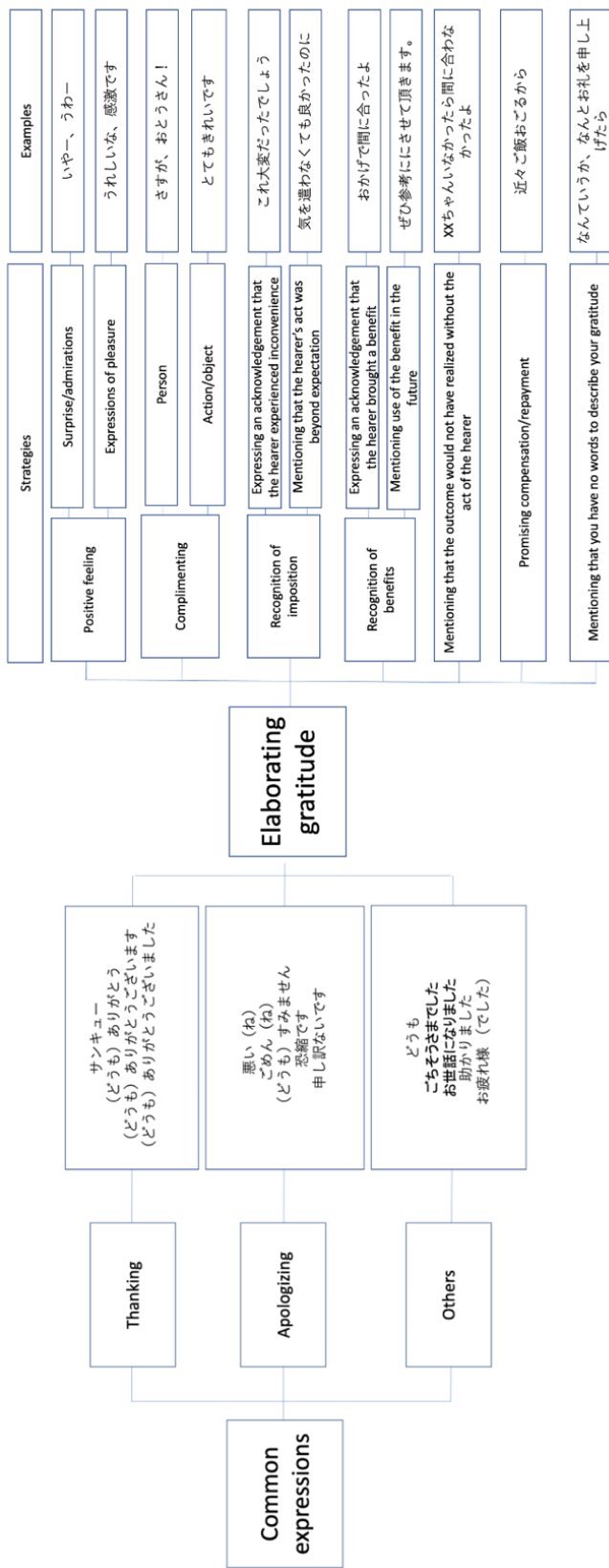
Figure 3.15: SCOBA B Illustration 6



3.5.6 Concept 4: Gratitude-elaboration Strategies

Next, C-BLI needs to guide students in connecting the target sociopragmatic concepts toward development of their pragmalinguistic abilities. Thus, the unit builds upon the sociopragmatic foundation developed via the first three SCOBAs in Study 1 (two SCOBAs in Study 2) by moving to specific connections between concepts and Japanese language expressions. I designed SCOPA 4 to develop L2 learners' ability to use thanking strategies for elaborating gratitude. The variety of expressions for elaborating gratitude may seem overwhelming. SCOPA 4 works to reduce this complexity by categorizing common expressions and elaborating gratitude strategies in the form of a flow-chart. Figure 3.16 presents SCOPA 4, which was designed for and used in Study 1.

Figure 3.16: SCOBA 4

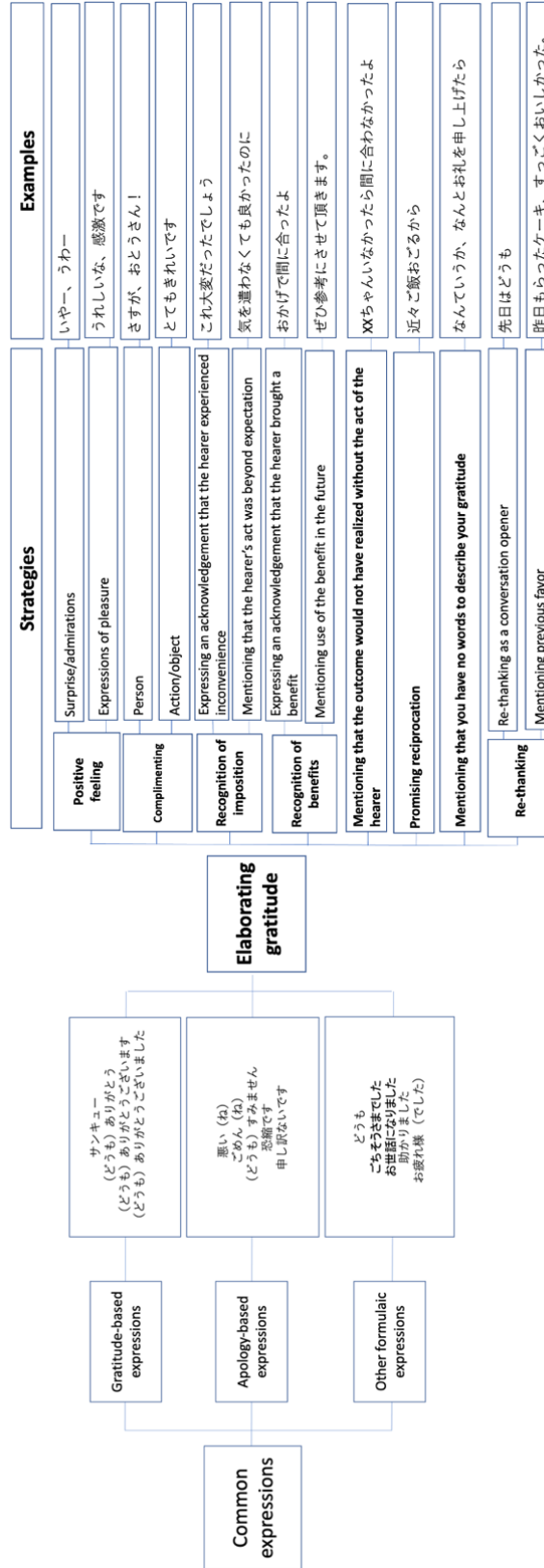


The flow-chart presented in SCOPA 4 starts with common expressions (gratitude-based expressions, apology-based expressions, and other formulaic expressions). The speaker can choose one or more common expressions. While using just one of these expressions would be appropriate for a person who only knows a little Japanese, SCOPA 4 works to lead student development by raising their awareness of how Japanese people elaborate gratitude, providing a wide range of options, with examples shown in the SCOPA. There are seven main categories: positive feelings, complimenting, recognition of imposition, recognition of benefits, mentioning that the outcome would not have happened without the act of the hearer, promising reciprocation, and mentioning that the speaker has no words to describe gratitude. The first four main categories (positive feelings, complimenting, recognition of imposition, and recognition of benefits) have two subcategories for each. In teaching this SCOPA, students are guided to choose one or more strategies for elaborating gratitude, which they choose by reflecting on situations as guided by SCOPAs 1, 2 and 3 (or SCOPAs A and B). Appropriate elaborating strategies need to be selected in accordance with the level of indebtedness and the speaker's emotions. This is important because an inappropriate degree of elaboration may result in sending an unintended signal (Sirirut, 2011). Though, of course, it also is important to convey to students that recipients are usually understanding when L2 speakers don't follow native-speaker norms.

3.5.7 Revising SCOPA 4: Adding Re-thanking to the Elaborating Strategies

Students commented that this SCOPA was most helpful and was most used as they were completing tasks in Study 1. Therefore, I used the same SCOPA for Study 2 with one addition of one strategy, re-thanking. Figure 3.17 shows the revision, SCOPA C, with the addition of re-thanking to the elaborating gratitude strategies at the bottom of the chart.

Figure 3.17: SCOBAC



Re-thanking is a common practice among Japanese when a beneficiary interacts with a benefactor for another time. Example phrases include: *Senjitsu wa doomo (arigatoo)* ‘Thank you for the other day’ and *Konoaida wa gochisoo-sama* ‘Thank you for treating me (to a meal) the other day.’ Ichihara (2016) found that most L1 Japanese speakers reported that they almost always do re-thanking, regardless of social hierarchy, age differences, and the level of intimacy. Ichihara further found that re-thanking is a common conversation opener among Japanese speakers. This can be connected to the notion of reciprocity, in that re-thanking as a conversation opener may signal the continuation of the social relationship between the interlocutors. Re-thanking provides language learners with an easy and effective way of opening conversations with people with whom they have an ongoing relationship, as one can nearly always express gratitude for “the other day,” even if an explicit kindness was not received. Even so, L2 Japanese speakers may misinterpret the function of re-thanking. For example, L1 Chinese speakers perceived Japanese re-thanking as “distant” and “cold” (Li, 2014). Other L2 speakers misinterpreted re-thanking as signaling to get another favor, rather than as a sincere expression of gratitude (Ichihara, 2016). Thus, re-thanking is, both conceptually and discursively, an important component of Japanese thanking, usefully added as a strategy to SCOPA C.









3.5.8 Concept 5: Linguistic Variables for Expressing Emotions to Highlight Gratitude

The last SCOPA, SCOPA 5, is also related to pragmalinguistics, and guides students to incorporate linguistic affect expressions when thanking. Ochs and Schieffelin (1989) categorize linguistic variables of affect into two groups: intensifiers and specifiers. Intensifiers do not have referential meaning but change the intensity of tone of affect. Examples of intensifiers include word order, repetition and empathic particles. Specifiers have referential meaning and convey

nuances of affective orientations (e.g., pleasant surprise, pity, or irritation), without necessarily intensifying level of affect. Examples of specifiers include modal expressions, particles that mark affect, and lexical items. Using Ochs and Schieffelin's categorization, as mentioned in Section 3.4, Baba (2002) identified affect intensifiers and specifiers in L1 Japanese speakers' oral narratives of indirect complaints. Her findings regarding strengtheners, interjections, repetition, emotion words, modal verbs, and mimetics are especially helpful in considering Japanese expressions of gratitude and were included in SCOBA 5, along with examples.

SCOBA 5 is presented in Figure 3.18. Each square in the SCOBA introduces a linguistic category with examples. The bouquet in the lower right corner represents thanking, and each category is illustrated with a different kind of flower. The goal of using this metaphor is to promote the speaker's agency and inform students that it is up to the speaker how to arrange their bouquet of thanking. The speaker can show gratitude, for example, by selecting a single flower, by choosing many flowers of one kind, or by having a variety of flowers in the same bouquet.

Figure 3.18: SCOPA 5

<p>Modal Expressions</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • くれる／もらう • ～てくれる／～てもらう • おかげ • ～てしまう 	<p>Emotion words</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adjectives • Adverbs • Verbs • Nouns 	<p>Mimetics</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ドキ • ウキウキ • メンメン • ガチガチ • ほっと 	<p>Strengtheners</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 本当に • すごい • すっごい • すげー 
<p>Interjection</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • いやー • うわー • もう 	<p>Repetition</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • まことにまことに • すごくすごく • 本当に本当に 	<p>Discourse marker</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ～よ • ～ね 	

SCOBA 5 introduces seven linguistic categories: modal expressions, emotion words, mimetics, strengtheners, interjection, repetition and discourse markers. To present examples familiar to students, the examples are mainly from the students' current and previous textbooks. Although these categories provide representative examples, they are not an exhaustive list. In class, the students went over these examples with thanking episodes provided by the teacher and were encouraged to add examples as they encountered more thanking episodes. In Study 1, students reported that SCOBA 5 was helpful, and students' gratitude expressions collected from tasks also showed an increase in use of emotion expressions. Therefore, I used the same SCOBA without modification for Study 2. In the following, I explain each category.

Modal Expressions. Modal expressions can reflect the speaker's affective attitude toward an event (Baba, 2002; Iwasaki, 1993). The SCOBA introduces four examples of modal expressions that frequently appear in thanking: benefactive verbs (*ageru*, *kureru*, *morau*), benefactive auxiliaries (*-te ageru*, *-te kureru*, *-te morau*), *okage*, and the *-te shimau* form. Each will be explained below.

Benefactive Verbs and Auxiliaries. Japanese benefactive verbs index the speaker's beneficial relationship with the hearer. These verbs are also known as empathy verbs, because the choice of a verb indicates the speaker's empathy toward a particular person in the discourse's viewpoint (Kuno & Kaburaki, 1977; Ohba & Deen, 2020). The benefactive verbs consist of two giving verbs (*ageru* and *kureru*) and a receiving verb (*morau*). See Example 3.1. The three sentences, all produced by the same speaker, depict the same event, namely Yoko giving Mari coffee, but are described from different perspectives using different benefactive verbs. Via choice of a benefactive verb, the speaker uses their empathy to highlight different participants in the sentence.

Example 3.1

(a) *Yoko-ga Mari-ni koohii-o ageru.*

Yoko-NOM Mari-DAT coffee-ACC *ageru*

Yoko gives (*ageru*) Mari coffee.

(b) *Yoko-ga Mari-ni koohi-o kureru.*

Yoko-NOM Mari-DAT coffee-ACC *kureru*

Yoko gives (*kureru*) Mari coffee.

(c) *Mari-ga Yoko-ni koohi-o morau.*

Mari-NOM Yoko-DAT coffee-ACC *morau*

Mari receives coffee from Yoko.

First, compare (a) and (b). The two sentences contain different giving verbs, *ageru* in (a) and *kureru* in (b). In (a), the event is described from the benefactor or Yoko's point of view, implying that Yoko brings benefit to Mari. The speaker's empathy is placed on the benefactor's side. On the other hand, in (b), the same event is described from the beneficiary, or Mari's point of view, implying that Mari receives benefit from Yoko. Thus, the speaker's empathy is placed on the beneficiary's side.

Now compare (b) and (c). *Kureru* is a giving verb while *morau* means "receive". Both *kureru* and *morau* sentences are stated from the beneficiary's viewpoint, and the speaker's empathy is placed on the beneficiary's side. However, the subject morpheme *ga* marks the benefactor in *kureru* sentences, while it marks the beneficiary in *morau* sentences. Moreover, in *kureru* sentences, the recipient must be the speaker or an in-group person (someone close to the speaker, such as a family member). However, *morau* sentences do not have such restrictions, and the recipient can be anyone.

There are three levels of register for each of the benefactive verbs: casual, plain, and honorific. Table 3.6 summarizes the different registers.

Table 3.6: Three Levels of Register for Benefactive Verbs

	<i>Ageru</i> (give)	<i>Kureru</i> (give)	<i>Morau</i> (receive)
Casual	<i>Yaru</i>	<i>Kureru</i>	<i>Morau</i>
Plain	<i>Ageru</i>	<i>Kureru</i>	<i>Morau</i>
Honorific	<i>Sashiageru</i> (humble)	<i>Kudasaru</i> (honorific)	<i>Itadaku</i> (humble) <i>Choodai-suru</i> (humble)

Yaru and *sashiageru* are the casual and humble forms, respectively for *ageru*. For *kureru*, *kudasaru* is the honorific form. For *morau*, *itadaku* and *choodai-suru* are the humble forms.

These benefactive verbs are also used as auxiliaries by suffixing to the *-te* form of another verb. See Example 3.2. Like the previous examples with benefactive verbs, the three sentences describe the same event, namely Yoko buying Mary coffee, but are described from different perspectives by different auxiliaries.

Example 3.2

(a) *Yoko-ga Mari-ni koohii-o kat-te-ageru.*

Yoko-NOM Mari-DAT coffee-ACC buy-*ageru*

Yoko buys (gives-*ageru* the action of buying) Mari coffee.

(b) *Yoko-ga Mari-ni koohii-o kat-te-kureru.*

Yoko-NOM Mari-DAT coffee-ACC buy-*kureru*

Yoko buys (gives-*kureru* the action of buying) Mari coffee.

(c) *Mari-ga Yoko-ni koohii-o kat-te-morau.*

Mari-NOM Yoko-DAT coffee-ACC buy-*morau*

Mari has Yoko buy (receives-*morau* the action of buying) her coffee.

Similar to the benefactive verbs mentioned above, the speaker's empathy is placed on the benefactor's side in (a) with the *ageru* auxiliary while the speaker's empathy is placed on the beneficiary's side in (b) and (c) with the *kureru* and *morau* auxiliaries. The same rule applies regarding the different levels of register (see Table 3.6).

Because *ageru* takes the giver's point of view, it does not typically appear in thanking. The other two benefactive verbs and auxiliaries (*kureru* and *morau*), which involve the beneficiary's point of view, are frequently used in thanking (Ohashi, 2010). Example 3.3 is taken from a TV drama, *Hanzawa Naoki*. Using *itadaku* (the humble form of *morau*, receive), a speaker expresses thanking for the scarf she previously received from the hearer.

Example 3.3

Kono mae mo suteki na sukaafu itadaite warui wa ne.
 The other day, too, a nice scarf receive-humble feel bad
 'I feel bad for getting such a nice scarf last time, too.'

(*Hanzawa Naoki*)

Because of *itadaku*, the speaker is speaking from her perspective as a beneficiary, and indicates that the speaker regards receiving the scarf had brought her benefit.

Example 3.4 is a phone conversation taken from Ohashi (2008). The speaker is thanking the hearer for coming to visit from far away, using the benefactive auxiliary, *kureru*, with the *-te* form of *kuru* 'to come'.

Example 3.4

un soide konaida wa airagto ne. tooi tokoro kara kite kurete
 And the other day, thank you far place from come give me
 'and also the other day, thank you for coming such a long distance.'

(Ohashi, 2008: 83)

The speaker uses *kureru* and speaks from his perspective as a beneficiary. The auxiliary *kureru* signals the speaker's appreciation for the hearer's visit.

Students learn the benefactive verbs and auxiliaries in second-year Japanese. However, they only learn these verbs as expressing directionality of favor transactions (Banno et al., 2020),

not as empathy verbs. First, the textbook introduces two giving verbs *ageru* and *kureru* from the first-person perspective. When a favor moves away from the center or self, the transaction is described with the giving verb, *ageru* as in *Watashi-ga Mari-ni koohii-o ageru* ‘I give Mari coffee.’ When the favor moves toward the center or self, the transaction is described using *kureru* in *Mari-ga Watashi-ni koohi-o kureru* ‘Mari gives me coffee.’ Then, the textbook explains when a transaction takes place between individuals other than self, *ageru* is used: *kureru* is restricted to a context in which the recipient of a favor is an in-group person. *Morau* is the same type of transaction as *kureru*, in which a favor moves toward the center. The difference between *morau* and *kureru* is explained as simply being the subject of the sentence. While the giver is marked as the subject of the sentence with *kureru*, the recipient is marked as the subject with *morau*. Thus, adding the empathy aspect to students’ existing understanding of benefactives would be helpful for students to understand affective nuances depicted in thanking.

Okage. *Okage* is a dependent noun expressing a cause which brings about a desirable result and implies the speaker’s appreciation (Makino & Tsutsui, 1995). Students learn *okage* in third-year Japanese. The following is an example from Ichikawa (2016). Mari received help from Nana in translating some parts of her paper. The next day, Mari thanks Nana using *okage*.

Example 3.5

- 1 Mari: *Kinoo, repooto teishutsu dekita.*
‘I was able to submit my paper yesterday.’
- 2 Nana: *A yokatta ne.*
‘that’s good.’
- 3 Mari: *Nana-chan no okage de.*
‘Thanks to you.’
- 4 Nana: *Ie ie*
‘Not at all.’
- 5 Mari: *Hotto shita yo*
‘I’m relieved.’

6 Nana: *Otsukare sama:*
‘Way to go!’

(Ichikawa, 2016: 24)

In line 3, Mari expresses recognition of benefit using *okage* and tells Nana that, thanks to Nana’s help, she submitted her paper. *Okage* can appear in various forms as shown in Example 3.6.

Example 3.6

(a) *Okage sama de.*

‘Thank you for your assistance or care.’

(b) *Sensee ni suisenjoo o kaite itadaita okage de, ryuugaku dekimashita.*

‘Thanks to your writing a letter of recommendation (for me), I was able to study abroad.’

(Crafted by the author)

(a) is a formulaic expression, which shows the speaker’s appreciation for help or care. It always accompanies or implies favorable information (Jordan & Noda, 1987). *Okage* can also be used with a verb or an adjective to construct an adverbial phrase, as in 3.6 (b). Example 3.6 (b) implies the act of the professor (writing a letter of recommendation) brought the speaker a positive result (an opportunity to study abroad).

The -te shimau Form. An auxiliary verb, the *-te shimasu* form often reflects the speaker’s negative attitude toward an event. Students learn the *-te shimau* form in second-year Japanese. It implies that the incident goes against the speaker’s wishes or expectations and expresses the speaker’s regret about something which should not have occurred (Makino & Tsutsui, 1995). This form often appears in recognition of regret in thanking. Example 3.7 presents a thanking instance where the speaker expresses regret using the *-te shimau* form. The example is taken from a TV drama, *Kinoo Nani Tabeta?*, in which Daisaku has a fight with his boyfriend about spending the weekend with his clients fishing, and so ends up at his friends

Kenji and Shiro's place. Kenji and Shiro then clean Daisaku's fishing cooler and offer him a bath before he goes home to his boyfriend.

Example 3.7

- 1 Kenji: *Kuuraa bokusu. Suna otoshitoita yo.*
'The cooler. I cleaned the sand from the cooler.'
- 2 Daisaku: *Suimasen. Arigatoo-gozaimasu.*
'I'm sorry. Thank you.'
- 3 Kenji: *A, tsuide ni, ofuro haitte ittara? nee?*
'Oh, why don't you take bath and go? Right?'
- 4 Shiro: *Un.*
'Yes.'
- 5 Kenji: *Umi kusai mama kaettara, mata ie ni irete moraenai deshoo?*
'He is not going to let you in if you go home with the smell of the sea, right?'
- 6 Daisaku: *Honto ni arigatoo-gozaimasu.*
'Thank you very much.'
- 7 Kenji: *A yada na. sonna. aratamatte.*
'Please. You are being too serious.'
- 8 Daisaku: *Bokura no izakoza ni ofutari o makikonde shimatte.*
'We brought you two into our problem.'
- 9 Shiro: *Iya. Ima ni hajimatta kotoja nai desu kara.*
'Well, this is not the first time.'
- 10 Daisaku: *Furo, okarishimasu.*
'I will take that bath.'

(*Kinoo Nani Tabeta?*)

In lines 2 and 6, Daisaku expresses his appreciation using common expressions, *sumimasen* (line 2) and *arigatoo-gozaimasu* (lines 2 and 6). Then, in line 8, he uses recognition of imposition and mentions that he is bringing Kenji and Shiro into his problem with his boyfriend. Here, Daisaku uses the *-te shimau* form and says *makikonde shimatte* 'for bringing you into trouble,' implying that he regrets his trouble.

Emotion Words. Emotion words can be used to emphasize gratitude. Example 3.8 is an example of an emotion word *ureshii* 'glad', taken from the YouTube channel, *Japanese Ninja Kajisac TV*.

Example 3.8

- 1 Nephew: *Arigatoo, honma ni. Arigao, honma.*
 ‘Thank you, really. Thank you, really.’
- 2 Kajisac: *Kore doo yo?*
 ‘What do you think about this?’
- 3 Nephew: *Meccha ureshii yo, zutto hoshikatta kore.*
 ‘I’m really happy. I’ve been wanting this for a long time.’

Japanese emotion words consist of adjectives, adverbs, verbs, and nouns (Hasada, 2000). Table 3.7 presents examples of Japanese emotion words.

Table 3.7: Examples of Japanese Emotion Words

Grammatical category	Examples
Adjectives	<i>ureshii</i> ‘glad’; <i>tanoshii</i> ‘fun’; <i>sabishii</i> ‘lonely’
Adverbs	<i>ureshiku</i> ‘gladly’; <i>tanoshiku</i> ‘enjoyably’; <i>sabishiku</i> ‘sadly’
Nouns	<i>ureshisa</i> ‘gladness’; <i>tanoshimi</i> ‘joy’; <i>sabishisa</i> ‘loneliness’
Verbs	<i>yorokobu</i> ‘to be glad’; <i>tanoshimu</i> ‘to have fun’; <i>kanashimu</i> ‘to feel sad’

Students learn some emotion words in the classroom; however, typically they are included in vocabulary lists and are not focus of instruction or related to thanking.

Mimetics. Japanese is rich in mimetic words, with approximately 1200 or more (Baba, 2003). Many Japanese mimetics denote a psychological effect and “evoke vivid ‘images’ of an experience, full of affect” (Kita, 1997, p. 386). Therefore, mimetics are useful to highlight gratitude. Example 3.9 is taken from Ichihara (2016), previously presented in line 5 in Example 3.5. Mari uses mimetics to express her relief.

Example 3.9

- 5 Mari: *Hotto shita yo.*
 ‘I’m relieved.’

Mari uses the mimetic word, *hotto shita* ‘I was relieved’. Despite the fact that mimetics are frequently used in daily conversations, they are rarely a focus of instruction, although some mimetics are used in third-year Japanese reading material (Oka et al., 2009). Some students are exposed to a variety of mimetics through pop culture.

Strengtheners. Strengtheners are linguistic intensifiers that serve as emphatic hedges (Brown & Levinson, 1987) and increase emotive intensity (Ochs & Schieffelin, 1989). Examples of Japanese strengtheners are *hontoo ni* ‘really,’ *sugoi* ‘very,’ *mecha mecha* ‘extremely,’ and many more. Although in Japanese language textbooks students are not taught strengtheners as a strategy to increase emotive intensity, some strengtheners are introduced as vocabulary and/or appear in textbook dialogues. Example 3.10 presents an example of a strengthener in a thanking episode from Ichihara (2016).

Example 3.10

Nana: *Ano, kinoo, moratta okashi tabeta n dakedo sugoi oishikatta.*

‘Well, yesterday, I ate the confectionary I received (from you), and it was very delicious.’

(Ichihara, 2016: 23)

In the example, *sugoi* is a strengthener. The lexical strengthener, *sugoi* ‘very,’ is used with another strengthener, emphatic gemination. Emphatic gemination can also be used as a strengthener and be added to mimetics to express emphasis (Shinohara & Kawahara, 2013). For example, *dokki-doki* (with gemination) sounds more intense than *doki-doki* (without gemination). Another type of strengthener is phonological lengthening, as shown in Example 3.11 taken from YouTube channel, *Japanese Ninja Kajisac TV*.

Example 3.11

Nephew: *Uwa! Sugee:*
Wow! Terrific!’

(*Japanese Ninja Kajisac TV*)

Sugee is a phonologically reduced variant of *sugoi* ‘terrific’ and is used in casual conversation. In the above example, *sugee* is elongated and intensifies the speaker’s affect (Ochs & Schieffelin, 1989).

Interjections. Interjections are “conventionalized vocal gestures (or more generally, linguistic gestures) which express a speaker’s mental state, action or attitude or reaction to a situation” (Ameka, 1992, p.106). Interjections can typically stand on their own as utterances. Like strengtheners, textbooks do not introduce interjections as a category of expressions; however, some interjections appear in textbook dialogues. Ameka classified interjections into three categories according to their communicative functions: expressive, conative and phatic interjections. Table 3.8 presents a summary.

Table 3.8: Three Categories of Interjections (Ameka, 1992)

Category of interjections	Sub-categories	English examples	Japanese counterparts
Expressive interjections	Emotive	Wow! Ugh!	Waa! Ge!
	Cognitive	Aha!	Aa!
Conative interjections	-	Sh! Eh?	Shi! E?
Phatic interjections	-	mhm un-huh yeah	Un un Un un So

Expressive interjections are “vocal gestures which are symptoms of the speaker’s mental state” (Ameka 1992, p. 113) and can be sub-divided into emotive and cognitive. Emotive interjections express the speaker’s emotions and sensations. Examples are *Wow!* to mean ‘I am surprised,’ and *Ugh!* to mean ‘I feel disgust.’ Cognitive interjections refer to the speaker’s state of knowledge and thoughts. Examples are *Aha!* to mean ‘I now know this.’ Conative interjections are

expressions directing at a hearer to get their attention or demand an action. Examples are *sh!* to obtain silence, *eh?* to ask for more information. Phatic interjections are used to express the speaker's mental attitude towards the on-going conversation and establish or maintain communicative contact. An example is backchanneling such as *mhm*, *un-huh*, and *yeah*. Ameka's analysis included only English. The Japanese counterparts of her categorization were added by the current author in Table 3.8. In this study, I only introduce expressive interjections, particularly emotive interjections, as they are directly related to the speaker's emotions.

Examples of Japanese interjections include *iyaa!* 'whoa!' *uwaa!* 'wow!' and *moo!* 'gosh!' See Example 3.12 taken from a YouTube video, in which the host named Kajisac is handing his nephew a gift. As the nephew is opening the gift, he shows excitement and appreciation using multiple interjections in lines 4, 6, 8, 16, 50 and 52.

Example 3.12

- 1 Host : *Naka akete*
 'Open it.'
- 2 Nephew : *Hai.*
 'All right.'
- 3 Host : *Nan yaro naa, kore.*
 'I wonder what this is.'
- 4 Nephew : *Iyaa:*
 'Iyaa: ((Interjection))'
- 5 Everyone: ((Laughter))
- 6 Nephew : *Uwaa:! Matte!*
 'Uwaa:! ((Interjection)) Wait!'
- 7 Everyone: ((Laughter))
- 8 Nephew : *Moo Kajisac!*
 'Moo, Kajisac!'
- ...
- 15 Host : *Ryooahoo aru de. kore. hoomu to bijitaa.*
 'You have both. One for a home game, and one for a visiting game.'
- 16 Nephew : *Uwa! Honma ya.*
 'Uwa! ((Interjection)) You're right.'
- ...

- 49 Host : *Hirogete goran. Hirogete goran.*
 ‘Unfold it. Unfold it.’
 → 50 Nephew : *Uwa! Sugee:*
 ‘Uwa! ((Interjection)) Terrific!’
 51 Everyone: ((Laughter))
 → 52 Nephew : *Uwaa: honma ni arigatoo.*
 ‘Uwaa! ((Interjection)) Thank you very much’
 (Japanese Ninja Kajisac TV)

Repetition. Repetition has functions of expressing emphasis (Bazzanella, 2011; Nadarajan, 2006; Tannen, 1983, 1987) and intensification (Aitchison, 1994). Being associated with emphasis, repetition gives “emotive heightening to the repeated meaning” (Leech & Short, 1981, p. 247) and marks intensity of emotion (Vickers, 1994). Baba (2002) found instances of repetition used in Japanese indirect complaints as a way to intensify the speaker’s affect. Repetitions also appear in thanking. Example 3.13 is taken from a TV drama, *Hanzawa Naoki*. A subordinate, Asano, is thanking his boss, Owada, for dealing with reassignment of Asano’s subordinate, Hanzawa.

Example 3.13

- 1 Owada: *Hanzawa-kun no honbu idoo no ken, nantoka hanashi o tsukemashita.*
 ‘I managed to arrange the matter of Hanzawa-kun’s reassignment to Headquarters.’
 → 2 Asano : *Arigatoo-gozaïmasu. Joomu ni wa gomuri o okakeshite makoto ni makoto ni.*
 ‘Thank you. I’ve put you through a lot of trouble. I, truly, very truly...’
 3 Owada: *Moo, moo, rei ni wa oyobimasen yo. ...*
 ‘There’s no need to thank me.’
 (Hanzawa Naoki)

In line 2, Asano expresses recognition of regret, *Joomu ni wa gomuri o okakeshite* ‘I’ve put you through a lot of trouble.’ He then repeats *makoto ni* ‘truly’ twice. Since this is an incomplete sentence, it is not clear what he intended to say after the repetition. However, this repetition

intensifies his gratitude and regret of causing his boss trouble. Although repetitions are not taught as a strategy in the classroom, some students acquire them outside the classroom from the media, family, and friends.

Discourse Markers. Affective particles are discourse markers that “encode the speaker’s affect and epistemological disposition” (Ohta, 1994, p. 304). Sentence final particles *ne* and *yo* are frequently observed in daily conversation and are associated with mutuality and emotional closeness to the hearer (Clancy, 1982; Hori, 1981; Kataoka, 1995; Maynard, 1993). In addition to the high occurrence of *ne* and *yo* in daily conversation, I chose these two affective particles as examples, because these are the ones students are probably most familiar with. They learn *ne* and *yo* in the first quarter of first-year Japanese and continue to see them in textbook dialogues in the classroom. Affective particles vary in different dialects. However, in these studies, I focus on standard Japanese, which students are most familiar with. Below, I explain how *ne* and *yo* can be used in thanking.

Ne is generally used when the speaker assumes that the hearer knows the same or more than the speaker does (Kamio, 1994). However, when *ne* marks information the partner does not know, it can add the sense of empathy and intimacy (Maynard, 2005). Cook (1992) claims that “*ne* directly indexes shared feelings” (519). Thus, *ne* can be used to emphasize empathy and intimacy in thanking. To present an example of *ne* in a thanking episode, I re-introduce Example 3.5 as Example 3.14, below.

Example 3.14

- 1 Mari: *Kinoo, repooto teishutu dekita:*
 ‘I was able to submit my paper yesterday.’
 → 2 Nana: *A. yokatta ne.*
 ‘that’s good.’

- 3 Mari: *Nana-chan no okage de.*
 ‘Thanks to you.’
 4 Nana: *Ie ie.*
 ‘Not at all.’
 → 5 Mari: *Hotto shita yo.*
 ‘I’m relieved.’
 6 Nana: *Otsukare sama:*
 ‘Way to go!’

Mari reports to Nana that she submitted her paper in line 1. In response in line 2, Nana says *yokatta ne* ‘that’s good-*ne*’ with the particle *ne*. By using *ne*, the speaker creates shared feeling and “invites the conversational partner to become an active and emotionally supportive co-conversationalist” (Cook, 1992, p. 520). Correspondingly, *ne* can convey the speaker’s concern for the hearer’s thoughts and feelings by showing recognition of what the interlocutor is thinking and feeling (Maynard, 2005).

Yo usually demands attention and is used to direct the hearer’s focus on what is being said. *Yo* can also heighten affect toward the propositional content (Maynard, 2005). The emotion involved can be either positive or negative (Oshima, 2014). Thus, *yo* can be used in thanking to accentuate the speaker’s affect. In line 5 of Example 3.14, Mari says, *Hotto shita yo* ‘I’m relieved-*yo*’ with the particle *yo*. Mari invites the hearer’s focus on her feeling of reassurance about the paper being submitted and highlights her emotion by adding *yo*.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter has presented research on thanking in Japanese and demonstrated that thanking and apology lay on the same continuum, which includes both gratitude and apology expressions in Japanese thanking. Gratitude-based thanking is used to highlight the speaker/beneficiary’s pleasure. When the speaker/beneficiary highlights indebtedness or guilt from the received favor, apology-based thanking appears. Apology-based thanking is also used

as a politeness strategy called an empathy operation, in which the speaker shows politeness, humbleness, deference and care by seeing the situation from the hearer/benefactor's perspective and acknowledging the latter's inconvenience. Gratitude elaboration strategies and various emotion expressions were also reviewed. The chapter then showed how the concepts of Japanese thanking were materialized into SCOBAs and demonstrated the ways in which SCOBAs were developed over time across the two studies. The next chapter, Chapter 4, introduces how the materials were applied in instruction.

Chapter 4

Overview of Study 1 and Study 2

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents an overview of decisions regarding instructional levels, material design, scheduling and implementation, and assessments of development. Study 1 tested the materials with mostly third-year Japanese students in a laboratory setting. Results of Study 1 revealed that some of the tasks were linguistically challenging for this level of students and that a higher proficiency group might benefit more from the instruction. Thus, Study 2 was conducted with a higher proficiency group in two fourth-year Japanese intact classes. In the following, I explain how the settings of the two studies were determined. Then, material development is presented. Lastly, I discuss how Vygotsky's sociocultural theory views development, and accordingly, how I assessed students' development of pragmatic competence.

4.2 Instructional Levels

Study 1 was designed to test the material and was conducted in a laboratory setting outside the classroom with volunteer learners. Study 2, planned as the main study, was designed to be conducted in intact classes. This decision was motivated by Vygotskian praxis, a dialectical unification of theory and classroom practice (Lantolf, 2008; Lantolf & Poehner, 2014). Vygotsky (1986) argued that the true test of theory is to be found not under laboratory conditions, where variables tend to be controlled by researchers. Rather, theory should be explored in real-world conditions, where people engage in all sorts of social interactions. In this dialectical relationship between theory and practice (an actual classroom), "theory guides

practice but at the same time practice influences, and if need be, changes theory” (Lantolf & Poehner, 2014: 27). Therefore, I consider an intact classroom the most appropriate setting to investigate the C-BLI unit, and through the project I sought to find the most appropriate instructional level to introduce the target unit.

I first conducted a pilot study, which I name Study 1, to test the material with a small group of students outside the classroom for six weeks in Summer 2019. Although Study 1 was a laboratory setting, the instructional unit simulated classroom instruction. Students participated in interactive lectures, engaged in pair-work tasks, completed homework, and participated in individual sessions, where students met the teacher individually and received feedback. Individual sessions may not be feasible for many intact classrooms depending on the size of the class. Nevertheless, I included individual sessions in Study 1 in order to better understand the students’ processes of conceptual development, how the material was received by the students, and how to improve the quality of the instruction.

For Study 1, I recruited students from intermediate-level (300-level) Japanese or above. The reason for the selection of 300-level Japanese or above was as follows: although most common expressions of thanking are taught in the beginning level courses (100- and 200-level Japanese), gratitude elaboration strategies require linguistically complex formulations and different levels of speech styles, which normally students do not practice in the classroom until the intermediate level. However, the results of Study 1 showed that while the students successfully developed conceptual understanding, their language production of elaborated thanking and related emotion expressions remained limited.

Based on these findings, Study 2 was conducted with higher instructional-level learners in Spring 2020, because higher proficiency students potentially have the language skills to apply

the concepts taught in their language use, developing more linguistically through the instructional unit. I selected two 400-level courses, fourth-year Japanese (JAPAN 403) and a class designed to support L2 language learning through content-based instruction (JAPAN 412). I also revised the SCOBAs, as described in Chapter 3, and the tasks. Additionally, the logistics were also adjusted due to the reality of intact courses. Because the unit on expressing gratitude was added to the existing curricula, implementation followed a different schedule for each course. In JAPAN 403, I had an interactive lecture once a week for three consecutive weeks, whereas in JAPAN 412, I had all three interactive lectures in the same week. Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, Study 2 was conducted fully online. Individual sessions were not possible due to time constraints. Instead, I provided individual written feedback via an online platform called Moodle. Also, a challenge of online instruction is offering timely assistance, especially during pair-work activities. Thus, I created supplementary handouts to guide pair-work languaging more effectively. Details of materials revisions for Study 2 will be discussed in Chapter 6.

4.3 Material Design

This section provides an overview of the task design, which aimed to promote both sociopragmatic conceptual understanding as well as pragmalinguistic development. The tasks were completed in class, individual sessions, and for homework; thus students worked individually, in pairs, and with the teacher. Details of each task are introduced in Chapters 5 and 6. Task development followed Gal'perin's (1969; 1989b; 1992b, 1992a) STI model, which classified the form of an action into three levels: material, verbal, and psychological (see Chapter 2). It should be emphasized that these are not intended to be discrete levels, and that levels are

not a linear progression of steps (Haenen, 2001); rather, there is overlap and dynamic interaction across the levels.

At the material level, where actions are executed with external assistance, students utilize external assistance, such as SCOBAs, models and demonstrations, then imitate, and/or do actions together (Arievitch & Haenen, 2005). In the present instructional unit, I introduced students to SCOBAs and repeatedly encouraged them to refer to SCOBAs initially (see Chapter 3 for SCOBAs development). Students examined concepts and explored examples of thanking expressions and strategies written on the SCOBAs. Students also looked at models presented by Japanese people and imitated their performance.

At the verbal level, actions are executed verbally or through languaging. Actions are done by communicated thinking (overt speech) or dialogical thinking (covert speech). Communicated thinking was promoted via discussions with the teacher, Japanese participants, and peers. Communicated thinking can create ZPDs and promote internalization. For example, in the present study, communicated thinking with the teacher was prompted through individual sessions in Study 1. Students met the teacher individually and orally demonstrated their understanding of the target concepts. The teacher then provided assistance if students' understandings were inaccurate or insufficient. The teacher's assistance was tailored according to the student's level of response and resulted in co-constructed communicated thinking with the student. In Study 2, instead of having individual sessions, which were not feasible due to the time constraints of the intact classrooms, students audio-recorded their oral explanations of the target concepts on the online platform and received written feedback from the teacher. I consider this type of languaging also to be communicated thinking, because although the teacher is not present at the

time of recording, students are aware of the future presence of the teacher, and explain as if they are talking to an audience.

Communicated thinking was also promoted via explicit language socialization opportunities with Japanese people. L2 learners were offered a session in which they discussed the target concepts with Japanese people and learned how Japanese participants would perform thanking. As discussed in Chapter 2, even native speakers' everyday concepts can be inaccurate or insufficient (Cook, 2008). To prompt communicated thinking around L2 concepts, I trained the Japanese participants in concepts of Japanese thanking using SCOBAs.

As discussed in Chapter 2, experts are not the only resources to create ZPDs for L2 learners. Peers or other L2 learners can also create ZPDs (Donato, 1994; Ohta, 2001). As Donato (1994) and Ohta (2001) reported (see Chapter 2), communicated thinking with peers is not unidirectional (i.e., from expert to novice) but bidirectional; it provides an environment where L2 learners create different learning opportunities than in teacher-student interactions and experiment with their pragmatic knowledge. Therefore, peer discussion was included frequently during the interactive sessions to promote rich communicated thinking. For example, students explained their understanding of the target concepts to one another, gave rationale for their thanking expressions, and analyzed thanking scenarios together.

Dialogical thinking, which takes place in a learner's mind, is also crucial, as internalization gradually moves from social to psychological activity. Although dialogical thinking can occur with or without the presence of interlocutors (McCafferty, 1994), I prepared individual homework that students could do without time limits to promote abundant engagement in dialogical thinking. When dialogical thinking becomes automatic, the action is then psychological and self-regulated, which is the third and final level of an action. At the

psychological level, actions are executed through conceptual thinking or pure thought. At this level, students become able to manipulate concepts automatically and effortlessly in their mind. Lastly, production practice was also developed to promote pragmalinguistic development.

4.4 Microgenetic Analysis to Assess L2 Learners' Pragmatic Development

This section considers the Vygotskian perspective on development and, accordingly, how I assessed students' pragmatic development. As mentioned in Chapter 1, focusing on products of development only captures the outcome of learning and may overlook subtle changes in L2 learners' pragmatic competence. SCT considers both the product and process of development important. For Vygotsky, higher cognitive development first appears on the inter-psychological plane, namely social interaction, through mediation via physical or psychological tools, and then on the intra-psychological plane, which is the individual mind. This mediated transformation from the social to the individual planes is called *internalization*. The purpose of the instructional unit in this study is to promote internalization of thanking in Japanese effectively. Because higher cognitive function is first created through social interaction, internalization processes can be observed through interactions with others and/or symbolic materials.

Vygotsky further emphasized the importance of capturing microgenetic development, the moment-to-moment qualitative changes in higher psychological functions:

Any psychological process, whether the development of thought or voluntary behavior, is a process undergoing changes right before one's eyes. The development in question can be limited to a few seconds or even fractions of seconds. ... Under certain conditions it becomes possible to trace this development. (Vygotsky, 1978: 61)

Microgenesis is “the study of the origin and history of a particular event” (Gánem Gutiérrez, 2008, p. 121) and refers to both the method of study and the object of learning. Microgenetic

analysis, an approach to look at microgenetic development, allows researchers to understand a “local, contextualized learning process,” (Mitchell et al., 2013, p. 291), which can be seen in languaging. Thus, students’ languaging, both communicated and dialogical thinking, is resourceful data to capture students’ short-term development of concept formation. Hence, the study is designed to develop a corpus of student discourse data. Students’ languaging was audio-recorded and transcribed, based on procedures from Ohta (2001). The transcripts were analyzed using discourse analysis. See Appendix A for transcription keys.

In order to explore how students’ concept formation, which can be observed through microgenetic analysis, contributed to developing performance skills, students’ production data and survey results were also examined. Details of the methodology of analysis will be discussed in Chapters 5 and 6.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter has provided an overview of the design and implementation of Studies 1 and 2. Chapter 5 focuses on Study 1 and explores the following research questions:

1. In what ways does C-BLI affect the development of learner’s production?
2. In what ways does C-BLI affect conceptual development related to gratitude expressions?
3. How do language socialization opportunities contribute to learner internalization?
4. How does C-BLI affect developing students’ agency to make pragmatic choices?
5. How appropriate are materials for students in third-year Japanese (i.e., 300-level)?

The results of Study 1 showed that some tasks were challenging to the 300-level students. Thus, I selected two 400-level courses to conduct the intact class study in Study 2. Chapter 6 reports

Study 2 findings related to the following research questions:

6. How appropriate are materials for students in fourth-year Japanese (i.e., 400-level)?
7. How do the materials impact students at different levels of instruction?
8. What level might be appropriate for conducting a study in an intact class?
9. How does language proficiency impact C-BLI in terms of conceptual development and learners' ability to realize their intentions in L2 production?

Chapter 5

Study 1: A Laboratory Study of Teaching Thanking in Japanese, and the Developmental Paths of Intermediate Learners

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents Study 1, which was designed to test materials and decide what instructional level to investigate in the subsequent study. Six students from third-year Japanese or above participated in the study. Students participated in three group sessions: two interactive lecture sessions, which introduced the target concepts followed by various internalization tasks, and a discussion session, in which students discussed the target concepts with two native speakers of Japanese. The group sessions were followed by two individual sessions, in which the teacher individually provided mediation on students' conceptual understanding and performance. DCT results showed that most students demonstrated an increase in producing a variety of common expressions, elaboration strategies and emotion expressions. The quality of their thanking expressions on their written DCT answers also changed. Students' use of elaboration strategies and emotion expressions showed more variety, although they sometimes produced incomprehensible or unclear utterances. Further, microgenetic analyses on two focal participants found two forms of mediational means, communicated thinking and imitation, which promoted internalization within the ZPDs. In internalizing the new scientific concepts, the two participants also demonstrated agency in making pragmatic choices.

This chapter first introduces the setting and participants, followed by the methodology of analysis. The data include students' writings and transcripts of audio-recordings: pre- and post-test interviews, DCT answers, transcripts of DCT reflections, transcripts of concept explanations,

transcripts of conversation data from the discussion and individual sessions, and transcripts of role-plays. The chapter then presents the findings and concludes with directions for the next study, Study 2.

5.2 Setting and Participants

Study 1 was conducted in a laboratory setting for six weeks in Summer 2019 at a university in the U.S. Six L2 learners and two native Japanese speakers participated. The L2 learner participants met in a meeting room for three group sessions and in the researcher's office for two individual sessions. The Japanese participants attended a training session and orientation to the study in the researcher's office and a discussion session with the L2 participants.

5.2.1 L2 Japanese Learner Participants

L2 learner participants were recruited from third-year (300-level) Japanese and through the researcher's personal connections. Six students participated: Caia, Emily, Sophia, and Wei from third-year Japanese, and Andres and Logan through personal connections. All names are pseudonyms. Learner details are presented in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1: The L2 Learner Participants

Name	L1	Years of studying	Most recent Japanese course	Time in Japan
Andres	Spanish	2 years	403	None
Caia	English	7 years	303	1 month
Emily	English	3 years	303	None
Logan	English	8 years	403	1 year
Sophia	English	3 years	303	2 years
Wei	Chinese	3 years	303	1 month

Two students grew up abroad, Andres (L1 Spanish) in Colombia and Wei (L1 Chinese) in China. The other students grew up in the U.S. and are L1 English speakers. Students' years of Japanese language study range from 2 to 8 years. Caia, Emily, Sophia, and Wei had just finished third-year Japanese, and Andres had just completed fourth-year Japanese at the time of the study. Andres took two summer intensive courses for first- and third-year Japanese, in which one year's worth of instruction is covered within nine weeks, and regular academic-year courses for second- and fourth-year Japanese. Logan had completed fourth-year Japanese a year before the study and had been self-studying since then. Some students have spent some time in Japan. Caia and Wei home-stayed for one month. Logan worked as an assistant English teacher at local elementary and middle schools for one year. Sophia also worked as an English teacher at a local children's language school in Japan for two years. Andres and Emily had never visited Japan.

5.2.2 Japanese Native Speaker Participants

Japanese native speakers were recruited to provide L2 participants with explicit language socialization opportunities. Their role, therefore, was to discuss the target concepts with L2 learners and give feedback. Native speaker participants were recruited through the International & English Language Program at the university and the researcher's personal connections. Two native speakers who grew up in Japan, Rino and Naoko, participated. Rino was an exchange student in the International & English Language Program at the university. She had been in the U.S. for two months at the time of the study. Naoko was a graduate student in Japanese literature and a teaching assistant in the Japanese program at the university. She had been in the U.S. for 10 years.

5.3 The Instructional Unit

A six-week C-BLI curriculum was designed, as described in Chapter 4. The unit consisted of a pre-test, two interactive lectures (Group Sessions 1 and 2), a discussion session with Japanese participants (Discussion Session), two individual sessions (Individual Sessions 1 and 2) and two post-tests (Post-tests 1 and 2). Additionally, four homework tasks were assigned after group and individual sessions (Homework 1, 2, 3 and 4). The researcher administered all the tests, interactive lectures and tasks. Table 5.2 summarizes the instructional unit. There was no meeting in Week 5.

Table 5.2: Summary of the Instructional Unit for Study 1

Week		Mode (Time spent)	Content	Tasks
Week 0	Pre-test	Individual (unlimited)	Assessment of OBA	Oral interview, DCT, DCT reflections, role-play
Week 1	Group Session 1	Group (90 min.)	Concept of gratitude (SCOBAs 1, 2, & 3)	Oral concept explanation, scenario analysis, revision of DCT
	Homework 1	Individual (unlimited)		Written concept explanation, scenario analysis, revision of DCT
Week 2	Group Session 2	Group (90 min.)	Elaboration strategies and emotion expressions (SCOBAs 4 & 5)	Oral concept explanation, scenario analysis, revision of DCT
	Homework 2	Individual (unlimited)		Written concept explanation, SCOBA re-creation, scenario analysis, revision of DCT
Week 3	Discussion Session with Japanese People	Group (90 min.)	Discussion with Japanese people	Oral concept explanation, SCOBA re-creation, revision of DCT
	Homework 3	Individual (unlimited)		Homework 3 DCT
Week 4	Post-test 1/ Individual Session 1	Individual (unlimited)	Individual assessments	Post-test DCT 1, Oral concept explanation, DCT reflections on Homework 3
	Homework 4	Individual (unlimited)		Homework 4 DCT
Week 6	Post-test 2/ Individual Session 2	Individual (unlimited)	Individual assessments	Post-test DCT 2, Oral concept explanation, DCT reflections on Homework 4, Submission of journal entries

Below I explain the internalization tasks and then present how the instructional steps proceeded.

5.3.1 *Internalization Tasks*

Seven types of internalization tasks were developed: concept explanation, DCT assignments, DCT reflections, role-play, scenario analysis, SCOBAs re-creation and journaling. The purpose of the internalization tasks was twofold. First, the tasks were designed to prompt students' languaging. Languaging was prompted through tasks such as concept explanation, DCT reflections, scenario analysis, and journaling. Through languaging, students engaged in both communicated and dialogic thinking (see Chapter 2) to articulate their understanding, meaning making, and shaping of their knowledge (Haenen, 2001). Communicated thinking is a social speech about the action, in which one's mental actions are regulated through interactions with others. Communicated thinking with others is an important step for the formation of concepts before students reach the level of psychological activity. Communicated thinking was encouraged in pair/group work during the group sessions and in the individual sessions with the teacher. Dialogical thinking, on the other hand, is "external speech to oneself" (Gal'perin, 1989: 53), which takes place in a learner's mind or in private speech. Homework assignments were particularly created to stimulate dialogical thinking. In dialogical thinking, students verbalized their understanding and ventured hypotheses in different contexts. The second purpose of these tasks was to give students practice using the target concepts in different contexts. DCTs and role-plays were designed to give students practice applying the target concepts to different scenarios and strengthen mappings between concepts, contexts, and forms. In the following, I explain each task.

Concept Explanation. Concept explanations are written or oral forms of languaging in students' L1 or strong L2. The task prompts students to articulate and reflect on their understanding and thinking processes through speech. For written concept explanations, students wrote their understanding of the concepts on handouts. Students also orally shared their understandings with peers, the teacher, and the native speakers. See Appendix B for sample concept explanation prompts.

Written Discourse Completion Tasks (DCTs). A discourse completion task (DCT) is a type of production questionnaire that elicits the targeted speech act. The aim is to practice incorporating target concepts into speech act performance in various scenarios. I created written, rather than oral, DCTs, because written DCTs give students enough time to examine situations, access their knowledge, and provide their answers. Each DCT assignment consisted of 14 items with space provided for students to write their thanking expressions. To develop a 14-item DCT assignment, I adopted analyses from Akahori (1995), Long (2010) and Kumatoridani (1990) (see Chapter 3 for details about the sociocultural factors affecting the speech act of thanking). 12 items provided different combinations of three variables: level of burden (high, middle or low), social relationship (close or distant; higher or equal status) and initiator of the favor (speaker or hearer). The other two DCT items were related to social role and social courtesy. Social role means whether and to what extent a favor is expected from a benefactor. When a certain act is socially expected, the sense of indebtedness may be weaker than when an act is not socially expected. Social courtesy is a situation where the speaker/benefactor is expected to express gratitude even if they are not appreciative; in this case, sociocultural factors strongly influence thanking expressions. Using these categories, I developed a total of five 14-item DCT

assignments (a pre-test DCT, two homework DCTs, and two post-test DCTs). See Appendix C for sample DCT items.

Oral DCT Reflections. DCT reflections are students' oral explanations of their DCT answers. The aim of this task was twofold. One is to give students languaging opportunities to promote internalization. The second is to allow the teacher to evaluate student understandings and provide appropriate mediation to promote development. DCT reflections are different from concept explanations in that students explain their pragmatic choices for their DCT answers, rather than explaining target concepts. Students' written DCT answers only reveal what they imagine that they might say, and do not uncover the thinking processes behind their choices. DCT reflections fill this gap and unveil how their conceptual understanding influences their DCT answers, and therefore give the teacher a better assessment of how to provide mediation. See Appendix C for the DCT reflection prompt.

Role-play. Students did role-plays with the teacher. The purpose of role-plays was to provide conversational production practice. While the DCTs elicit learners' offline knowledge, they do not tell us how they might actually perform in conversations. Specifically, DCTs do not allow the sequential unfolding of interaction. Thanking can be done in one sentence on a DCT item, but in actual conversations, thanking is co-constructed with the interlocutor through a sequence of turns. After students completed a DCT assignment and reflections, the teacher selected scenarios from the DCT assignments to use for role-plays. This allowed students to have conversations based on scenarios that students had already responded to and reflected on. See Appendix D for sample role-play scenarios.

SCOBAs Re-creation. Students filled out incomplete SCOBAs with appropriate information. The aim of this task was to foster students' interaction with the target concepts

through SCOBAs. Specifically, students received SCOBAs 3 and 4 (see Figures 5.3 and 5.4), with examples left blank. Students invented examples and completed the SCOBAs individually.

Scenario Analyses. Students analyzed various thanking scenarios in class, with peers, or individually. The purpose of this task was to help students orient their attention to target concepts through real-world situations. Scenarios were selected from two sources: Japanese media (i.e., TV dramas, anime, and YouTube) and a natural conversation corpus called *Meidai Kaiwa Corpus* (Fujimura et al., 2012). The transcripts from Japanese media were provided along with video-clips with subtitles. For *Meidai Kaiwa Corpus*, transcripts were provided with translation. Videos and audio were not available for *Meidai Kaiwa Corpus*. See Appendix E for sample scenario analysis tasks.

Revision of Pre-test DCT Assignment Answers. Using their pre-test DCT answers as a baseline, students revisited the scenarios, re-analyzed the contexts, and revised their thanking expressions after learning new concepts. The purpose of this task was to practice examining different situations, re-assessing their original answers and reflecting on what needed to be revised in order to achieve their own communicative goals.

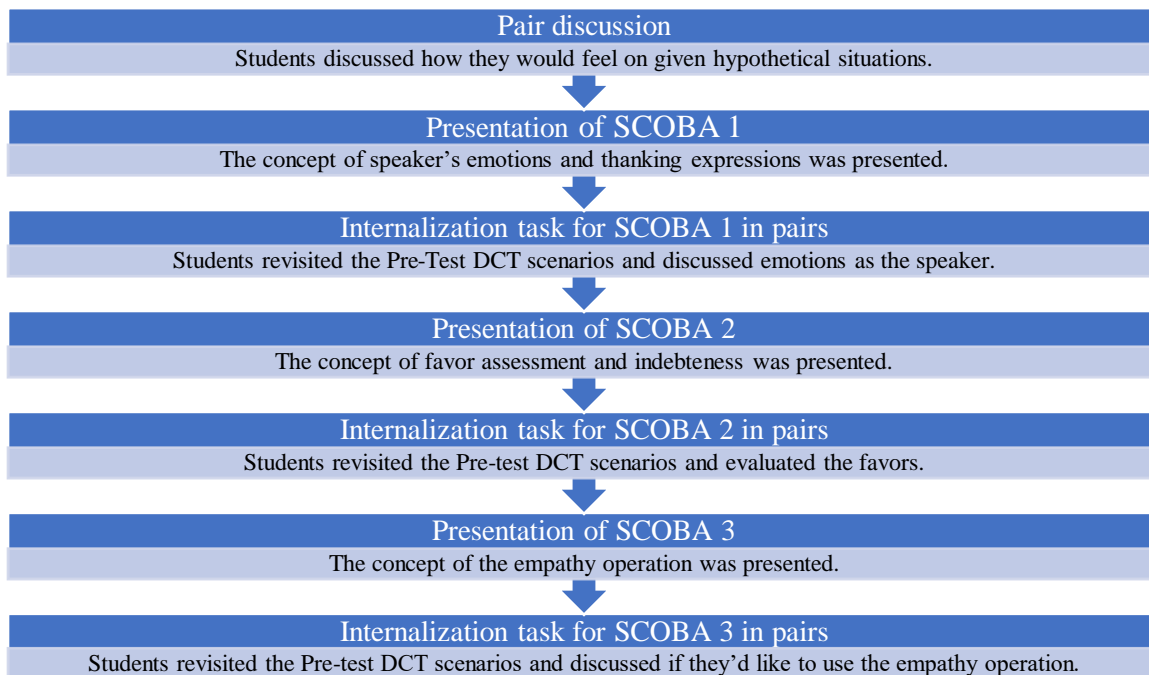
Journaling. Students collected thanking episodes by themselves, for example, by watching media, reading short stories, and/or observing Japanese people's conversations. Then, they wrote their reflections in English. The aim of this task was to develop the skill of analyzing gratitude situations on their own. The task also encouraged students to connect the learned concepts with an area(s) of their interests. Therefore, no requirements were provided to the students on how many and/or what types of episodes they had to record. See Appendix F for the journaling prompt.

5.4 Implementing the C-BLI Unit for Study 1

L2 participants first took the pre-test. Along with asking about their learning backgrounds, the pre-test assessed their Orienting Basis of Action (OBA), to investigate their initial understanding about Japanese thanking and their ability to perform thanking in Japanese. Pre-tests were conducted individually in the researcher/teacher's office and included a semi-structured interview, a pre-test DCT assignment, DCT reflections and role-play. The interview queried each student's learning background, understanding of gratitude and emotion expressions in Japanese, experiences with expressing gratitude and emotions in Japanese, and level of confidence about expressing gratitude and related emotions (see Appendix H for interview questions). The pre-test DCT was provided with no time limit; students were allowed to ask questions about vocabulary and expressions. DCT reflections were conducted immediately after the DCT; students orally explained their DCT answers. Lastly, students performed role-plays with the researcher; these included two high-burden situations that involved different social hierarchy and social distance from the pre-test DCT situations.

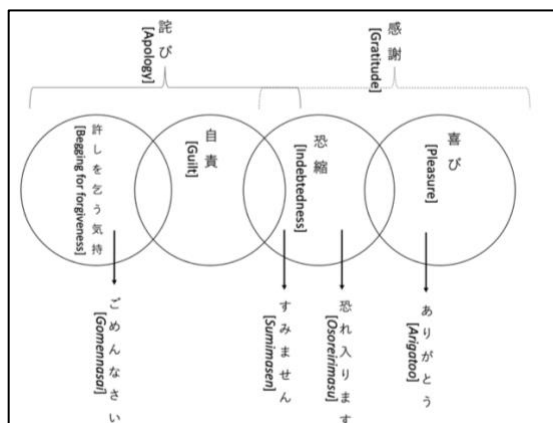
In Group Sessions 1 and 2, all participants met together in a meeting room for interactive lectures and internalization tasks. Group Session 1 took place a week after the pre-test and introduced how thanking is done in Japanese with SCOBAs 1, 2 and 3. The outline of Group Session 1 is presented in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3: Outline of Group Session 1



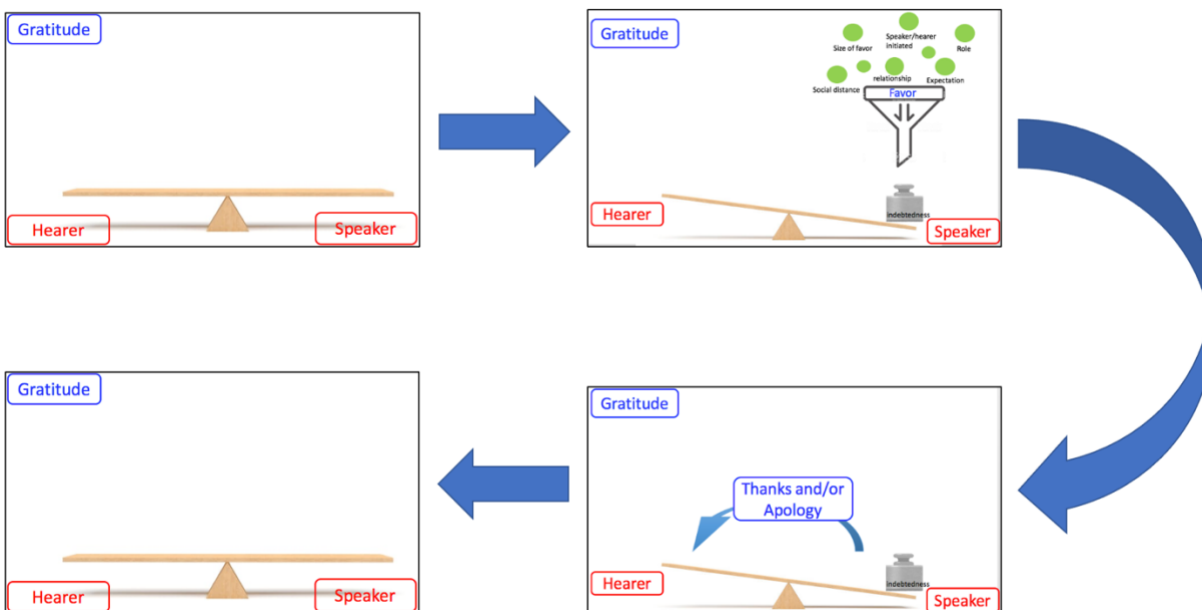
Group Session 1 started with a pair discussion to draw students' attention to the speaker's emotions provoked by particular favors. In pairs, students discussed their potential emotions regarding the favors in three hypothetical situations. I then presented the results of Suriratt (2011), reporting how Japanese people felt in the same situations, emphasizing that Japanese people may find gratitude-based thanking to be insufficient in some situations. Next, I introduced SCOBA 1, reintroduced here as Figure 5.1. See Chapter 3 for details of each SCOBA. SCOBA 1 illustrates how gratitude and apology lay on the same continuum in Japanese, with thanking expressions selected based on the speaker's emotions. In this study, the speaker refers to the beneficiary who received the favor from the hearer/benefactor and therefore performs thanking. Thus, the speaker's emotion refers to the emotion that the speaker/beneficiary has when receiving a favor or help.

Figure 5.1: SCOBA 1 (originally Figure 3.3)



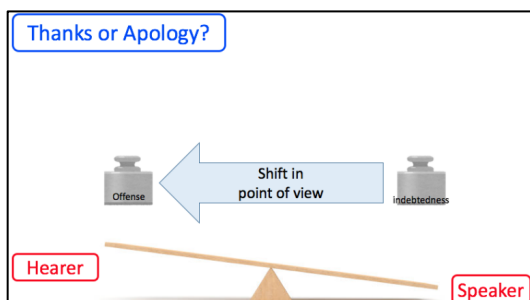
Using SCOBA 1, students then worked on the first internalization task. In pairs, they revisited the pre-test DCT situations, discussed their feelings, and chose suitable common expressions. I circulated the room to provide feedback and/or answer students' questions. Next, I presented SCOBA 2, showing how thanking restores the balance between individuals. The SCOBA also explains how the speaker evaluates the favor. SCOBA 2 is re-presented in Figure 5.2. The see-saw represents the relationship between the speaker and the hearer. The weight represents indebtedness that changes the balance of the relationship. The green bubbles represent different sociocultural factors that may elicit indebtedness, which potentially prompts the speaker to perform apology-based thanking. By choosing appropriate thanking expressions and extending gratitude- or apology-based thanking, the speaker restores the balance in their social relationship.

Figure 5.2: SCOBA 2 (originally Figures 3.5-3.8)



Students then worked on the second internalization task using SCOBA 2; in pairs, they re-visited the pre-test DCT scenarios, discussed sociocultural factors and evaluated the degree of indebtedness for each item. I then presented SCOBA 3 (see Figure 5.3) and talked about the concept of empathy operation. Using an empathy operation, the speaker can highlight politeness. The speaker examines the received act from the hearer's point of view and recognizes any possible inconvenience the hearer may have experienced. In the SCOBA, as a result of this empathy operation, the speaker chooses apology expressions for thanking.

Figure 5.3: SCOBA 3 (originally Figure 3.9)

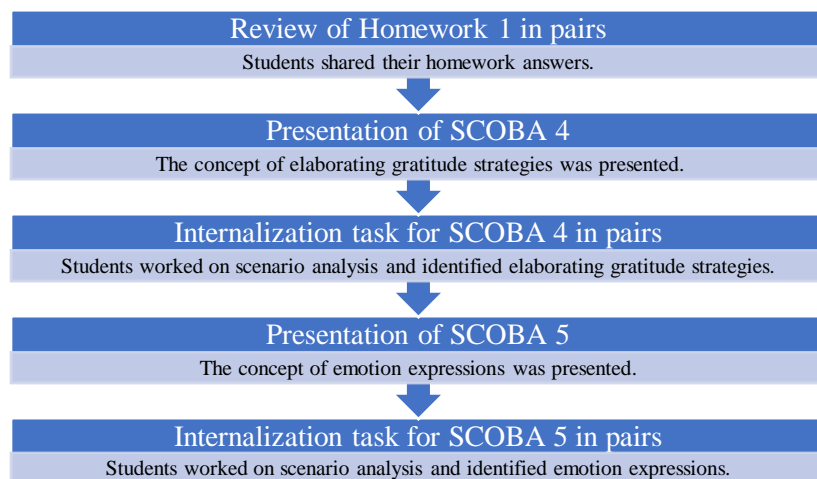


I also provided three short conversations, and, along with the students, analyzed the situations in terms of the empathy operation. For the third internalization task, students analyzed the pre-test DCT scenarios and discussed where they would use the empathy operation in their thanking. To sum up the session, students shared their thoughts with the whole group.

Between Group Sessions 1 and 2, students completed Homework 1, which consisted of written concept explanation, scenario analysis, and revision of their pre-DCT answers. The purpose of this homework was to review and practice the concepts. Students were encouraged to refer to SCOBAs while completing the tasks. For concept explanation, students wrote their understanding of the concepts in English. For the scenario analysis task, students analyzed six scenarios presented via video clips with transcripts. Students highlighted gratitude expressions on the transcripts and wrote their reflections on why they thought gratitude- or apology-based (or both) expressions were used. Students also revised their pre-DCT answers using the concepts introduced in Group Session 1.

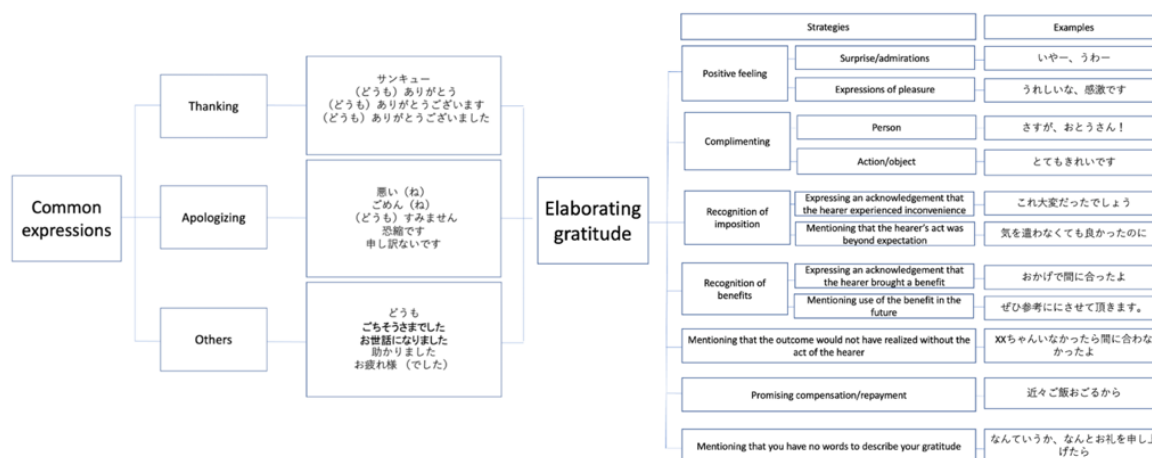
Group Session 2 took place one week after Group Session 1, as outlined in Table 5.4.

Table 5.4: Outline of Group Session 2



Group Session 2 started with a review of Homework 1. In pairs, students shared their homework answers with each other; I circulated the room to give feedback and/or answer questions. Next, I introduced SCOBA 4 (see Figure 5.4), gratitude elaboration strategies.

Figure 5.4: SCOBA 4 (originally Figure 3.16)



For the internalization task, students did scenario analysis. First, students watched a video clip with its transcript and translation. Then, students identified elaboration strategies in the episode with guidance from the teacher. Students then worked in pairs on three new scenarios, analyzing the thanking episodes and identifying elaboration strategies. Next, I presented SCOBA 5, consisting of different emotion expressions to perform thanking (see Figure 5.5). Students then, in pairs, read a transcript of a thanking episode and identified emotion expressions.

Figure 5.5: SCOBA 5 (originally Figure 3.18)

Modal Expressions	Emotion words	Mimetics	Strengtheners						
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • くれる／もらう • ～てくれる／～てもらう • おかげ • ～てしまう 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adjectives • Adverbs • Verbs • Nouns 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ドキドキ • ウキウキ • メソメソ • ガチガチ • ほっと 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 本当に • すごい • すっごい • すげー 						
<th>Interjection</th> <td> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • いやー • うわー • もう  </td> <td> <th>Repetition</th> <td> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • まことにまことに • すごくすごく • 本当に本当に  </td> <td> <th>Discourse marker</th> <td> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ～よ • ～ね  </td> <td>  </td> </td></td>	Interjection	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • いやー • うわー • もう 	<th>Repetition</th> <td> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • まことにまことに • すごくすごく • 本当に本当に  </td> <td> <th>Discourse marker</th> <td> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ～よ • ～ね  </td> <td>  </td> </td>	Repetition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • まことにまことに • すごくすごく • 本当に本当に 	<th>Discourse marker</th> <td> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ～よ • ～ね  </td> <td>  </td>	Discourse marker	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ～よ • ～ね 	

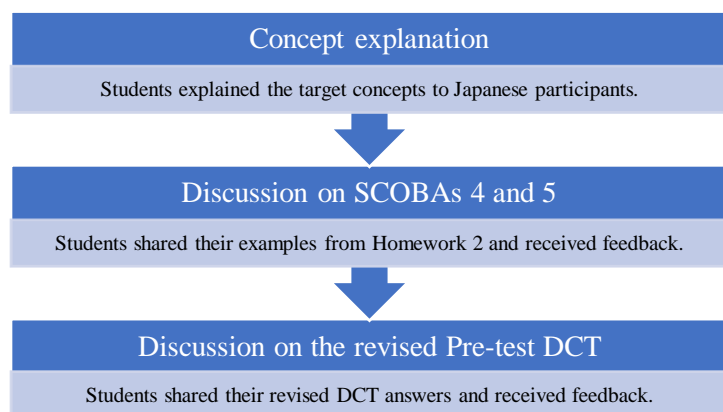
After Group Session 2, students completed Homework 2 at home. Homework 2 consisted of written concept explanation, SCOBA recreation, scenario analysis and revision of their pre-DCT answers. Like Homework 1, students were encouraged to refer to SCOBAs as they were completing the tasks. The concept explanation followed the same procedure as Homework 1. Students wrote their understanding of the concepts (i.e., SCOBAs 1-3) on the handout. For SCOBA recreation, students received blank SCOBAs 4 and 5 with examples missing and filled in the blanks with their own examples. For the scenario analysis task, students analyzed two scenarios, highlighting common gratitude expressions, gratitude elaboration strategies and emotion expressions on the transcripts, and then wrote reflections in English. The revision of the DCT followed the same procedure as Homework 1, except students focused on elaborating gratitude and emotion expressions.

Between Group Session 2 and the Discussion Session, the Japanese participants, Rino and Naoko, completed a written DCT at home. The task was similar to the students' pre-test DCT, but modified to make the scenario situations more relatable to their experiences. Although NSs are fully capable of doing thanking in Japanese, they are limited to spontaneous concepts and may not be fully aware of the scientific concepts being taught (García, 2018; Vygotsky,

1986). Hence, they completed a 30-minute training that covered the purpose of the instructional unit, the concepts of thinking with SCOBAs, and how the concepts were applicable to the DCT situations that they had completed.

One week after Group Session 2, students participated in a Discussion Session with the Japanese participants. This discussion session was a language socialization session between two or three students and one NS participant; students discussed the target concepts with Rino and Naoko. There were three tasks to complete, as shown in Table 5.5.

Table 5.5: Outline of Discussion Session



On the first task, students explained the target concepts to their Japanese participant, referring to SCOBAs if needed. Japanese participants shared their comments, perspectives, and experiences. On the second task, students presented the examples from SCOBAs 4 and 5 that they invented for homework and received feedback from their Japanese participant. On the third task, students showed their revised Pre-test DCT answers and received feedback.

After the Discussion Sessions, students completed a DCT assignment for Homework 3. This homework allowed students unlimited time to reflect on what they learned from their

Discussion Session and to make connections between the target concepts and different situations. They were encouraged to look at the SCOBAs when completing the task. They brought Homework 3 to Individual Session 1 to discuss their answers with the teacher.

Individual Session 1 took place one week after the Discussion Sessions in the researcher/teacher's office. There were three tasks for this session: Post-test DCT 1, oral concept explanation, and oral DCT reflections on Homework 3. First, students individually completed Post-test DCT 1, with no time limit; they were not allowed to look at SCOBAs. Then, students orally explained concepts to the teacher. While they were explaining concepts, I provided feedback and followed up if their explanation was inaccurate or insufficient. We then went over their Homework DCT 3 answers, and students orally reflected on their DCT answers. I provided assistance when necessary.

After Individual Session 1, students completed a new DCT assignment for Homework 4 to review and reflect on what they had learned in the individual session. Like other homework DCTs, students were encouraged to refer to SCOBAs and incorporate what they had learned into their answers.

Individual Session 2 was conducted in the researcher/teacher's office in Week 6, following the same procedure as Individual Session 1, except for the addition of sharing journal entries. Students completed four tasks: Post-test DCT 2, oral concept explanation, oral DCT reflections on DCT Homework 4, and sharing journal entries. First, students completed Post-test DCT 2 without looking at SCOBAs. Second, students provided oral concept explanations to the teacher. Third, students provided oral DCT reflections on Homework 4. For oral concept explanation and DCT reflections, I provided feedback and followed up if necessary. Finally, students shared their journal entries and ended the instructional unit.

5.5 Methodology of Analysis

The corpus for analysis included student writing and transcriptions of audio-recordings: pre-test interviews, concept explanations, DCT answers, DCT reflections, role-play and conversation data from the discussion and individual sessions. The analysis considered five areas in accordance with research questions: (1) development of production competence, (2) development of conceptual understanding, (3) mediated development through explicit language socialization experience, (4) development of L2 agency in making pragmatic choices, and (5) appropriateness for the instructional levels. The transcripts of the pre-test interview were used to explore the students' OBA prior to the study. The DCT answers were used to assess learners' offline knowledge and production abilities about common expressions of thanking, gratitude elaboration strategies, and emotion expressions in Japanese. Oral DCT reflections were investigated to unveil the influence of new conceptual understanding on students' pragmatic choices and speech act production. Role-plays were explored to assess students' performance abilities. The conversation data during the C-BLI sessions were used to investigate how the mediation played a part in students' internalization. In the following, I explain how analyses were conducted.

5.5.1 *Quantitative and Qualitative Analysis of Students' Production on DCTs*

Production development was quantitatively analyzed using coding. Students' DCT answers were coded for common expressions, gratitude elaboration strategies, and emotion expressions. For common expressions, I coded for gratitude-based, apology-based, and other formulaic expressions as presented on SCOPA 4 (Figure 5.4). Elaboration strategies (Figure 5.5) and emotion expressions (Figure 5.6) were coded according to the seven main categories

presented on SCOBAs. Although accuracy was not the focus of the analysis, incomprehensible answers were excluded from coding. To support the coding accuracy, I referred to students' DCT reflections when DCT answers were unclear. Repeated expressions in the same answer were counted as repetition. For example, when the same common expression was used twice, the first one was counted as a common expression and the second one was counted as a repetition in the category of emotion expressions. Codes were quantified and I examined changes in the number of usages in each category (i.e., common expressions, elaboration strategies, and emotion expressions) throughout the instructional unit. Next, I examined qualitative changes in the gratitude expressions in students' DCT responses. While thanking can be done with a simple phrase such as *arigatoo* 'thanks,' it tends to be long and elaborated when indebtedness is higher. Japanese people may feel displeased when indebtedness is not acknowledged in these situations (Sirirut, 2011). Thus, the analysis looked at students' DCT answers in high-indebtedness situations and investigated how their elaborated thanking qualitatively changed. That is, if students considered sociocultural factors and assessed the degree of indebtedness successfully, they should be able to provide appropriate elaborated thanking.

5.5.2 Mediated Development of Conceptual Understanding through Explicit Language

Socialization

Students' oral concept explanations and oral DCT reflections were audio-recorded and transcribed. These transcripts were analyzed to follow qualitative changes in students' conceptual understanding. Conversations with the teacher in individual sessions and with NS participants in discussion sessions were audio-recorded and transcribed. These transcripts were analyzed to understand any impacts of explicit language socialization on communicated thinking

and how these sessions mediated L2 learners' conceptual understanding and performance of thanking. Microgenetic analysis (Vygotsky, 1978) was used to document short-term developmental processes that emerged during the course of an interaction (see Chapter 4). Analysis attended to changes in students' understanding of the target sociopragmatic concepts over time. Students' written DCT answers and the transcripts of oral DCT reflections were also analyzed to consider how the communicated thinking observed in conversations with the teacher and the NS participants impacted students' thanking expressions and thinking processes.

The analysis looked at two focal students, Andres and Logan. They were chosen for two reasons. First, they started with different OBAs, which were group representatives. To make pragmatic decisions, Andres relied on his L1 knowledge. Logan used his understanding of Japanese thanking and language choices created by his previous personal experience. Second, the episodes of their communicated thinking provided insight into how internalization takes place.

5.5.3 Assessment of Learner Agency

To explore the impact of C-BLI on learner agency in making pragmatic choices, students' written DCT answers and transcripts of their oral DCT reflections were qualitatively analyzed using discourse analysis to explore if and to what extent students' agency toward making pragmatic choices changed over time.

5.5.4 Assessment of Material Appropriateness

Material appropriateness was considered in terms of students' sociopragmatic and pragmalinguistic development. The development of students' sociopragmatic knowledge was observed through students' understanding of the target concepts as expressed in the interviews,

concept explanations, DCT reflections, and conversation data from the sessions. Role-play transcripts were discursively analyzed to investigate how students did or did not use pragmalinguistic features taught in the unit. Discourse analysis of DCTs was similarly conducted, to consider how students incorporated, or did not, features of thanking taught in the unit.

5.6 Results and Analysis

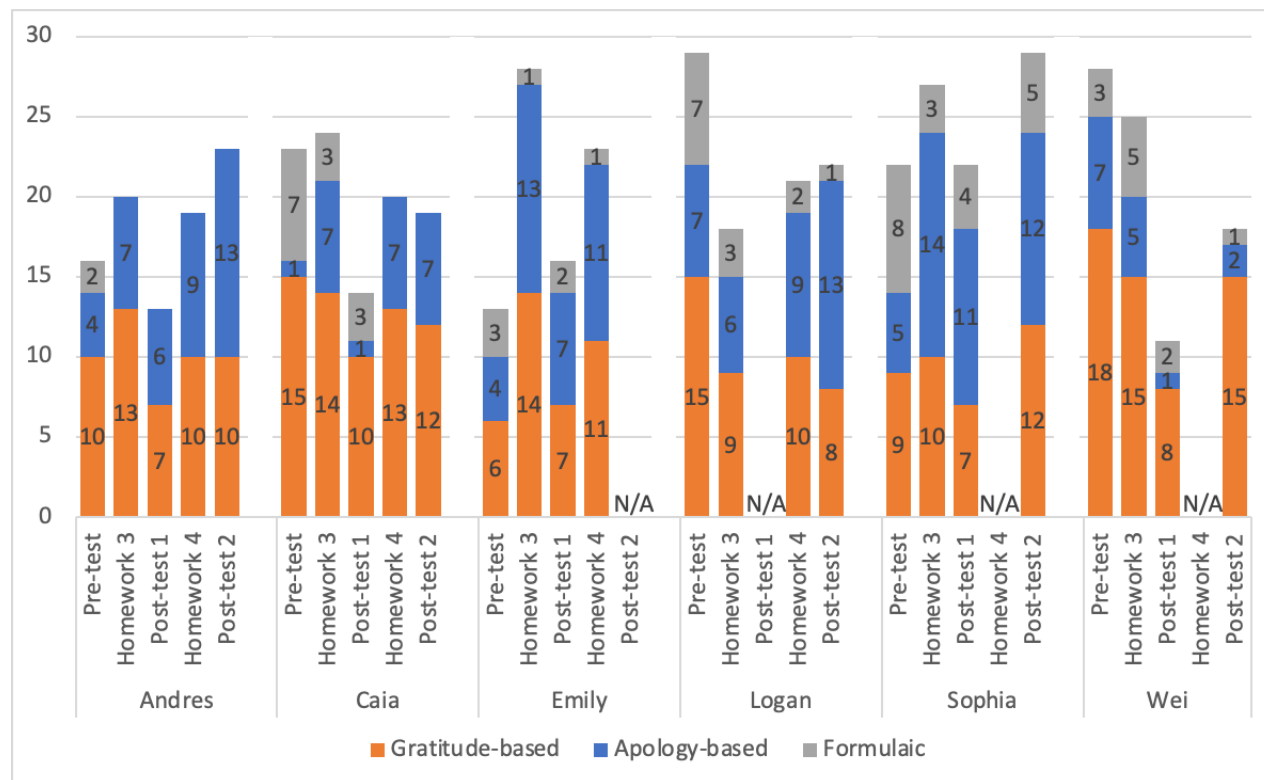
Results showed that students developed both production abilities and conceptual understanding. For production development, students showed an increase in the use of a variety of thanking expressions, elaboration strategies, and emotion expressions. The qualitative changes in their thanking expressions were also observed in that they successfully produced formulaic expressions suitable to particular contexts. For conceptual development, despite the differences in their OBAs prior to the instructional unit, both of the focal participants, Andres and Logan, demonstrated development. The conversation data revealed the ways various forms of mediational means created ZPDs, and how learners' internalization advanced within the ZPDs. I found two instances of mediation, communicated thinking and imitation, which promoted internalization within the ZPDs. As students were internalizing the target concepts, their OBAs shifted from fragmented and incomplete everyday concepts to scientific concepts. Internalizing scientific concepts gave students tools to make pragmatic choices that achieve their communicative goals. Rather than merely following native speaker norms, students started considering what pragmatic choices they want to make and how their intended meanings could be best conveyed. Lastly, I examine the suitability of this topic for the proficiency levels of the students enrolled in the laboratory study.

5.6.1 *Quantitative Analysis of Production Data*

This section presents quantitative analysis of students' gratitude expressions from the five DCTs: pre-test DCT, two homework DCTs (Homework 3 and 4) and two post-test DCTs (Post-tests 1 and 2). The pre-test DCT results show students' ability before the C-BLI unit, assessing students' OBAs. The homework DCT results indicate students' performance with external assistance, as students were allowed to look at SCOBAs. Homeworks 3 and 4 were chosen because students completed these two assignments after completing two Group Sessions, the Discussion Session and Individual Session 1: therefore, the results of these two assignments show the effects of various mediational means, including SCOBAs and interaction with Japanese participants and the teacher. The post-test DCTs, which students did without any assistance, illustrate students' ability to perform on their own.

Coding showed that students' use of apology-based common expressions, elaborating gratitude expressions, and emotion expressions increased over time. I first present results of common gratitude expressions in Figure 5.6 in the chronological order of the dates implemented. On each bar, orange bars represent gratitude-based expressions; blue bars represent apology-based expressions, and gray represents formulaic expressions. The numbers on the bars represent the number of respective common expressions a student used on that DCT. No data or 'N/A' indicates missing data, due to the participants failing to submit the assignments, or data lost due to technological issues. When participants mixed gratitude- and apology-based common expressions in the same scenario, these were coded separately.

Figure 5.6: Students' Use of Common Expressions in DCT Answers



On the pre-test, all students used apology-based expressions, showing that they knew that apology could appear in thanking. However, most students predominantly used gratitude-based common expressions. This accords with previous research. While Japanese people frequently use apology-based expressions in thanking, L2 Japanese learners tend to underuse them (Moriya, 2006; Ohashi, 2008). On the homework and on the post-tests, most students showed an increase in usage of apology-based expressions.

The results further reveal students' reliance on external assistance, suggesting students were in the phase of the material level (Arievitch & Haenen, 2005). At the material level, actions are executed using external assistance. Comparing Homework 3 and Post-test 1, students used more apology-based expressions in Homework 3 than in Post-test 1. The difference between Homework 3 and Post-test 1 was the availability of SCOBAs. While students were allowed to

look at SCOBAs to complete Homework 3, they were not on Post-test 1. While completing Homework 3, external assistance or SCOBAs were possibly guiding students' actions and allowing them to review the target concepts. The decline of apology-based expressions on Post-test 1 from Homework 3 shows that students were not able to maintain the same level of performance without assistance. However, on Post-test 2, some students (e.g., Andres and Caia) increased or used about the same number of apology-based expressions as Homework 4. Students became more able to make pragmatic choices without reliance on external help, evidence of growing self-regulation.

This tendency was consistent with students' use of elaboration strategies and emotion expressions. Figure 5.7 reports results on elaboration strategies in the chronological order of the dates implemented. The different colors on the bars illustrate different elaborating strategies. The numbers on the bars represent the number of elaborating strategies a student used on that DCT. 'N/A' represents missing data due to the participants failing to submit the assignments or data loss due to technical issues.

Figure 5.7: Students’ Use of Elaborating Gratitude Strategies in DCT Answers

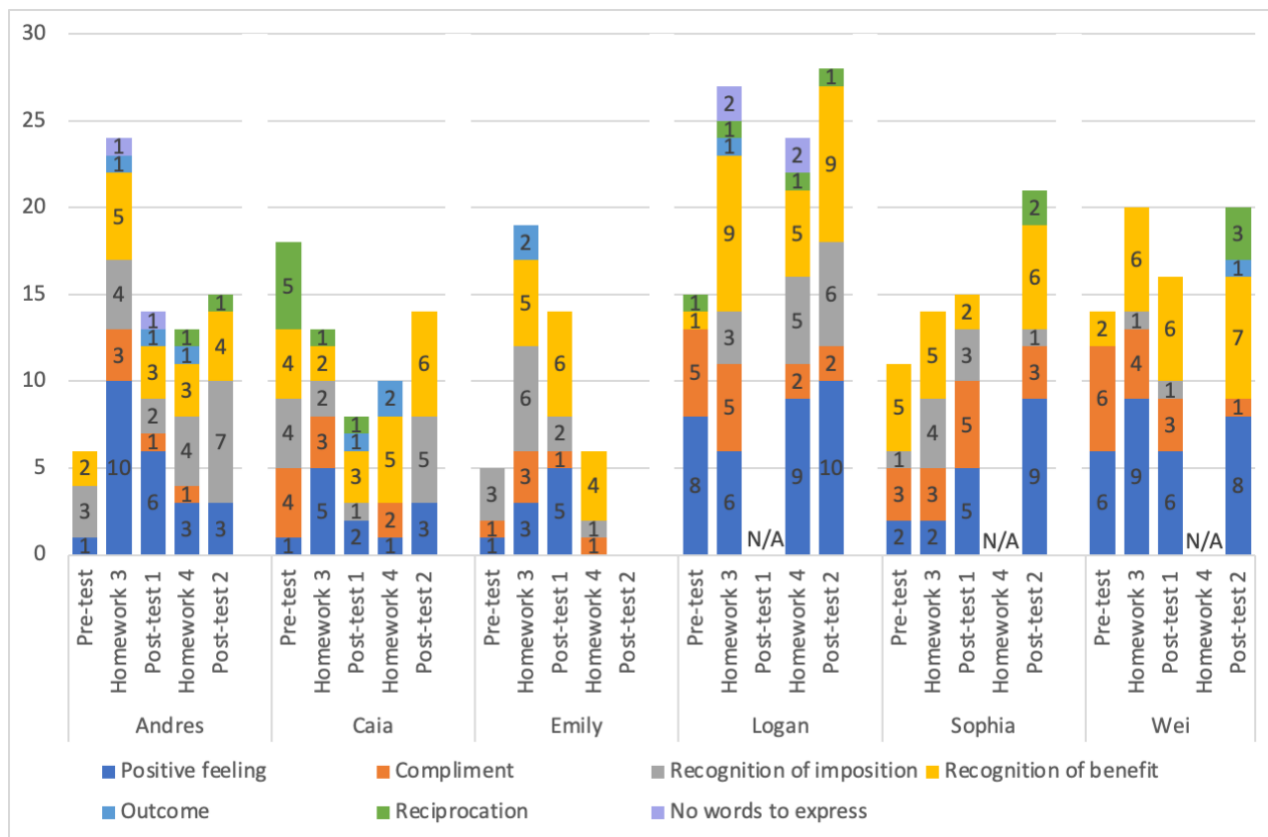
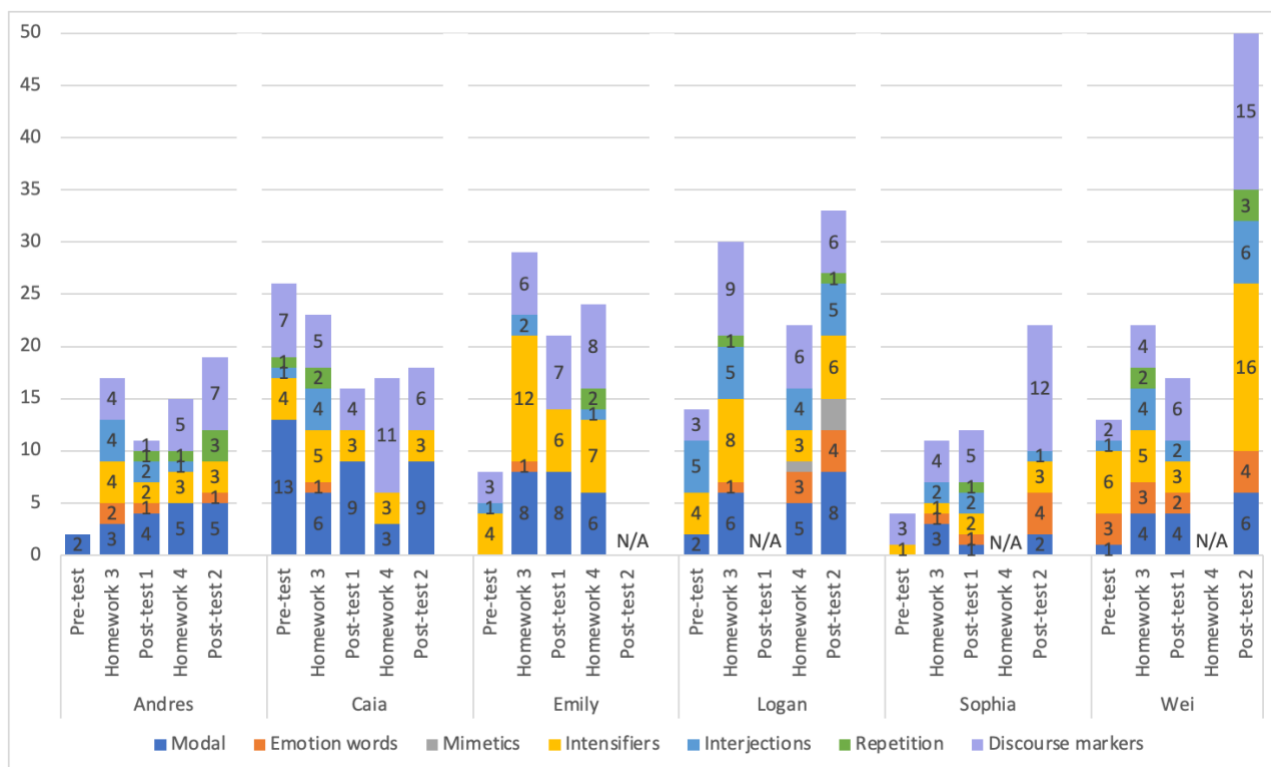


Figure 5.8 shows the results of students’ use of emotion expressions in their DCT answers in chronological order of the dates implemented. Different colors represent different kinds of emotion expressions. The numbers on the bars quantify the number of emotion expressions a student used in one DCT assignment. ‘N/A’ represents missing data due to the participants failing to submit the assignments or data lost due to technological issues.

Figure 5.8: Students' Use of Emotion Expressions in DCT Answers



Students' use of elaboration strategies and emotion expressions increased from the pre-test to the post-test, except for Caia. It is interesting to compare Homework 3/Post-test 1 and Homework 4/Post-test 2. All but Sophia and Logan (missing data) used more gratitude elaboration strategies and emotion expressions in Homework 3 than in Post-test 1. This means that students' actions were dependent on external assistance, and their actions were not yet self-regulated. The decline in usages on Post-test 1 shows that students were not able to perform at the same level as when SCOBAs were available to them. On Homework 4/Post-test 2, students' performance was opposite: students did better on Post-test 2 than they did on Homework 4. This suggests continuing development even without the external assistance, as well as progress in self-regulated performance.

5.6.2 Qualitative Change in Students' Thanking

I next explore qualitative change of students' written and oral production on thanking. Table 5.6 shows students' DCT answers from the pre-test. As stated earlier, thanking can be done with a short expression such as *arigatoo* 'thanks.' However, when the degree of indebtedness is higher, thanking tends to be longer and more elaborated (Akahori, 1995). Therefore, for Table 5.6, I chose the DCT items with sociocultural factors that likely prompt indebtedness (e.g., social hierarchy, social distance and substantial favors) and elaborated thanking. The situation in Item 5 was a not-socially-close neighbor taking the speaker to the emergency room around midnight when the speaker suddenly felt ill. The situation in Item 9 was a boss driving the speaker home when they missed the last train, even though the boss' home was not in the same direction. Translations of the students' Japanese are enclosed in single quotation marks.

Table 5.6: Students' DCT Answers from the Pre-test, Item 5 and Item 9

1.	<i>Meiwaku o kaketa. Sumimasen-deshita.</i> 'I caused you trouble. I'm sorry.' (Andres, pre-test, Item 5)
2.	<i>Sumimasen. Tasukarimashita node, domo arigatoo-gozaimasu.</i> 'I'm sorry. Because it was helpful, thank you.' (Sophia, pre-test, Item 5)
3.	<i>Konban mooshiwake arimasen deshita. Konna ni osoku made nanoni, byooin ni tsureteite itadaite arigatoo-gozaimashita. Raishuu, watashi no ie ni kite itadakimasen ka. Gohan o tsukutte agemasu.</i> 'Tonight I'm sorry. Even though it was so late, thank you for taking me to the hospital. Next week, will you come to my house? I will make you a meal.' (Caia, pre-test, Item 5)
4.	<i>Shitsurei shimasu. Hontoo ni arigatoo-gozaimashita!</i> 'Excuse me. Thank you so much!' (Logan, pre-test, Item 9)
5.	<i>Sumimasen-deshita. Itsumo osewa ni narimashita. Arigatoo-gozaimasu.</i> 'I'm sorry. Always you took care of me. Thank you.' (Wei, pre-test, Item 9)
6.	<i>Ojamashite sumimasen-deshita. Hontoo ni arigatoo-gozaimasu.</i> 'I'm sorry for having me over. Thank you so much.' (Emily, pre-test, Item 9)

Overall, students' thanking expressions consisted of short responses, mostly common expressions and fixed formulaic expressions. Short responses are appropriate in many situations, for example, when offered a cup of tea, receiving minor assistance from a friend, or getting help with a door. However, when a speaker's emotion is heightened or their actions have caused indebtedness, thanking expressions tend to be longer and more elaborated. To accomplish this, students combined different common or formulaic expressions, without using elaboration strategies and emotion expressions effectively. Students used the same elaboration strategies across different contexts, which sometimes resulted in unsuitable expressions. For example, *itsumo osewani narimashita* in Example 5 was not appropriate, since *itsumo* 'always' refers to recurring help or favors. *Ojama shite sumimasen deshita* in Example 6 is also odd, as *ojama suru* is used when visiting someone's house.

Student development in these areas can be observed on the post-tests; their elaboration strategies and emotion expressions show more variety. Table 5.7 displays students' post-test DCT answers from items that prompted higher indebtedness. The situation in Item 5 on Post-test 1 was a Japanese teacher lending three *yukata* sets of cotton *kimono* and *obi*, worn in the summer, to the speaker who was organizing a cultural festival. The situation in Item 4 on Post-test 2 was the speaker having trouble communicating their housing needs to their prospective host family in Japan. The speaker's teacher helped to solve the issue. Translations of the students' Japanese are enclosed in single quotation marks.

Table 5.7: Students' DCT Answers from the Post-tests

1.	<i>Ureshii desu. Doomo arigatoo-gozaimashita. Nan to orei o mooshiagereba.</i> 'I'm glad. Thank you very much. I don't know how to thank.' (Andres, Post-test 1, Item 5)
2.	<i>Otsukaresama-deshita! Konban, tetsudatte itadaite arigatoo-gozaimashita! Sensee ga inakattara taihen na koto ni natta kamo shirenai node, hontoo ni kite itadaite arigatoo-gozaimashita.</i> 'Thank you for your hard work! Tonight, thank you for helping me. Because it might have been a difficult thing if you weren't there, thank you so much for coming' (Caia, Post-test 1, Item 5)
3.	<i>Sensee no okage de ii ibento ga dekimashita. Minasan tanoshimimashita. Hontoo ni arigatoo-gozaimashita.</i> 'Thanks to you, we did a great event. Everyone had fun. Thank you so much.' (Emily, Post-test1, Item 5)
4.	<i>Sensee no okage de, minasan wa yorokonde samazama na kireina yukata o kimashita. Sensee, arigatoo-gozaimasu!</i> 'Thanks to you, everyone was happy and wore various pretty yukata. Professor, thank you!' (Wei, Post-test 1, Item 5)
5.	<i>O:, gomennasai. Sono koto de wa arimasen deshita. Jikan ga kakaru node. Sensee wa shinpai shinasai.</i> 'Oh, I'm sorry. It was not that. Because this takes time. Please worry, teacher.' (Logan, Post-test 2, Item 4)
6.	<i>Sensee wa isogashii deshoo. Komatte iru n desu kara, sumimasen, onegaishimasu.</i> 'You must be busy. Because I'm in trouble, I'm sorry. Please, if you would.' (Sophia, Post-test 2, Item 4)

Students used expressions from the SCOBAs, including appropriate formulaic expressions for particular situations. Some students also modified the SCOBAs and invented their own. That means students were being creative, working to fit these expressions into appropriate contexts. This is evidence of internalization, transforming from other-regulation, where students merely copy expressions from SCOBAs, to self-regulation, where students exercise agency and created their own intended meanings. I will discuss this point further in the next section.

Transformation from other-regulation to self-regulation may occur during ZPDs (Swain et al., 2015; Vygotsky, 1978, 1986). A ZPD is a collective activity, in which a person received mediation to create an environment for learning-leading-development (Holzman, 2018). What merits further exploration is how students developed these skills. The next section features two

focal students, Andres and Logan, and follows their developmental paths. Microgenetic analysis of the two students' interactions with experts reveals moments students' conceptual understanding changed and how the change in conceptual understanding affected the quality of their gratitude expressions.

5.6.3 Development of Conceptual Understanding through Mediated Interaction

This section presents microgenetic analysis of two focal students, Andres and Logan, by investigating their pre-test interview data, DCT answers, DCT reflections, and conversation data during the C-BLI sessions. Andres and Logan showed different developmental trajectories, and yet both demonstrated development in their conceptual understanding and performance. It is worthwhile to explore how C-BLI guided students with varied orienting basis of action or OBAs (see Chapter 2). On the pre-test, the interview and DCT reflections revealed that Andres and Logan started with different OBAs. Andres started with little understanding of concepts related to thanking in Japanese and relied on his L1 knowledge to make pragmatic choices. On the other hand, Logan had partial understanding of Japanese thanking from his life experience in Japan; however, his understanding was fragmented and incomplete. Despite the differences in Andres and Logan's OBAs prior to the C-BLI unit, both developed L2 scientific concepts and improved their ability to express gratitude in their L2 Japanese.

Andres. Andres is from Colombia and speaks Spanish as his L1. He started Japanese learning after he came to the U.S. to pursue a doctorate degree in Spanish literature. He had been studying Japanese for two years at the time of instruction, including two summer intensive courses for first- and third-year Japanese, in which one year's worth of instruction is covered within nine weeks, and regular academic-year courses for second- and fourth-year Japanese.

Andres sometimes watches Japanese TV shows and interacts with a language partner from Japan. However, he reported that his access to the Japanese community was highly limited. He had never been to Japan.

Andres initially heavily relied on L1 Spanish knowledge when choosing apology-based expressions. Reliance on L1 knowledge is not uncommon. For instance, Al-Issa (2003) reported on EFL learners' refusals in L2 English, which was influenced by their L1 Arabic, in terms of selecting refusal strategies, length of responses, and content of semantic formulas. Through C-BLI, Andres successfully developed L2 scientific concepts of thanking. By Homework 4, conducted between Weeks 4 and 6, his reliance on L1 knowledge mostly disappeared, and Andres demonstrated pragmatic choices based mainly on the L2 concepts. In the following, I present a microgenetic analysis of Andres' development.

Andres' Orienting Bases of Action before the C-BLI unit. On the pre-test DCT, Andres used gratitude-based expressions in 10 out of 14 situations. He used apology-based expressions for just 4 situations and did not mix the two types of expressions. In the pre-test interview, Andres reported that he largely used gratitude-based expressions because it was "a safe word." Excerpt 5.1 presents an excerpt from his pre-test interview. The three dots (...) in the transcript indicate omitted utterances. Translations are enclosed in single quotation marks and did not appear in the original transcript.

Excerpt 5.1

...For most of the situations, ...the first thing I would say in most of the cases would be *arigatoo* 'thanks.' And I don't think it works for every time... But to me, I guess my Japanese is still very rough. And, like most cases, I'd go to a safe word to something that I'm confident expressing.... Like there were situations where your boss was doing something for you, or your neighbor, or your landlord, instead of your friend or your family. So, in those cases, to me, just making sure that I'm not offending anybody, or not using the correct polite marker. That's why I would fall to *arigatoo-gozaïmasu* 'thank you,' which is more, you knew these phrases.

Andres said, “I don’t think it (*arigatoo* ‘thanks’) works for every time,” indicating that he seemed to be aware that gratitude-based thanking such as *arigatoo* ‘thanks’ may not always be appropriate but did not know when and why *arigatoo* may not be suitable. As a result, he chose the most familiar gratitude-based expression.

Andres also used four cases of apology-based expressions on the pre-test. DCT reflections and the pre-test interview revealed that his decision to use apology expressions was based on his L1 knowledge, which, according to Andres, also frequently uses apology-based expressions in thanking. He mentioned in his DCT reflections that he followed his L1 norm for all the four cases of his apology-based thanking. Excerpt 5.2 presents one example from his DCT answers in the pre-test. Translations are enclosed in single quotation marks and did not appear in the original transcript.

Excerpt 5.2 Andres’s Thanking Expressions and Reflection from Pre-test DCT, Item 8

DCT situation	You are at a party and just missed the last train. Your friend is kindly offering you a ride home although their home is not in the same direction.
Written DCT answer	<i>Hontoo ni daijobu? Gomen.</i>
Oral reflection	‘Is it really okay? I’m sorry’ That’s me thinking in Spanish, translating into Japanese. In Spanish, in this situation, I’d first make sure that this person is actually fine with this. So, then I ask really? And then, “ah I’m sorry for the inconvenience” in here.

Considering the level of imposition, Andres’ choice of the apology expression was appropriate. However, as indicated in his reflection, Andres based his judgement on L1 knowledge, not on the L2 concept, in order to select an apology-based expression in Japanese. He reported that he was “thinking in Spanish” and “translating into Japanese.” Andres also shared his uncertainty of whether his L1 knowledge was transferable to L2 Japanese. See Excerpt 5.3 from the pre-test interview.

Excerpt 5.3

... Because my culture is very apologetic, I would incline to say *gomen ne* 'sorry-casual-discourse marker *ne*', or *sumimasen* 'sorry-polite.' But I don't know if that would apply necessarily in Japanese. That's just something I would be translating from Spanish to Japanese. I don't know if that applies.

Andres' comment shows Spanish L1 influence on his Japanese L2 pragmatic decisions.

Vygotsky (1986) drew an analogy between L1 and spontaneous concepts, which are developed from life experiences. Spontaneous concepts are usually concrete, contextualized and non-systematic. L1 is acquired through everyday personal experience, and L1 speakers can successfully use it in communication. However, their L1 knowledge is unconscious and is typically not supported with conceptual knowledge; thus they usually cannot explain why a certain aspect of language is used in communication. The C-BLI unit provided students scientific concepts to gain a deeper understanding of the L2 world. In the process of internalizing scientific concepts, L1 or everyday concepts can be useful, as spontaneous concepts function as the foundation on which scientific concepts are built. We now consider how Andres' L2 scientific concepts emerged.

Andres' Development of L2 Scientific Concepts. Andres' scientific concepts started emerging during the C-BLI unit. DCT answers revealed Andres' incorporation of L2 scientific concepts while still using L1 spontaneous concepts. Excerpt 5.4 is taken from the Homework 3 DCT, which he completed after the Discussion Session in Week 3, and presents an example where Andres made use of both spontaneous concepts (his knowledge about Spanish and English) and scientific concepts (his knowledge about Japanese) to decide on gratitude expressions.

Excerpt 5.4 Andres' Thanking Expressions and Reflections from Homework 3, Item 6

DCT situation	You are taking Japanese class at the university. You want to consult with your professor regarding your writing project, but you have another class during the professor's office hours. Your professor made an appointment with you that was not during their office hours.
Written DCT answer	<i>Gomeiwaku o okakeshimashita. Sumimasen.</i> 'I caused you trouble. I'm sorry'
Oral reflection	Since it's your <i>sensee</i> 'professor'. ...So having them change the appointment time is probably difficult. So, I would feel I'm imposing. So I would say <i>I'm sorry</i> . Not only in Japanese, I think I'd say sorry in English or in Spanish.

Andres' DCT reflection shows his use of scientific concepts to make his pragmatic choice.

Andres mentioned social hierarchy ("since it's your *sensee* 'professor'"), size of favor ("having them change the appointment time is probably difficult"), and the speaker's emotion prompted by these sociocultural factors ("so I would feel I'm imposing"). His reflection shows that he successfully considered sociocultural factors, connected them to the speaker's emotion and chose an apology-based expression. Selecting recognition of imposition for elaborating gratitude (*gomeiwaku o okakeshimashita* 'I caused you trouble') further added an apologetic tone.

Although application of L2 concepts was evident in Andres' DCT reflections, dependence on his L1 knowledge was still observed. His comment that he would also be apologetic in English or in Spanish ("I think I'd say sorry in English or in Spanish") implies that he was also relying on his spontaneous concepts. Elsewhere Andres mentioned that apology expressions in L1 Spanish are used when a speaker bothers the benefactor by receiving a favor or help. The Spanish common apologetic expression in thanking, *qué pena*, implies the speaker's embarrassment for taking the interlocutor's time and/or making them do something for the speaker. In the situation in Excerpt 5.4, the student imposed on the professor's schedule by

arranging an appointment time outside the professor's office hours. This is, according to Andres, exactly the type of situation where a speaker would use *qué pena* in Spanish.

Vygotsky claims that concept development occurs through merging of spontaneous (L1) and scientific (L2) concepts in a dynamic reciprocal system, and emphasizes that internalization of scientific concepts is only possible through formal instruction. Therefore, effective instruction offers opportunities for spontaneous and scientific concepts to interact with one another (Brooks et al., 2010; Lantolf & Thorne, 2006; Vygotsky, 1986). Excerpt 5.4 demonstrates how Andres used his L1 Spanish/L2 English (spontaneous concepts) to understand the new L2 Japanese concepts (scientific concepts) to produce gratitude expressions.

Andres' Development through Communicated Thinking. As presented above, Andres started incorporating various aspects of the target concepts. However, his attention to the target concepts and ability to connect them to context was not yet consistent and solid. In some DCT situations, he failed to consider the speaker's emotions and/or some sociocultural factors. This shows that his performance was not yet self-regulated and that he was still in need of external assistance to make use of new knowledge.

As discussed in the previous section, SCOBAs were one form of external assistance students relied on during the C-BLI unit. In this section, we investigate another form of mediational means, communicated thinking. Communicated thinking is a transitional phase between other-regulation and self-regulation. Students' cognition can be mediated through communicated thinking, as they internalize the target concepts and move toward self-regulated performance (Gal'perin, 1989). The two individual sessions were arranged to promote L2 learners' communicated thinking through the teacher's mediation. During the individual sessions, Andres' conceptual understanding and performance were mediated through the

teacher's assistance. In the following, I discuss how teacher's mediation re-oriented his attention to overlooked concepts and prompted his communicated thinking that reinforced his conceptual understanding.

In DCT reflections during Individual Session 1, Andres changed his answers several times as he engaged in communicated thinking with the teacher. I present an instance where Andres' thinking was developing through communicated thinking. I first present Excerpt 5.5 from Homework 3 DCT, which he completed at home.

Excerpt 5.5 Andres Thanking Expressions from Homework 3, Item 4

DCT situation	There is a manga book that you can only get in Japan, and you really want that book. Since your Japanese friend is going back to Japan during summer, you asked them to get it for you and gave them money in advance. Now they are back from Japan with the book you asked.
Written DCT answer	<i>Iya, ureshii na! Kono hon wa amerika nara kaenai n dayo. Katte moratte arigatoo!</i> 'Wow, I'm happy! You can't get this book in the U.S. Thank you for buying it for me.'

Andres based his thanking on a gratitude-based expression, *arigatoo* 'thanks.' For elaborating gratitude, he used positive feelings, *iya, ureshii na* 'wow, I'm happy,' and mentioning that the outcome would not have been realized without the act of his friend, *kono hon wa america nara kaenain da yo* 'you cannot buy this book in America.' These elaborating strategies add a tone of gladness to the expressions, and there are no nuances of indebtedness or guilt in his expressions.

Although Andres' gratitude expressions were appropriate, his DCT reflection revealed that he failed to attend to the speaker's emotions. When the teacher oriented his attention to the speaker's emotions, Andres noticed that his gratitude expression had not reflected his indebtedness and revised his answer. Excerpt 5.6 is taken from a conversation between Andres

and the teacher, discussing the situation presented in the previous excerpt, Excerpt 5.5. In the transcript, the teacher uses Japanese words. Translations of the Japanese words used in the conversation are added and enclosed in single quotation marks.

Excerpt 5.6

T=Teacher; A=Andres

- 1 T: ... Do you think you would feel a sense of *kyooshuku* 'indebtedness' here? or no sense of *kyooshuku* 'indebtedness'?
- 2 A: I guess I would feel a little bit of *kyooshuku* 'indebtedness.' Yeah. I guess that's not expressed in my answer.
- 3 T: But you wanna express more of the *yorokobi* 'pleasure' side?
- 4 A: I guess I would be really happy to get the book.
- 5 T: Um-huh. Okay
- 6 A: Also since. (8.0). Yeah. I guess I still think that my answer is not complete. I think I should add- Or I would definitely- I'd definitely feel *kyooshuku* 'indebtedness' in this situation. So I guess I would say something simple like *gomen* 'sorry-casual' or *sumimasen* 'sorry-formal'.
- 7 T: Yeah. It doesn't mean that you have to say *gomennasai* 'sorry-semi-formal' every time you feel *kyooshuku* 'indebtedness.' So it could be both of them, right? Like *kyooshuku* 'indebtedness' and *yorokobi* 'pleasure'. And if you want to express more on the *yorokobi* 'pleasure' side, then it's totally okay to just say *arigatoo* 'thank you'.
- 8 A: I think I would be more *yorokobi* 'pleasure'. I also think that even though you are asking them for a favor- to go out of their way during the vacation and get the book. You also gave them the money in advance. He is Japanese. He's probably supposed to go back to Japan. It's not that you are making that person go to Japan to get the book.
- 9 T: Yeah yeah.
- 10 A: So I don't know.
- 11 T: So it's not big *kyooshuku* 'indebtedness'?
- 12 A: But I still- I still feel *kyooshuku* 'indebtedness.' So I guess I would say *iya gomen* 'well, sorry' and then express the *yorokobi* 'pleasure.'

In line 1, the teacher directed Andres' attention to the speaker's emotions by asking "do you think you would feel a sense of *kyooshuku* 'indebtedness' here?" In line 2, Andres noticed that his expression does not reflect his indebtedness. In line 3, the teacher further asked if he wanted to focus on his *yorokobi* 'pleasure.' Although Andres admits that he felt pleasure in line 4, he

mentioned that he needed to add an apology-based expression to present his indebtedness in line 6. In line 7, the teacher reminded him that there was no need to use apology-based expressions if he wanted to emphasize his pleasure. Then, in line 8, he mentioned that he would feel more pleasure and provided an analysis of how big the indebtedness should be by examining sociocultural factors, an initiator of the favor (“you are asking them for a favor”) and the size of the favor (“go out of their way during the vacation,” “you also gave them the money in advance,” and “it’s not that you are making that person go to Japan to get the book”).

Although line 10 implies that he seems to be still not confident how big his indebtedness is, he added an apology-based expression, *gomen* ‘sorry’, to his original response in line 12. It is not clear from the transcript why he felt indebtedness despite that “you also gave them the money in advance” and that “he’s probably supposed to go back to Japan. it’s not that you are making that person go to Japan to get the book,” which would supposedly make the speaker feel less indebted. He might have considered other sociocultural factors or might have relied on his intuition. Nonetheless, Andres’ thinking is developing while he is talking with the teacher. He first noticed that he would feel indebted in line 2. The teacher’s follow-up question about feeling pleasure prompted him to examine both emotions. Then, he examined the sociocultural factors and re-assessed the situation. After his careful examination through languaging, he concludes that he would still feel indebtedness in line 12. According to Vygotsky, such communicated thinking with others is an important step for the formation of concepts before students reach the level of inner speech or a mental action.

Andres demonstrated a more self-regulated performance in the next individual session. In Individual Session 2, students provided DCT reflections for Homework 4, which students had completed after Individual Session 1. During DCT reflections, Andres referred to the speaker’s

emotions more frequently without being prompted by the teacher. Excerpt 5.7 presents his gratitude expressions and reflection from Homework 4, Item 2.

Excerpt 5.7 Andres's Thanking Expression and Reflection from Homework 4, Item 2

DCT situation	You are about to take an exam in Japanese class and realized that you forgot a pencil. You asked your professor for a pencil, and they lent you one.
Written DCT answer	<i>Arigatoo-gozaimasu. Kyooshuku desu. Sumimasen-deshita.</i> Thank you. Sorry to trouble you. I'm sorry.
Oral reflection	Because also it's your <i>sensee</i> 'professor'. Because of the difference of the role. Also your <i>sensee</i> is not expected to be handing out pencils during exams. You are embarrassed a little bit.

Andres mentioned sociocultural factors of hierarchy (“it’s your *sensee* ‘professor’”) and social expectation (“your *sensee* is not expected to be handing out pencils during exams”). He also examined the speaker’s emotion (“you are embarrassed a little bit”) and selected two apology-based expressions, *kyooshuku desu* ‘I feel indebted’ and *sumimasen-deshita* ‘I’m sorry-past.’ Further, he demonstrated his understanding of differences in sociocultural factors and deliberately made distinctions in his gratitude expressions, which is presented in Excerpt 5.8. The situation is the same as the one in Excerpt 5.7 except for the initiator of the favor. While the student asks the teacher for a pencil in Excerpt 5.7, the teacher voluntarily offers a pencil to the student in Excerpt 5.8. The speaker would likely feel more indebted when the speaker initiated the favor rather than the favor is voluntarily offered (Akahori, 1995).

Excerpt 5.8 Andres's Thanking Expressions and Reflection from Homework 4, Item 3

DCT situation	You are about to take an exam in Japanese class and realized that you forgot a pencil. Your professor noticed that you didn't have a pencil and lent you their pen.
Written DCT answer	<i>Arigatoo-gozaimasu. Kyooshuku desu.</i> Thank you. Sorry to trouble you.
Oral reflection	... I only answered differently because the situation is different. It's very similar. But the second one, I'm not using <i>sumimasen</i> 'sorry,' because you are not like initiating that. But the action from the <i>sensee</i> . So, in this case, instead of 'I inconvenienced you,' it's more like 'thank you for helping me.'

In the reflection, Andres said "the second one, I'm not using *sumimasen*. because you are not like initiating that... but the action from the *sensee*," exhibiting that he deliberately differentiated his gratitude expressions based on the fact of who initiated the favor. At this point, Andres produced gratitude expressions based on the L2 concepts, and reliance on his L1 knowledge was no longer observed.

Logan. Logan is an L1 English speaker and grew up in the U.S. He had been studying Japanese for eight years at the time of instruction. He lived in Japan for one year as an assistant English teacher at local elementary and middle schools. He reported that he did not know Japanese prior to his visit in Japan and self-studied while he was there. After his return to the U.S., he started graduate school in linguistics and took third- and fourth-year Japanese at the university. Logan expressed interest in watching Japanese films and studying for the Japanese Language Proficiency Test, a standardized test administered by Japan's Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology. However, Logan said that he has little contact with people from Japan and rarely speaks Japanese today. On the pre-test, Logan made pragmatic choices based on his understanding of thanking formed by previous life experiences and used

apology-based thanking for different reasons than Andres. It is worthwhile to explore Logan's developmental path to better understand how C-BLI can benefit students with different OBAs.

Logan's Orienting Basis of Action (OBA) before the C-BLI unit. On the pre-test, Logan demonstrated some understanding of thanking in Japanese. In Excerpt 5.9 taken from the pre-test interview, Logan reported that he had first learned about Japanese thanking from a book, *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* (Benedict, 1946).

Excerpt 5.9 Logan's Explanation of Japanese Thanking from the Pre-test Interview

I think the first thing that I ever heard was even before I started studying Japanese. Maybe I read Benedict about saying *sumimasen* 'sorry' instead of *arigatoo* 'thank you' in a lot of cases. And I think she makes a big philosophical point about when somebody does something for you, and, in her words, Japanese culture, it creates sort of social burden or something like that. You cause the trouble or something, and you say *sumimasen* 'sorry' instead of *arigatoo* 'thank you.'

What Logan had learned from Benedict's book was confirmed when he lived in Japan. In

Excerpt 5.10, Logan explained that he directly observed how Japanese people behaved during his stay in Japan.

Excerpt 5.10

I guess I noticed people saying *sumimasen* 'sorry' for like maybe smaller things, like holding a door or handing someone something maybe. Generally, not for giving a gift or for helping somebody out with a favor, probably. That is my recollection. ... The delivery is sort of emphatic, like, there is a high level of energy when somebody is like *a:: arigatoo gozaimashita* 'wow, thank you,' like sort of excitement that I guess is kind of common in other situations in Japanese.

In Japan, Logan observed that people said *sumimasen* for small things: such as being helped with a door or receiving something. Accordingly, in DCT answers, he used *sumimasen* in such

situations, for example, where the speaker visits someone's house and receives a cup of tea from the host. However, in his understanding, *sumimasen* wouldn't be appropriate for receiving a gift or being helped, which is not accurate.

A closer examination of Logan's pre-test DCT answers and reflections revealed how Logan analyzed thanking situations to choose gratitude expressions. In the pre-test interview, Logan said that apology expressions were not appropriate for being helped with a favor. However, in DCT answers, he used apology expressions for such situations as well. This indicates that Logan's conceptual understanding and his performance were not well coordinated. Also, there was no evidence that Logan considered the speaker's emotions. In terms of sociocultural factors, social distance and size of favor were mentioned, but other factors were not. The results further showed that Logan used apology-based thanking for three different reasons: to express gratitude in high-burden situations, to heighten the level of formality in thanking, and to make an utterance longer. Excerpt 5.11 presents an example where Logan used apology expressions to heighten the level of formality in a high-burden situation.

Excerpt 5.11 Logan's Thanking Expressions and Reflection from the Pre-test DCT, Item 8

DCT situation	You are at a party and just missed the last train. Your friend is kindly offering you a ride home, although her/his home is not in the same direction.
Written DCT answer	A: <i>ii desu ka? Sumimasen! Tasukaru!</i>
Oral reflection	...It's sort of in an occasion where someone's going to some trouble for you. Or they are not giving you something. They are doing something for you. I guess <i>sumimasen- sumimasen-deshita</i> is how I would make it formal. I would've used it here to start off the dialogue to be a little formal, since I'm taking this ride from a friend. That's going to be a little trouble. And then, get less formal as (unintelligible) so <i>tasukaru</i> , which I've only seen it in the textbook. But I thought maybe it worked here. ...

Logan analyzes the scenario as a high-burden scenario (“it’s sort of a- um. in an occasion where someone’s going to some trouble for you,” and “that’s gonna be a little trouble.”). He also mentioned the use of an apology expression, *sumimasen* ‘sorry’, to make the utterance formal (“I guess *sumimasen- sumimasen-deshita* ‘I’m sorry-past’ is how I would make it formal.”). In other situations, in which the interlocutor is a friend, Logan answered in the casual speech style. However, for high-burden situations like Excerpt 5.11, he mixed the casual speech style and the polite speech style even to a friend. In Excerpt 5.11, he started with “*aa, ii desu ka?* ‘well, are you sure?’” in the polite speech style, then an apology-based common expression “*sumimasen*”, which is also the polite speech style. Then, he switched to the casual speech style and added elaborating gratitude, *tasukaru* ‘it helps.’ Logan’s comment, “I would’ve used it here to start off the dialogue to be a little formal since I’m taking this ride from my friend,” indicates that he used the polite speech style to emphasize gratitude. Here, Logan is using this strategically, assuming that shifting to a formal form strengthens the expression of gratitude.

The next example, Excerpt 5.12, demonstrates Logan’s use of *sumimasen* as a strategy to lengthen his utterance and compensate for his lack of ability to elaborate gratitude expressions. The situation is the same as Excerpt 5.11 except that the interlocutor is a boss.

Excerpt 5.12 Logan’s Thanking Expressions and Reflection from Pre-test DCT, Item 9

DCT situation	You are at a party and just missed the last train. Your boss is kindly offering you a ride home although her/his home is not in the same direction.
Written DCT answer	<i>A: ii desu ka. Hontoo ni sumimasen-deshita! Arigatoo-gozaïmasu!</i>
Oral reflection	Oh, are you sure? I’m very sorry! Thank you! ...It’s more to not be too brief. ... <i>okutte kurete arigatoo-gozaïmashita</i> ‘Thank you for driving me home’ or something like that. I guess I could never imagine myself saying that [<i>okutte kurete arigatoo-gozaïmashita</i> ‘thank you for driving me home’] in real life. Maybe because my Japanese isn’t good enough to conjugate the verb on the spot.... So I just threw both of them in there.

Although Logan's use of *sumimasen* is appropriate, he reported that he used both gratitude (*arigatoo*) and apology (*sumimasen*) expressions to make the utterance long. His comments, "I guess I could never imagine myself saying that (*okutte kurete arigatoo-gozaimashita* 'thank you for driving me home') in real life. Maybe because my Japanese isn't good enough to conjugate the verb on the spot," also suggest that he used both gratitude and apology expressions to compensate for his inability to use more explicit expressions of gratitude. Logan's OBA was transformed through the C-BLI unit. In the following, I present Logan's development in conceptual understanding and production of thanking.

Logan's Developing Scientific Concepts. During the C-BLI unit, Logan started considering target concepts, including the speaker's emotions, various sociocultural factors and the empathy operation, which he did not consider on the pre-test. In production, his incorporation of different elaborating gratitude and emotion expressions was also observed. Excerpt 5.13 is taken from Homework 3, which Logan completed after the Discussion Session. This excerpt shows how Logan analyzed the speaker's emotions and sociocultural factors.

Excerpt 5.13 Logan's Thanking Expressions and Reflection from Homework 3, Item 2

DCT situation	You were at Japanese conversation table. Suddenly, you got an acute stomachache and couldn't continue the conversation. Your Japanese conversation partner noticed your condition and came along with you to Hall Health. Now, you saw a doctor and got medicine. You and your friend are now at the pharmacy to get medicine.
Written DCT answer	<i>A: hontoo ni osewa ni naru yo. Sumimasen yo. Chikazika gohan ogoru yo.</i> 'Oh, I truly received your care. I'm sorry. I will treat you a meal at some point in the near future.'
Oral reflection	Here, it's my friend as well. But it seems like a lot of trouble to her. And maybe slightly embarrassed? ... So maybe like there is a mild embarrassment if you know getting sick on your friend. And they had to carry you (unintelligible) to the doctor or whatever. And waited for you to get you medicine. So, definitely more <i>kyooshuku no kanji</i> 'feeling of indebtedness'... And if I were in the case like that, I would owe some sort of repayment. So, I offered to <i>ogoru</i> 'treat a meal'.

For a common expression, Logan chose an apology-based expression, *sumimasen-yo* 'I'm sorry' with a discourse marker *yo*. Logan's reflection shows his examination of social distance ("it's my friend as well. but..."), size of the favor ("it seems like a lot of trouble to her"), and the speaker's emotions ("maybe slightly embarrassed?" and "definitely more *kyooshuku no kanji* 'a feeling of indebtedness'") in choosing the apology expression. For elaborating gratitude, he chose recognition of benefit (*osewani naru yo* 'you take care of me'). He also used promising reciprocation (*chikazika ogoru yo* 'I will treat you a meal sometime soon'). For emotion expressions, he used an interjection (*A:*), a strengthener (*hontoo ni* 'really') and the discourse marker *yo*.

Logan also used the empathy operation to show politeness. By shifting the speaker's point of view to the hearer/benefactor's situation and acknowledging the inconvenience the hearer experienced, apology expressions in thanking convey the speaker's humbleness and politeness (Kumatoridani, 1990; Suriratt, 2011). Excerpt 5.14 is an example, where Logan used the empathy operation.

Excerpt 5.14 Logan's Thanking Expressions and Reflection about the Empathy Operation from Homework 3, Item 14.

DCT situation	You are organizing a small party at a company you work in Japan. Now you are at a liquor shop to place an order. After you placed an order of a case of beer and a case of soft drinks, the store clerk offered 50 paper cups on the house.
Written DCT answer	<i>E: hontoo! Sumimasen-deshita! Ki ga ookii da yo.</i> 'Really! I'm sorry! You are generous.'
Oral reflection	It's also slightly strange now I think about it. But it seems like a nice thing to give you some service thing. I don't think there is any expectation of this liquor shop worker to give me some free stuff. So, I felt sort of surprised and genuinely grateful. So, I thought the <i>sumimasen-deshita</i> sort of humbled me in a way that was appropriate to the situation.

Logan stated that it is not socially expected to receive free cups from the store clerk but is "a nice thing." Logan reported that he would feel "surprised and genuinely grateful" and did not refer to any indebtedness or guilt that could lead to apology expressions. However, he said that he used *sumimasen-deshita* 'I'm sorry-past' to humble himself. This is a new strategy of using an apology expression for Logan.

In his Homework 3 DCT reflection, Logan said "I did have this (SCOPA) beside me to sort of remind myself of all the options that I have," showing his other-regulated performance. With the help of external assistance, Logan examined the speaker's emotions and successfully incorporated them into his gratitude expressions. Further, his gratitude expressions became more elaborated with various strategies and emotion expressions compared to the pre-test, where he used both gratitude and apology expressions to compensate for his lack of ability to elaborate gratitude. The number of elaborations that Logan produced on Homework 3 increased by 12 cases from the pre-test (15 cases in the pre-test and 27 cases in Homework 3; see Figure 5.7 for details), with three kinds of elaborating strategies: recognition of imposition, positive feeling and mentioning that the speaker has no words to express himself. Recognition of imposition and

mentioning that the speaker has no words to express himself were the new strategies Logan demonstrated after the C-BLI unit. Especially, his use of recognition of imposition increased from zero case on the pre-test to six cases on the post-test. In the next section, I explore how Logan's recognition of imposition developed and how mediation promoted his internalization.

Logan's Development of Gratitude Elaboration Strategies through Imitation:

Recognition of Imposition. Logan learned different expressions to acknowledge imposition through imitation. Sociocultural theory considers imitation to be a creative "process through which socioculturally constructed forms of mediation are internalized" (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006: 166) (see Chapter 2). For Vygotsky, imitation is a creative act, especially imitation that is intentional and directed at achieving goals. It involves experimentation, which deliberately modifies the expert's original models and creates something new. This kind of imitation shows more innovation and understanding, evidencing more movement toward internalization within a learner's ZPD. Through external assistance--including SCOBAs, internalization tasks, a native speaker participant, and the teacher--Logan's internalization was facilitated by imitation. In the following, I present Logan's mediated development through imitation by focusing on the strategy of recognizing imposition. This strategy expresses the speaker/beneficiary's explicit acknowledgement of the trouble the speaker causes by receiving a favor. It can be expressed by mentioning the possibility that the benefactor is inconvenienced: for example, *kore taihen datta deshoo?* 'This must have been a lot of trouble, wasn't it?' It can also be expressed by stating that the benefactor's act was beyond expectations: for example, *ki o tsukawanakutemo yokatta noni* 'you didn't have to worry about me.'

On the pre-test, Logan did not express recognition of imposition in his DCT answers (see Figure 5.7). During the C-BLI unit, Logan learned different expressions to recognize imposition.

Table 5.8 summarizes the expressions of recognizing imposition Logan used during the C-BLI unit.

Table 5.8: Expressions of Recognizing Imposition that Logan Used during the C-BLI Unit

Mediational means	Expressions Logan newly used
SCOPA 4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Taihen datta deshoo?</i> 'This must have been a lot of trouble, wasn't it?' • <i>Ki o tsukawanakutemo yokatta noni.</i> 'You didn't have to worry about me.'
Scenario analysis task in Group Session 2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Gomuri o okakeshite</i> 'for causing you a burden,' • <i>Gomendoo o okakeshite</i> 'for causing you a bother,' • <i>Shinpai o kakete</i> 'for causing you worries,' • <i>Ote o wazurawasete shimai</i> 'for troubling your hand.'
Discussion Session	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Jikan kakatta deshoo?</i> 'It must have taken time, didn't it?' • <i>Takakatta n ja nai?</i> 'Wasn't that expensive?'
Individual Session 1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Gomeiwaku o okakeshite sumimasen.</i> 'I'm sorry for causing you trouble'

SCOPA 4 (gratitude elaboration strategies) and the scenario analysis task were introduced in Group Session 2. After Group Session 2, students did a SCOPA re-creation task for Homework 2. On a modified SCOPA 4, in which examples were left blank, students created new examples. Students then brought their filled-in homework SCOPA to the Discussion Session, shared their examples with Japanese participants, and received feedback. Logan and his partner, Emily, both shared their examples of recognizing imposition with Japanese participant, Naoko. Logan said he could not think of anything good and copied the sentence from the original SCOPA 4. The expression he copied was *Kore taihen datta deshoo?* 'This must have been a lot of trouble, wasn't it?'. Naoko then provided Logan and Emily with new examples. Excerpt 5.15

shows the moment Naoko introduced two new expressions, *Jikan kakatta deshoo?* ‘It must have taken time, didn’t it?’ and *Takakatta n ja nai?* ‘Wasn’t that expensive?’

Excerpt 5.15

L=Logan, E=Emily, N=Naoko (NS participant)

1 N: Un. Also like when your friend did something that takes time, you can also say *jikan kakatta deshoo?* ‘it must have taken time, didn’t it?’ or something like that.

2 E: *Jikan kakatta?*

3 N: Un.

4 E: Wait.

5 L: *Jikan kakatta.* ((Writing it down. Whispering. Talking to himself))

6 N: Or if your friend makes really huge elaborated cake just for your birthday,=

7 E: Um-huh

8 N: =you can say *a:: jikan kakatta deshoo?*

9 L: *Jikan ka ka ka=*

10 N: *Kakatta desho*

11 E: ((Unintelligible))

12 L: =*ka katt-*

13 N: A, yes.

...

19 L: *Jikan kakatt-, jikan GA? kakatta?*

20 N: *Kakatta deshoo?* or like for example

21 E: Like it took time?

22 N: *E? nani?* ‘huh? What is it?’

23 E: Like does it mean it took you a lot of time?

24 N: Um-huh.

25 E: Oh yeah yeah yeah

26 N: Or like something like for example something very expensive-looking gift=

27 E: Un

28 N: =I would say like *a: takakatta n ja nai?* ‘Wasn’t that expensive?’

29 L: *Takakatta n ja nai*

30 E: A: yeah yeah. It makes sense.

31 N: Wasn’t it expensive or something like that.

...

43 L: *Takakatta*

44 N: Un. *Takakatta n ja nai? to ii masu ne.* ‘I say something like wasn’t it expensive?’ Un. ‘yes.’ You say *takakatta n janai?*

45 L: ((Mumbling))

Naoko provides a context where the phrase, *jikan kakatta deshoo?* ‘It must have taken time, didn’t it?’ is applicable in lines 1 and 6. The transcript records that Logan writes down notes as he was rehearsing the phrase in line 5. Emily also verifies her interpretation of the meaning with Naoko from lines 21 to 25. Naoko next provides another example, *takakatta n ja nai?* ‘Wasn’t that expensive?’, with a context in lines 26 and 28. Logan again produces private speech in a self-directed attempt to repeat and process the new expressions. With the goal of supporting Logan and Emily’s ability to express recognition of imposition, Naoko provides contexts with models (lines 6 and 26), repeats the expressions multiple times (lines 8, 10, 20 and 44), gives English translation (lines 24 and 31), and clarifies the grammatical structures (line 20). Naoko’s modeling created ZPDs and guided Logan and Emily to expand their abilities to express their intended meanings effectively.

Homework DCT 3, completed after the Discussion Session, revealed Logan’s application of the new expressions he learned from the SCOPA and Naoko. Logan used two kinds of recognition of imposition on Homework 3 DCT: *taihen datta deshoo?* ‘This must have been a lot of trouble, wasn’t it?’, which appeared on SCOPA 4 as an example, and which Logan also copied in the SCOPA completion task in Homework 2, and *jikan kakatta deshoo?* ‘It must have taken time, didn’t it?’, one of the two expressions Logan learned from Naoko. Table 5.3 summarizes the recognition of imposition Logan used.

Table 5.9: Three Cases of Recognition of Imposition from Logan's Homework 3

Model expressions	<i>Taihen datta deshoo?</i> 'This must have been a lot of trouble, wasn't it?'	<i>Jikan kakatta deshoo?</i> 'It must have taken time, didn't it?'
Logan's expressions	<i>Kore taihen desu kara, sumimasen-deshita.</i> 'Because this is difficult, I'm sorry.'	<i>Kore wa jikan kakatta deshoo?.</i> 'This must have taken time, didn't it?' <i>Jikan kakatta deshoo?.</i> 'It must have taken time, didn't it?'

While Logan used *jikan kakatta deshoo?* 'It must have taken time, didn't it?' without modification, he altered *taihen datta deshoo?* 'This must have been a lot of trouble, wasn't it?' (conventional) to *kore taihen desu kara* 'because this is difficult' (non-conventional), which makes the utterance ambiguous. It can be referred to either the speaker or the hearer who goes through the trouble. If it is interpreted as the speaker going through trouble, then it is not recognition of imposition. In his reflection, Logan reported that he intended to recognize his imposition and express regret for causing trouble. Therefore, this instance was marked as recognizing imposition. Here, we see evidence of imitation. Logan not only imitated the SCOPA's model, but he modified it so that it would better fit in the context. The context in question was that a student wants to consult with the teacher about their final project, but their schedule conflicts with the professor's office hours. The professor then makes an appointment with the student outside office hours. The student thanks the professor for making time for them. The tense in the original expression Logan learned (i.e., *taihen datta deshoo?* 'This must have been a lot of trouble, wasn't it?') is not exactly applicable in this context, because Logan intended to refer to the future trouble the professor would possibly face by making the time for this student. Thus, Logan used the non-past form and modified the expression to *kore taihen desu kara* 'because this is (or will be) difficult.' Although the sentence is semantically

ambiguous, it clearly evidences Logan’s deliberate manipulation of the model expression and his attempt to create something new. While acknowledging his answer, the teacher also introduced another new expression, *Gomeiwaku o okakeshite sumimasen* ‘I’m sorry for causing you trouble,’ which also fits the context and his intentions.

On Homework 4 DCT, completed after Individual Session 1, Logan’s use of recognizing imposition increased to five cases, and he used four kinds of recognition of imposition learned from the SCOPA, Naoko, and the teacher. Logan’s production for recognizing imposition from Homework 4 is summarized in Table 5.4.

Table 5.10: Five Cases of Recognition of Imposition from Logan’s Homework 4

Model expressions	<i>Jikan kakatta deshoo?</i> ‘It must have taken time, didn’t it.’	<i>Taihen datta deshoo?</i> ‘This must have been a lot of trouble, wasn’t it?’	<i>Gomeiwaku o okakeshite sumimasen.</i> ‘I’m sorry for causing you trouble.’	<i>Ki o tsukawanakutemo yokatta noni.</i> ‘You didn’t have to worry about me.’
Logan’s expressions	<i>Sensee, jikan ga kakatta deshita.</i> ‘Teacher, it took time.’ <i>Jikan ga kakatan da, sumimasen.</i> ‘It took time. Sorry’	<i>Taihen datta deshoo?</i> ‘This must have been a lot of trouble, wasn’t it?’	<i>Gomeiwaku o okakeshite sumimasen.</i> ‘I’m sorry for causing you trouble.’	<i>Ki o tsukawanakutemo yokatta noni, tasukaru</i> ‘Even though you didn’t have to worry about me, it helped.’

More cases and modifications on Homework 4 signal Logan’s attempts to apply the target expressions to a wider range of context. Rather than simply copying the model expressions, he was being more creative and revising expressions to fit into different contexts. On the post-tests,

completed without looking at SCOBAs, Logan demonstrated self-regulated performance. Table 5.11 summarizes six cases of recognizing imposition that Logan produced on Post-test 2.

Table 5.11: Recognizing Imposition on Logan's Post-test 2

Model expressions	<i>Jikan kakatta deshoo?</i> 'It must have taken time, didn't it?'	<i>Gomeiwaku o okakeshite sumimasen.</i> 'I'm sorry for causing you trouble.'	<i>Ki o tsukawanakutemo yokatta noni.</i> 'You didn't have to worry about me.'
Logan's expressions in DCT	<i>Aa, jikan ga kakaru kara, gomeiwaku o okakete gomennasai.</i> 'Ah, because it takes time, I'm sorry for causing you trouble.'	<i>Aa, jikan ga kakaru kara, gomeiwaku o okakete gomennasai.</i> 'Ah, because it takes time, I'm sorry for causing you trouble.'	<i>A, sumimasen deshita. Ki o tsukawanakute yokatta kara.</i> 'Ah, I'm sorry. You didn't have to worry about me.'
	<i>O: gomennasai...Jikan ga kakaru node.</i> 'Oh, I'm sorry...Because it takes time.'	<i>Gomeiwaku o okakete sumimasen deshita.</i> 'I'm sorry for causing you trouble.'	
	<i>Jikan ga kakaru kara sumimasen yo.</i> 'Because it takes time, I'm sorry.'		

Although some of the expressions were not target-like, Logan modified the original expressions and combined them with other thanking expressions and strategies. This is evidence of imitation, which “involves experimentation which deliberately alters the model provided by the expert interactant through persistent and varied versions” (Chappell, 2012, p. 70). Imitation emerges in the ZPD. L2 learners collaborate with an expert around specific tasks in which they are yet incapable of performing alone. Logan was introduced to expressions to recognize imposition by SCOBAs, examples from scenarios, Naoko and the teacher. The interaction with these external mediational means enables L2 learners to progress internalization inter-psychologically through imitation. The post-test, which Logan completed without external assistance, displayed his

continuous efforts to use and modify these expressions independently. Logan's work is not slavish but is rather directed at achieving communicative goals. Thus, imitation stimulates volition. The next section considers how conceptual and production development affected L2 learner agency.

Logan's Development of L2 Agency. Logan's DCT answers and reflections show that his development in both conceptual understanding and production abilities enabled him to make pragmatic choices strategically and express his intended meanings effectively. Excerpts 5.16 presents Logan's thanking expressions in two similar situations, with the difference being the initiators of the favor: in Item 2, the speaker/student asks the hearer/professor for a favor (speaker-initiated) whereas in Item 3 the hearer/professor voluntarily offers the speaker/student a pencil (hearer-initiated).

Excerpt 5.16 Logan's Thanking Expressions from Homework 4, Item 2 (Speaker-initiated Situation)

DCT situation	You are about to take an exam in Japanese class and realized that you forgot a pencil. You asked your professor for a pencil, and they lent you one.
Written	<i>Gomeiwaku o okakeshite sumimasen. Enpitsu de arigatoo-gozaïmasu.</i>
DCT answer	'I am sorry for causing you trouble. Thank you for the pencil.'

Logan's Thanking Expressions from Homework 4, Item 3 (Hearer-initiated Situation)

DCT situation	You are about to take an exam in Japanese class and realized that you forgot a pencil. Your professor noticed that you didn't have a pencil and lent you their pen.
Written	<i>Iya: sumimasen-deshita. Sensee wa kooryoshite kurete arigatoo-gozaïmasu.</i>
DCT answer	'I'm sorry. Thank you for considering (my situation).'

In Item 2, Logan added recognition of imposition (*gomeiwaku o okakeshite* ‘for causing you trouble’) to an apology-based expression, *sumimasen*, whereas in Item 3 he added recognition of benefit (*sensee wa kouryo shite kurete* ‘for considering (my situation)’) to a gratitude-based expression, *arigatoo-gozaimasu* ‘thank you-polite.’ Excerpt 5.17 presents Logan’s DCT reflection about his answers in Excerpt 5.16.

Excerpt 5.17

...There is a little bit of embarrassment if you have to ask on your own behalf. Whereas, if someone takes notice of you without your saying anything, that shows they’re a considerate, thoughtful person. So, there is a reason to feel more apologetic, I think, if you are asking for yourself whereas there is sort of a need to express more gratitude if someone surprises you with taking care of a situation for you.

His reflection shows that he was being strategic about elaborating gratitude. Because the speaker initiated the favor (“you have to ask on your own behalf”) in Item 2, Logan reported that he would feel embarrassed and therefore would feel more apologetic. As a result, Logan added recognition of imposition, *gomeiwaku o okakeshite* ‘for causing you trouble,’ to the apology expression, *sumimasen* ‘sorry.’ On the other hand, Logan said that if the hearer initiated, “there is sort of a need to express more gratitude.” Consequently, Logan added recognition of benefit, *sensee wa kooryoshite kurete* ‘for considering (about me),’ to the gratitude expression, *arigatoo gozaimasu* ‘thank you-polite.’

5.6.4 Appropriateness of the Instructional Materials

This section considers how appropriate the materials were for the target instructional level. The instructional unit aimed at developing both sociopragmatic knowledge and pragmalinguistic abilities about thanking in Japanese. Sociopragmatic concepts were presented

in English, which was the students' L1 or strong L2. To internalize the target concepts, students repeatedly engaged in languaging in English. To Vygotsky, language is the most useful mediational means for forming new cognitive frameworks; L1 is more useful than L2 for abstract and complex thinking, especially for those with intermediate or lower proficiency. Although the rate of development varied among participants, all demonstrated new cognitive formation about Japanese thinking, including students, like Andres, who had limited access to the target culture outside the classroom. Communicated thinking, or languaging with others, further facilitated internalization of the sociopragmatic concepts. As we have observed above, communicated thinking played a role in Andres and Logan's development of sociopragmatic concepts.

Pragmalinguistic knowledge was reinforced through production tasks such as role-plays and DCT assignments. However, the role-play did not elicit much production from the students. There are two possible reasons. First, the task was likely too difficult for them. The scenarios were selected from the DCT assignment completed prior to the role-play to reduce cognitive demands and prompt more spontaneous interactions. Yet, students struggled to carry on a conversation beyond their DCT answers. Excerpt 5.18 is taken from Emily's pre-test. The situation was the following: the speaker (Emily) lives in Japan and missed the last train of the day. Then, her friend (the teacher, role-playing as a friend) drives her home even though the friend's house is not in the same direction.

Excerpt 5.18. T=Teacher, E=Emily

1 T: *Emily. Tsuita yo.*

'Emily, we arrived.'

2 E: *Hai. A hh arigatoo ano gomen ne. ((unintelligible)). Okurete gomen. oh no. osokute gomen ne. ano. or. no no no. osokunate kita- kite gomen ne. hh. sorry.*

'Yes. A. hh. Thank you. Well. I'm sorry. ((unintelligible)). I'm sorry for being late. oh no. I'm sorry for being slow. Well. Or. No no no. It's getting late. For getting late. I'm sorry. hh. Sorry. '

3 T: *Zenzen. Kuruma no naka de iroiro hanasete tanoshikatta.*

‘No problem. It was fun talking with you in the car.’

4 E: *Hai. Tanoshikatta desu.* I mean, *tanoshikatta. wakatteta...arigatoo. oyasumi.*

‘Yes, it was fun (polite). I mean. It was fun (casual). I knew...Thank you. Good night.’

5 T: *Oyasuminasai.*

‘Good night.’

Although Emily thanks using common expressions (*arigatoo* ‘thanks’ and *gomen* ‘sorry’ in lines 2 and 4) with some elaborating strategies (*tanoshikatta* ‘it was fun’ in Line 4), there were frequent hesitations, stumbles, and halts, signaling the lack of sufficient language control. Similarly, role-play by other students also did not elicit any more than what they wrote in their DCT answers. Therefore, I decided to remove role-plays from the subsequent assignments.

Second, the role-play task design was not adequate. Some role-play scenarios, such as conversations between friends, were odd to perform between the teacher/researcher and the student. In line 4 of Excerpt 5.18, Emily first uttered in the polite form (“*Tanoshikatta desu* ‘it was fun’”) and rephrased it in the casual form (“*Tanoshikatta*”). Her use of the polite form may indicate her uncomfortableness with playing the role of a friend. Additionally, role-playing with the teacher might have created anxiety about making mistakes that resulted in generating frequent hesitations and stumbles. Student-student role plays may have been more fun and less nerve-wracking for students. Related to classroom language, Ohta (2001) found that students produced higher quality language with peers than with the teacher.

Although we saw qualitative change in students’ DCT answers, their thanking expressions were sometimes incomprehensible, especially when they invented their own expressions (see Table 5.7). Their grammatical and lexical repertoires might not have been sufficient to construct what they intended to express. In (5) of Table 5.7, *Jikan ga kakaru node* ‘because (it) takes time’ is ambiguous. Logan expressed in his DCT reflections that he meant to

acknowledge the imposition. Because the sentence is missing a main clause, which makes the utterance unclear, his intended meaning is not successfully reflected. Additionally, Logan meant to tell the teacher not to worry, but he failed to utilize the negative request form *-nai de kudasai* ‘please do not ...’; instead, he used the command form *nasai* and wrote *shinpai shinasai* ‘please worry.’ In (6), Sophia’s expression, *komatte iru n desu kara, sumimasen* ‘because I’m in trouble, I’m sorry’ sounds odd. When the discourse marker *n desu* is used with the *kara* ‘because’ clause, it carries a reproachful tone (McGloin, 1989), which was not Sophia’s intention, according to her DCT reflections. Additionally, what Sophia describes in the *kara* clause (i.e., ‘because I’m in trouble’) and *sumimasen* ‘sorry’ are not logically connected.

The findings show that the materials were appropriate for sociopragmatic development. The use of their L1 to present the target concepts and engage in languaging was crucial to internalize the sociopragmatic concepts. On the other hand, the development of pragmalinguistic abilities was not guaranteed, even though students understood the concepts, because their proficiency was too low to use in spontaneous speech the expressions they were able to use in their writing. Students’ mistakes are natural processes of learning, but for these students, the challenges went beyond mistakes, to their ability to construct conversations using many different new expressions on the fly. These results lead us to consider how this C-BLI unit might benefit higher-proficiency learners who need to develop conceptually, and also have stronger oral skills that would support development of pragmalinguistic abilities in their speaking as well as their writing. Thus, I decided to teach the same instructional unit to fourth-year Japanese learners.

5.7 Conclusion and Directions for Study 2

This chapter presents the results of Study 1. C-BLI studies aim to develop L2 learners' meaning potential by fronting concepts. Thus, the current assessment considers the whole of what the student is saying, even though students make grammatical mistakes, and all utterances are not clear. The assessment focuses on students' developing ability to apply L2 concepts to their production and their overall expressions of gratitude being culturally appropriate. Study 1 found that C-BLI promoted students' internalization of Japanese thanking concepts and strategies. As shown in the quantitative analysis, students demonstrated an increase in the use of a variety of thanking expressions, elaboration strategies, and emotion expressions. The results reveal the SCOBAs' role as a mediational means as students completed homework tasks. The data suggest extensive reliance on SCOBAs on Homework 3. The decline in their use of these expressions on Post-test 1, when they didn't have access to the SCOBAs, is evidence that they were not yet capable of independently utilizing the target concepts in constructing thanking. When the students' actions were not yet self-regulated, SCOBAs guided students to direct their attention to the target concepts, to use the concepts to analyze situations, and to formulate appropriate thanking expressions.

We saw progress from Homework 4 to Post-test 2. The increase in apology-based thanking as well as elaboration strategies and emotion expressions in Post-test 2 shows progress in self-regulated performance. The qualitative analysis further shows that the SCOBAs guided students to select formulaic expressions that appropriately fit in contexts. Some students further modified model expressions to achieve their communicative goals. This is evidence of internalization, transforming from other-regulated performance, where students fully relied on

the models, to self-regulated performance, when students started gaining control over their performance.

The microgenetic analyses of Andres' and Logan's discourse also revealed that interactions with experts stimulated students' communicated thinking and prompted imitation. The teacher directed Andres' attention to the target concepts and guided him to construct thanking expressions by considering them. The conversation between Andres and the teacher showed Andres' developing thinking, that resulted in changing his thanking expressions. According to Vygotsky, this phase of mediation is crucial as development first occurs on the social plane or via communicated thinking.

Communicated thinking between Japanese participants and students also elicited imitation. Logan learned new expressions for recognizing imposition from Naoko. He initially adopted Naoko's expressions without any changes. As the instructional unit progressed, Logan started modifying the expressions to fit specific contexts. Vygotsky claimed that imitation processes are also significant for internalization in the ZPD. The development of scientific concepts helped L2 learners make pragmatic choices proactively. As shown in DCT reflections, both Andres and Logan demonstrated agency in making pragmatic choices based on the scientific concepts.

In terms of thanking expressions, some of the students' DCT answers may seem over the top. For instance, some may consider the pencil-borrowing situation, in which a student borrows a pencil from their teacher, less imposing since it is not a big favor and does not cause the teacher much trouble. It is possible that students tried to put everything in a linguistic expression to be sure to express linguistically every emotion and sociocultural factor. However, as the teacher pointed out in Excerpt 5.6, the speaker chooses what to highlight, and does not need to

express every emotion and sociocultural factor in their thanking. Some Japanese people may also use other means such as nonverbal cues such as bowing, facial expressions, or hand gestures. This is something that can be more emphasized in the instruction to help students understand how Japanese people may not express every detail, and that the scale of thanking needs also to be commensurate with the size of the favor (e.g., lending a pencil is a small thing, compared to getting someone to buy things for you abroad, which requires them going out of their way, to a different store, carry items in their luggage, etc.).

While the material was beneficial for third-year students to develop sociopragmatic concepts, and the students showed pragmalinguistic development in their writing, students were not able to use what they learned very effectively when speaking. The role-play did not elicit more than students' DCT thanking expressions, and student production was so challenging as to make the role-plays somewhat arduous for them. Therefore, I discontinued role-plays from the subsequent practice. However, it is possible that the task modality could have affected students' performance. For instance, the teacher-student role-play might have made students feel nervous and worried about making mistakes. In addition, some situations such as conversations between friends might not feel realistic when role-played between a teacher and a student. Students might have developed more if they could have had more role-play opportunities with peers. For Study 2, students could work with peers to make role-plays more relaxed and comfortable. Although we observed qualitative changes in their DCT answers, students mostly used formulaic expressions and seemed to need more time to develop skills to create their own thanking expressions. Thus, to further investigate the effect of C-BLI on pragmalinguistic development, Study 2 is conducted with higher-instructional-level learners who have stronger language skills,

to provide a foundation for them to develop both written and oral pragmalinguistic skills to construct thanking beyond formulaic expressions.

Study 2, which was conducted in intact classes, has time constraints not experienced by Study 1, requiring some revisions in the teaching materials and reduction of some tasks. Instead of having individual sessions, students could work in pairs or groups. To prompt abundant communicated thinking, a handout that guides students' attention to SCOBAs or the target concepts was used. Communicated thinking with Japanese people could be encouraged in other forms than the discussion session. For example, students could meet Japanese people outside the classroom and interview them about thanking. The next chapter, Chapter 6, presents such modifications of the instructional design for intact 400-level Japanese classes, and the procedures and results of Study 2.

Chapter 6

Study 2: C-BLI in Two Intact Fourth-year Japanese Classes

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents Study 2, in which the C-BLI was conducted in two fourth-year (400-level) Japanese courses. Study 1, presented in Chapter 5, found that C-BLI guided L2 learners' development and demonstrated how external assistance, including materials (e.g., SCOBAs and internalization tasks) and communicated thinking through explicit language socialization (e.g., interactions with the teacher and Japanese participants) mediated L2 learners' internalization of the target concepts and their practice using them in context. The analyses also captured development of learner agency in making pragmatic choices as their conceptual understanding developed. However, results also showed that production tasks were challenging for the students who just completed third-year Japanese. This chapter explores the impact of C-BLI on higher proficiency learners and examines how C-BLI mediates L2 learners' conceptual and production development of thanking in L2 Japanese. While Study 1 participants also had varied learning backgrounds and different OBAs, Study 2 participants were even more diverse, since the study included both L2 and heritage learners. Some grew up in close contact with Japanese culture through family and friends in Japan. Others have study-abroad or work experience in Japan. There are also students who regularly consume Japanese media outside of class, including anime, manga and TV shows. Thus, examining this group, with students who potentially come to instruction with different levels of OBA, has strong potential to help us to better understand the effects of C-BLI and trajectories of L2 development.

Informed by the results of Study 1, a small laboratory study, the instruction design for Study 2 was modified. Modification of SCOBAs was presented in Chapter 3, and study procedures were also modified to suit the intact class context. In addition, although not originally planned, due to the COVID-19 pandemic the instructional unit took place fully online in the two intact classes. Twelve students participated in three interactive sessions, along with the pre-test, internalization tasks, and the post-test. Additionally, interested students had the option of participating in a Discussion Session to discuss the target concepts with Japanese native speakers living in Japan. The results showed that some students showed development both in production and conceptual development. For some students, quantitative analysis did not show much change in the number of usages of common expressions, elaborating gratitude and emotion expressions. However, these students' thanking expressions qualitatively changed, in that they started mentioning their emotions, better incorporating their intended meaning into gratitude expressions, and evidencing active pragmatic choices. Conversations from the Discussion Sessions with Japanese participants revealed that even a heritage speaker with very high proficiency lacked conceptual understanding of thanking in L2 Japanese and struggled to grasp some of the concepts. Language socialization with Japanese participants helped the student make connections between sociocultural factors and indebtedness in thanking.

This chapter first introduces setting, participants, and modifications of the internalization tasks and procedures from Study 1, followed by methodology of analysis. The data include students' writing and transcripts of audio-recordings: pre- and post-test survey answers, DCT answers, transcripts of DCT reflections, transcripts of concept explanations, transcripts of conversation data during the three class sessions and Discussion Sessions, and transcripts of role-plays. The chapter then presents findings and discussion.

6.2 Doing C-BLI in Intact Classes

In Study 2, the instructional unit was conducted in two intact classes, Class 1 and Class 2, offered in Spring 2020 at the same university as Study 1. These two 400-level Japanese courses were taught by different instructors, and designed for students at the advanced instructional level. These students, in general, have intermediate-mid to intermediate-high oral proficiency according to the ACTFL oral proficiency guidelines. Class 1, Fourth-year Japanese, was a language-focused fourth-year Japanese course. The class met five days a week for 50 minutes each. Class 2, Virtual Tokyo, had a content-driven syllabus, aiming to develop language skills by pursuing students' interests in Tokyo. Course content focused on the history, culture, society, and people of Tokyo. The class met three days a week for 110 minutes each. The instructors allowed me to teach the C-BLI unit to their students during their class time. For both classes, I used three class hours for the interactive lectures and assigned graded homework. Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, the instructional unit was delivered remotely via a video-conferencing platform Zoom, and students submitted study-related work on the online platform Moodle.

6.2.1 *Participants*

L2 Japanese Learner Participants. There were thirteen students enrolled in total: seven students in Class 1 and six students in Class 2. However, one student in Class 1 did not fully participate or complete the assignments, and therefore was excluded from analysis. The twelve study participants' background information and pseudonyms are presented in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1: The L2 Learner Participants

Name	Class	L1	Years of study	Time in Japan	Access to Japanese outside the classroom
Betsy	1	English/Japanese	2	8 years	Family/Friends/TV shows
Don	1	English	4	None	Anime/songs
Rob	1	English/Japanese	4	15-30 months in about 15 visits	Mother/Friends
Shan	1	Cantonese	6	9-18 weeks in 9 visits	Brother/Friends/anime/manga
Tim	1	English	2	11 months	Friends/host family
Vanessa	1	Cantonese	8	3 months in 8 visits	Friends/dramas
Elijah	2	English	8	5 days	Friends
Huan	2	Mandarin	5	26 months in 8 visits	Dramas
Kimi	2	English/Japanese	8	6 years	Family/Friends
Matt	2	English	5	17 months in 4 visits	Friends/YouTube
Sophia	2	English	8	2 years	Friends/anime
Yan	2	Mandarin	3	5 weeks in 5 visits	Anime/drama

Shan, Vanessa, Huan, and Yan were international students. Betsy, Rob, and Kimi were heritage speakers. Following Kondo-Brown's (2003) definition, I consider heritage speakers as "those who have acquired a certain level of oral and/or written proficiency in their ancestral language in the process of using the language at home and/or in the community" (Kondo-Brown, 2003, p. 2). Betsy and Kimi were born in Japan and later moved to the U.S. Betsy lived in Japan for seven years, until the second grade. Kimi lived in Japan until about age five. Rob never lived

in Japan, but grew up using Japanese at home and attended *hoshuukoo* (supplementary Japanese school for students living abroad) in the U.S. These students' have mothers from Japan and regularly speak Japanese with family members and friends. All three occasionally visit Japan and have had language socialization with family and friends in Japan. Betsy described Japanese as her first language. Rob and Kimi reported English as their dominant language.

Eight students had lived, studied abroad, experienced homestays, or worked in Japan (Betsy, Tim, Vanessa, Elijah, Huan, Kimi, Matt and Sophia). The other four students (Don, Rob, Shan and Yan) had not lived in Japan; of this group, all but Don had traveled in Japan. The number of visits varied from once to fifteen times. These students pursued various kinds of contact with Japanese language outside the classroom.

Japanese Native Speaker Participants. Four native speakers of Japanese, all students living in Japan, participated in the Discussion Session. L1 Japanese speakers who grew up in Japan were called for participation. Participants were recruited through email, using snowball sampling. The email was first sent to Japanese students who were learning English in the International and English Language Program at the researcher's university. One student, Mami, agreed to participate in the study. The email was also sent to Riku, whom the researcher personally knew. Riku is a graduate student in Education at a university in Japan. Then, Riku introduced the researcher to his colleagues. Aya is a daughter of Riku's colleague and is a high school student. She participated because she was interested in L2 Japanese language education. Naomi is a friend of another colleague of Riku and is an undergraduate student. She participated because she was interested in learning how L2 Japanese learners learn the language. Table 6.3 presents their pseudonyms and occupations.

Table 6.2: The Japanese Native Speakers

Name	Occupation
Aya	High school student
Mami	College student
Naomi	College student
Riku	Graduate student

6.2.2 *The Instructional Unit*

The quarter-long C-BLI curriculum consisted of a pre-test, three interactive lectures (Sessions 1, 2 and 3), three homework assignments (Homework 1, 2 and 3), and a post-test. Additionally, students were invited to Session 4, an optional Discussion Session with the Japanese participants outside the class. If they did not participate in Session 4, they were assigned to do language socialization tasks instead. Because the C-BLI sessions were incorporated into the existing curricula, the classes followed different schedules. In Class 1, the pre-test was conducted in Week 1 of the quarter, followed by Sessions 1, 2 and 3 in Weeks 2, 3, and 4. In Class 2, instruction was more compressed: the pre-test was conducted in Week 4 of the quarter, and all three sessions took place over three days of Week 5. Students in Class 2 had more time to do in-class tasks, as the class period was longer than Class 1 by 60 minutes. The post-test was conducted during the last week of the quarter for both classes. Table 6.3 summarizes the instructional schedule for each class.

Table 6.3: Summary of the Instructional Unit

Week		Modality and time spent		Content	Tasks	
Class 1	Class 2	Class 1	Class 2			
Week 1	Week 4	Pre-test	Moodle (unlimited)	Moodle (unlimited)	Assessment of OBA	Survey, DCT, DCT reflections
Week 2	Week 5 (Day 1)	Session 1	Zoom (50 min)	Zoom (110 min)	Concept of gratitude (SCOBAs A & B)	Role-play, Scenario analysis
		Homework 1	Moodle (unlimited)	Moodle (unlimited)		Concept explanation, DCT, DCT reflections
Week 3	Week 5 (Day 2)	Session 2	Zoom (50 min)	Zoom (110 min)	Strategies for gratitude expressions (SCOBA C)	Role-play, Concept explanation, Scenario analysis
		Homework 2	Moodle (unlimited)	Moodle (unlimited)		Concept explanation, DCT, DCT reflections, Language socialization tasks
Week 4	Week 5 (Day 3)	Session 3	Zoom (50 min)	Zoom (110 min)	Strategies for emotion expressions (SCOBA 5)	Role-play, Concept explanation, Scenario analysis
		Homework 3	Moodle (unlimited)	Moodle (unlimited)		Concept explanation, DCT, DCT reflections
Week 7	Week 7	Session 4 (Optional)	Zoom (90 min)		Discussion with Japanese participants	
Week 10	Week 10	Post-test	Moodle (unlimited)	Moodle (unlimited)		Survey Written concept explanation DCT DCT reflections

The next section explains modifications of the internalization tasks from Study 1 and how the C-BLI unit was conducted in each class.

6.2.3 Modifications from Study 1

As mentioned earlier, SCOBAs for Study 2 were modified, as described in Chapter 3. To encourage students' interaction with the target concepts and to promote internalization, seven homework tasks were designed for Study 2: concept explanation, revision of pre-test DCT answers, scenario analysis, written discourse completion tasks (DCTs), oral DCT reflections, role-plays, and language socialization tasks. Some tasks were modified from Study 1 (see

Chapter 5 for details of each task), and Moodle was used for delivery and submission of homework tasks. Table 6.4 presents changes from Study 1.

Table 6.4: Task Modifications from Study 1 to Study 2

Tasks	Study 1	Changes in Study 2
Concept explanation	No change	
Revision of the pre-test DCT answers	No change	
Scenario analysis	More excerpts were added to Study 2.	
SCOBAs re-creation	Students re-created SCOBAs 4 and 5.	Students did not have this task.
Written DCTs	Students wrote/typed responses in Japanese.	An emotion checklist was added to the task.
Oral DCT reflections	Students met with the teacher for this oral task.	Students self-recorded and submitted on Moodle.
Role-plays	Students did role-plays with the teacher. The scenarios were provided by the teacher.	Students did role-plays with classmates. Students could use provided scenarios and/or create their own scenario(s).
Language socialization tasks	This was called journaling in Study 1. Students collected thanking episodes and wrote reflections.	Students selected one language socialization task from four options, including writing reflections.

There were no format changes for concept explanations (see Appendix B) and revision of the pre-test DCT answers. However, the modalities of the concept explanation task were different. On the pre-test, Study 1 students orally provided concept explanation in an in-person interview, whereas Study 2 students offered explanation in a written survey. For homework, Study 1 students were asked to write their conceptual understanding on a handout, while Study 2 students were asked to record their oral concept explanation on Moodle. More thanking excerpts were added to the scenario analysis task (see Appendix E). The SCOBAs recreation task was eliminated due to time constraints. An emotion checklist was added to the written DCT task (see Appendix C); after reading a situation, students were asked to select one or more emotions, such

as pleasure, indebtedness and guilt, that they, as beneficiary, might feel. In Study 1, students met with the teacher for oral DCT reflections, where they shared their thanking choices and reasoning. For Study 2, students instead recorded monologues, submitting them to Moodle (see Appendix C). To make the role-play task less intimidating and more engaging, students worked in pairs with a peer instead of role-playing with the teacher, and also had the option of inventing role-play situations (see Appendix D). In addition, role-playing was incorporated into classroom instruction on multiple days, with students audio-recording and submitting the recordings to Moodle. Lastly, journaling was replaced with four language socialization tasks, designed to provide language socialization experience. As mentioned earlier, Discussion Session, or Session 4, was optional, as this session took place outside the class period. For students who did not participate in the Discussion Session, other language socialization tasks were provided. This was to give students more variety of language socialization opportunities to help them to connect the target concepts with real-world situations. Students could choose one or more of the language socialization tasks, shown in Table 6.5.

Table 6.5: Menu of Language Socialization Materials/contexts and Task Instructions

Language socialization materials or contexts	Task instructions
1. Video clips from dramas, shows, and/or films	Watch thanking episodes provided on Moodle. Analyze the episodes and write your reflection. You may also find additional thanking episodes from videos of your choice.
2. Manga and/or short stories	Read thanking episodes provided on Moodle. Analyze the episodes and write your reflection. You may also find additional thanking episodes from manga or short stories of your choice.
3. Conversation with native speakers	Have conversations with Japanese people. Try to show your appreciation to your interlocutor. Record your conversation, analyze your conversation in terms of thanking episodes, and write a reflection.
4. Conversation with native speakers	Give some small gift or do a small favor for a Japanese person, observe how they express gratitude, and write a reflection.

For language socialization tasks via video or manga/short story thanking episodes, clips or excerpts were provided for students to analyze. This is different from Study 1, where students had to find materials and episodes on their own. Although helpful, it was not easy for some students to find episodes on their own; thus clips/excerpts were provided, and students were also still given the option to find their own episodes. Conversation with native speakers was included for students who have access to Japanese family, friends, or conversation partners. Students could either perform thanking themselves or give a small gift or favor and observe thanking.

All four tasks required students to write reflections. These were not guided in Study 1; some students didn't know what to look for, or how to connect what they observed with concepts

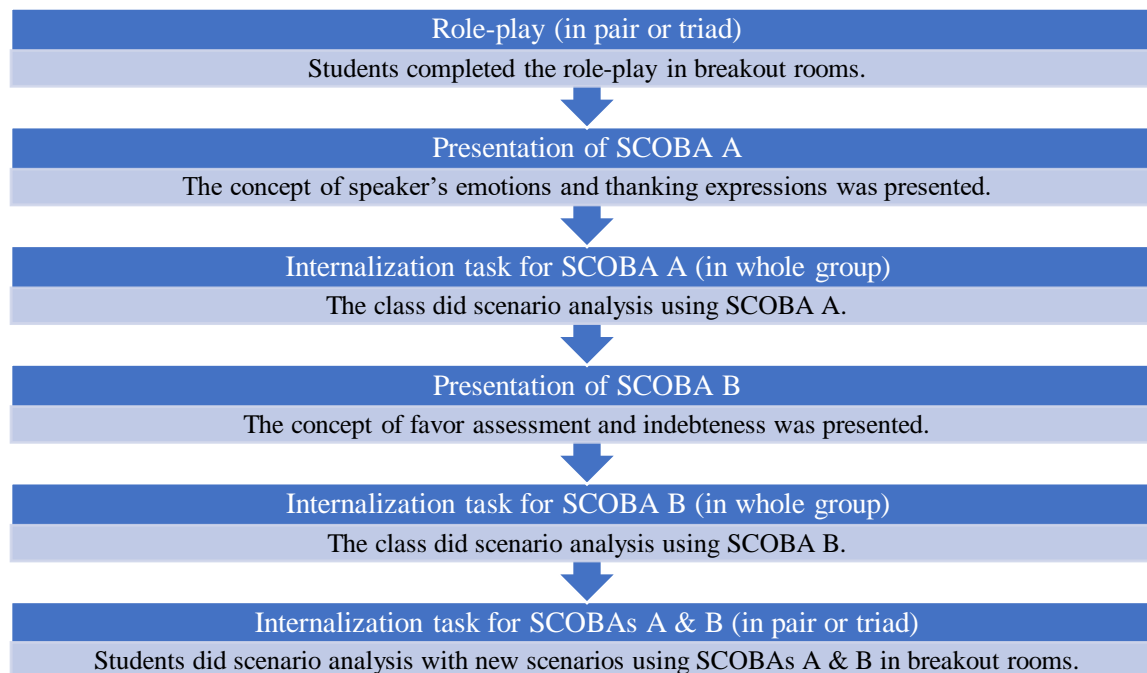
taught. Thus, for Study 2, I provided guiding questions to orient students' attention to the target concepts and help them connect the concepts with contexts. The difference between the in-class scenario analysis and the language socialization tasks was that while students completed the scenario analysis with the teacher and peers during class, they completed the language socialization tasks individually. Additionally, while students had limited time in class, the language socialization tasks allowed students unlimited time to analyze the scenarios and concepts. This allowed students to engage in sufficient dialogical thinking.

6.2.4 *Instructional Procedures for Study 2*

In order to assess students' Orienting Basis of Action (OBA), students first completed the pre-test. The pre-test consisted of a written survey on students' learning backgrounds and understanding of thanking in Japanese (see Appendix H), pre-test DCT items (the same format as Study 1, but with revised situations), DCT reflections (completed via oral monologue and submitted to Moodle) and a role-play (conducted with a peer, audio-recorded, and submitted to Moodle). Students completed the pre-test before the first day of instruction, and the role-play, which students did in class prior to instruction.

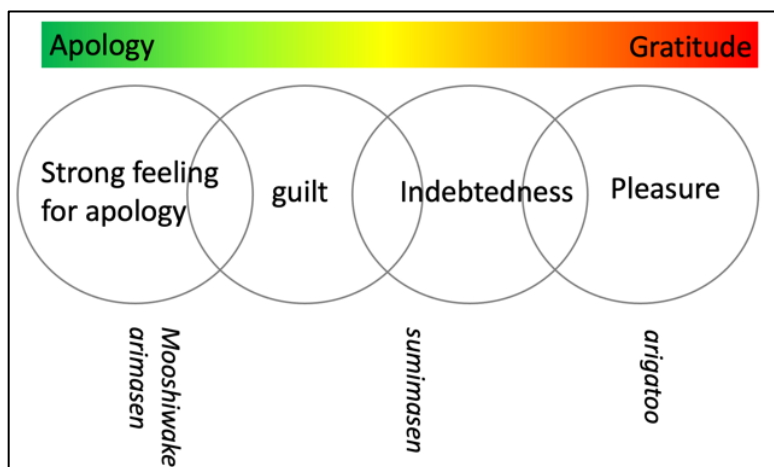
The interactive lectures, Sessions 1, 2 and 3, were conducted in class. Session 1 focused on two concepts: 1) the speaker's emotions relating to thanking expressions and 2) favor assessment and indebtedness. Table 6.6 displays the instructional flow of Session 1.

Table 6.6: Outline of Session 1



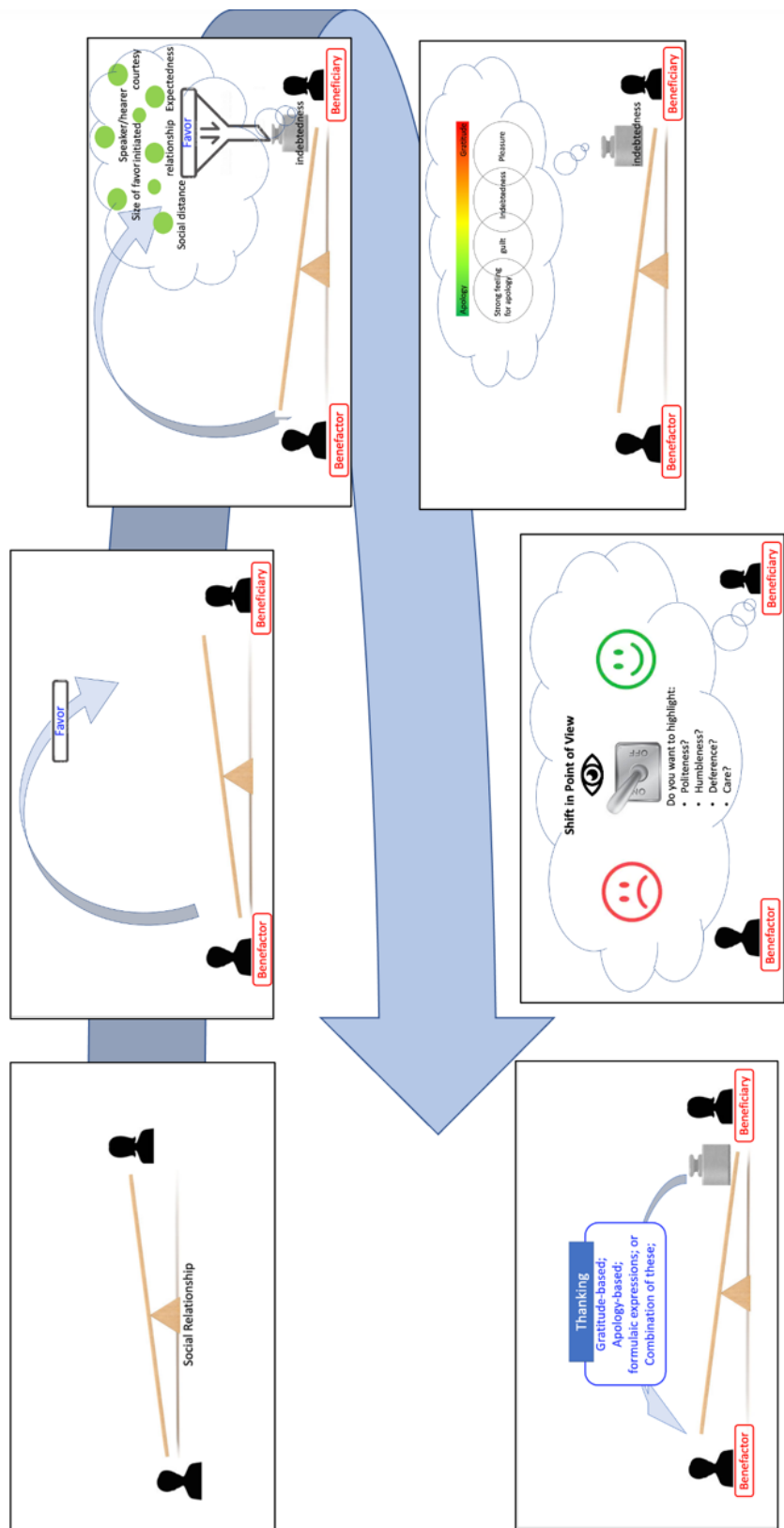
Session 1 started with role-plays in breakout-rooms, which students audio-recorded in pairs or triads as part of the pre-test. Then, after introducing the purpose and goals of the C-BLI sessions, I presented the concept of speaker's emotions and thanking expressions with SCOBA A (Figure 6.1). See Chapter 3 for details of SCOBA modifications from Study 1.

Figure 6.1: SCOBA A (originally Figure 3.4)



Then, the class did scenario analysis using SCOBA A. The class watched a short video clip from a TV drama, with the transcript provided, and discussed how the concept presented in SCOBA A was reflected in the episode. I then introduced the concept of favor assessment and indebtedness with SCOBA B. This time, I emphasized the notion of reciprocity in Japanese and showed how reciprocity is related to thanking. See Figure 6.2 for SCOBA B.

Figure 6.2: SCOBA B (originally Figures 3.10-3.15)

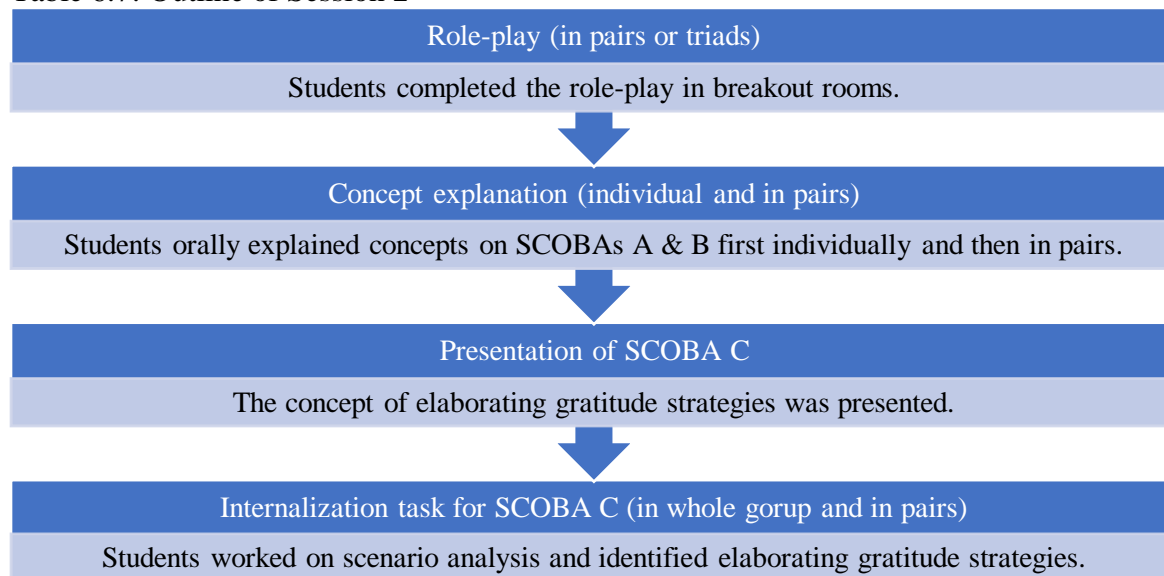


Then, the class re-watched the same clip and discussed as a whole class how the favor could be assessed, how this relates to the speaker's emotions, whether or not the empathy operation was in place, and how thanking expressions were thus selected. The students referred to SCOBAs B while considering these questions. Finally, students went to breakout rooms to use the SCOBAs to discuss different thanking episodes in pairs. I circulated through the breakout rooms to answer questions and provide feedback. Finally, students shared their findings with the class and ended Session 1.

Between Sessions 1 and 2, students completed homework: concept explanation, a DCT assignment and DCT reflections. For concept explanation, SCOBAs B was presented on the Moodle screen in the same sequence presented in class. Looking at the SCOBAs, students recorded their oral concept explanations on Moodle. The DCT assignment and DCT reflections were the same format as the pre-test with different situations.

Session 2 consisted of the review of Session 1 and introduced gratitude elaboration strategies. Table 6.7 displays the instructional flow of Session 2.

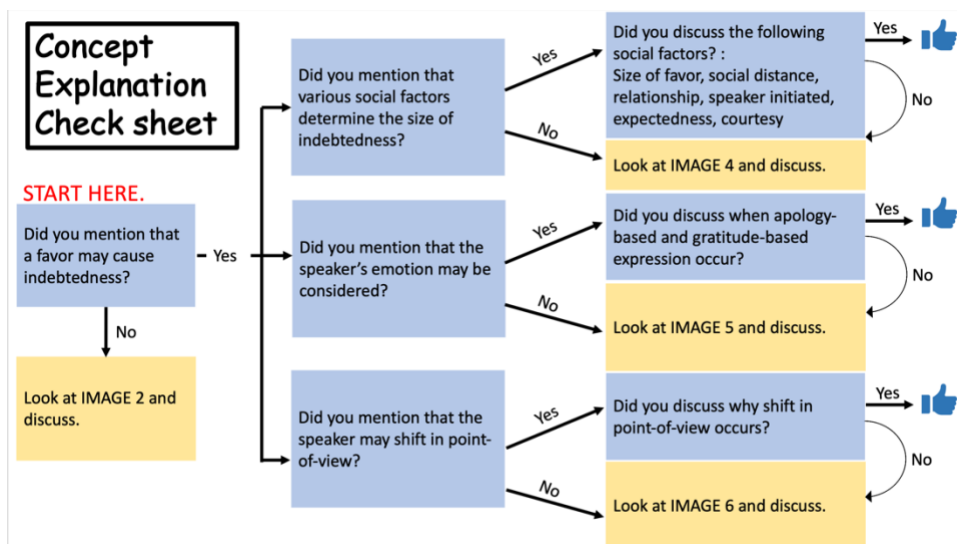
Table 6.7: Outline of Session 2



Session 2 started with role-plays in pairs or triads; students practiced applying the concepts they had learned in the previous session to their own creative thanking scenarios or situations taken from the DCT homework. This allowed students to work on familiar situations they had already thought through. Students recorded their performances and submitted them to Moodle.

Next, students did concept explanation tasks. They first worked individually, muted on Zoom, orally explaining how gratitude works in Japanese, without referring to any SCOBAs or other materials. Then, they went to breakout rooms to share their understandings with peers. After finishing, they were given a concept explanation checksheet (Figure 6.3) to guide discussion of the key points. The goal of sharing understandings and using the check sheet collaboratively was to prompt communicated thinking between peers, since the teacher-student sessions conducted in Study 1 were impractical in intact classes.

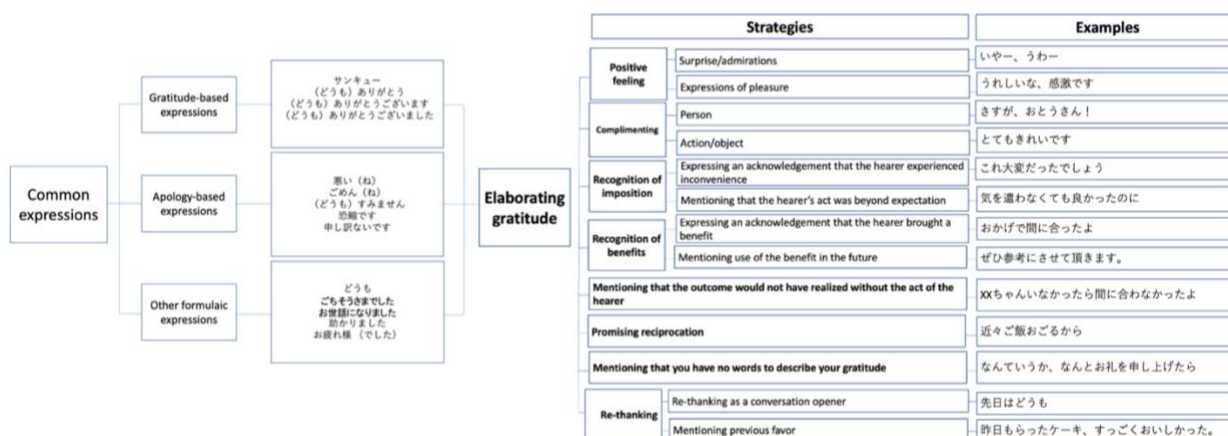
Figure 6.3: Concept Explanation Checksheet



Note: IMAGES 2, 4, 5 and 6 refer to the second, third, fourth and fifth images of SCOBA B respectively.

I circulated through the breakout rooms during the peer tasks, answering questions and providing feedback. Next, I introduced SCOBA C (Figure 6.4), which presents gratitude elaboration strategies.

Figure 6.4: SCOBA C (originally Figure 3.17)



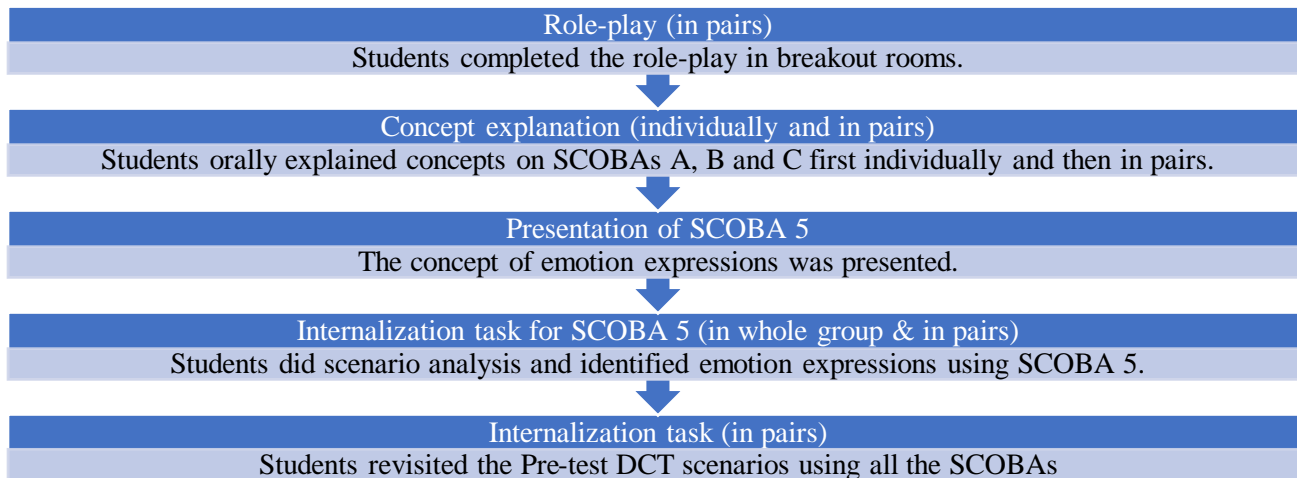
I then showed video clips with examples and explained strategies used in the clips. Then, in breakout rooms, student pairs/triads examined more examples using SCOBA C in small groups, with written guidance to consider : (1) the common expressions used, (2) why the speaker chose particular common expressions (considering social factors, speaker's emotions, and the empathy operation), (3) use of strategies for elaborating gratitude, and (4) how they might want to express gratitude in the same situation. Then, as a whole class, students shared their findings. The Discussion Session (Session 4) and language socialization tasks (see Table 6.1) were presented, concluding the class.

After class, students completed concept explanation, DCTs and DCT reflections for homework assignments, as described earlier, including availability of SCOBAs to guide thinking through concepts and strategies while doing the assignments.

Session 3 focused on various emotion expressions for expressing gratitude, as shown in









Table 6.8.

Table 6.8: Outline of Session 3



Session 3 began by reviewing, via role-play and individual/peer concept explanation tasks, just as in Session 2. Then, I introduced SCOPA 5 (Figure 6.5), which presents various ways to express emotions.

Figure 6.5: SCOPA 5 (originally Figure 3.18)

<p>Modal Expressions</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • くれる/もらう • ~てくれる/~てもらう • おかげ • ~てしまう 	<p>Emotion words</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adjectives • Adverbs • Verbs • Nouns 	<p>Mimetics</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ドキドキ • ウキウキ • メンメン • ガチガチ • ほっと 	<p>Strengtheners</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 本当に • すごい • すっごい • すげー 
<p>Interjection</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • いやー • うわー • もう 	<p>Repetition</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • まことにまことに • すごくすごく • 本当に本当に 	<p>Discourse marker</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ~よ • ~ね 	

Next, we analyzed the thanking episode in a video clip. After showing part of the clip, we together identified emotion expressions as a class. Then, in breakout rooms, student pairs/triads searched for more emotion expressions in the clip, using SCOPA 5, returning to the whole group to share their findings. Finally, back in the breakout rooms, the pairs revisited their answers from the pre-test DCT, discussing with peers how they might revise their answers to include emotion expressions. As with Session 2, there was after-class homework: concept explanation, DCT assignment and DCT reflections, including using SCOPAs, with prompting to pay particular attention to emotion expressions.

Session 4 was a Discussion Session with Japanese guests. Four students (Rob, Tim, Elijah and Vanessa) and four native speakers (Aya, Mami, Naomi and Riku) participated. Prior to the Discussion Session, the four Japanese participants had completed a DCT assignment similar to the students' Homework 3 DCT. The DCT situations were slightly modified to be more relatable to Japanese participants' experiences. One week prior to the session with students, the Japanese participants also completed a training session via Zoom, where they were introduced, using SCOPAs, to concepts of Japanese gratitude and how these applied to the DCT scenarios that they had completed.

At the Discussion Session, each student was paired with a Japanese participant, rotating to a different breakout room on Zoom every 15 minutes, to give each student the opportunity to converse with each of the four Japanese participants. In each session, students shared their DCT answers from Homework 3, talked about how they expressed gratitude, and got feedback from their Japanese conversation partner. Japanese participants also shared their own DCT answers.

Finally, the post-test consisted of role-plays conducted in class, and a survey, DCT assignment, and DCT reflections as homework. The survey queried the target concepts, student

perspectives on the instructional unit, and student confidence in expressing gratitude in Japanese (see Appendix I for survey questions).

6.3 Methodology of Analysis

The corpus for analysis included students' writings and transcripts of audio-recordings, pre- and post-test survey answers, DCT answers, and transcripts of DCT reflections, concept explanations, role-plays, and conversation data from the three class sessions and the Discussion Session. An unexpected data source emerged from Class 1, where the teacher had students write class reflections as daily homework submitted to the class's learning management system, Canvas. Class 2 did not have such an assignment. Analysis was based on the research questions, students' production development, conceptual development, the impact of explicit language socialization, development of students' agency in making pragmatic choices, and the appropriateness of the instructional materials and process for the students' proficiency level.

6.3.1 *Quantitative and Qualitative Analysis of Students' DCT Answers*

Analysis of DCTs followed the same methodology as in Study 1: Student answers were coded for common expressions, elaboration strategies and emotion expressions. Analysis focused on how their usage changed in terms of quantity and variety across the five DCT assignments. Common expressions and elaboration strategies were coded based on the categories in SCOBA C (Figure 6.4). Emotion expressions were coded according to the seven categories presented in SCOBA 5 (Figure 6.5). Accuracy was not the focus of the analysis, but incomprehensible language was excluded from coding. Students' DCT reflections also guided coding where DCT answers were unclear. Repeated expressions in the same answer were counted as repetition. For

example, when the common expression, *arigatoo* ‘thank you,’ was repeated, the first was counted as a common expression and the second as a repetition in the category of emotion expressions. Finally, I examined changes in the number of usages in each category (i.e., common expressions, elaborating, and emotion expressions) across the DCTs. I also examined qualitative changes in students’ DCT answers.

6.3.2 *Microgenetic Analysis of Conceptual Development*

Microgenetic analysis of oral and written discourse data was conducted, consisting of the pre- and post-test survey answers, concept explanations, DCT reflections and Class 1 students’ class reflections. The pre-test survey answers were used to assess students’ OBA prior to the instructional unit. Analysis of students’ concept explanations focused on qualitative changes in conceptual understanding over time. Transcripts of oral DCT reflections considered both conceptual changes over time and how this influenced students’ expression of gratitude. Class 1 students’ class reflections were helpful in triangulating the findings from analyses of concept explanations and DCT reflections.

6.3.3 *Microgenetic Assessment of Mediated Development through Explicit Language Socialization*

Microgenetic analysis of the Discussion Session data allowed consideration of how language socialization opportunities contributed to students’ internalization processes. The focus of analysis was mediation of students’ verbalizations and written work by Japanese participations. DCT answers and reflections were also used to examine how the language socialization opportunities re-mediated students’ understanding and performance of thanking.

6.3.4 *Assessment of Learner Agency*

To explore development of students' agency toward making pragmatic choices, transcripts of DCT reflections and conversation data with Japanese participants were mainly used for analysis. I further explored connections between students' comments about agency and pragmatic choices in their DCT reflections, and the usage of thanking expressions in DCT answers.

6.3.5 *Assessment of Material Appropriateness*

To assess material appropriateness for fourth-year students, students' language in DCT answers and role-plays was explored. These two tasks were particularly challenging for Study 1 students, whose Japanese skills were less developed, allowing for comparison between third and fourth-year level students. Another goal of analysis was to explore, via qualitative analysis, to what extent the tasks facilitated students' production practice. Additionally, role-play transcripts were analyzed to better understand how students engaged in these tasks.

6.4 Results and Analyses

Results showed that students showed varied production development in terms of quantity and range of expressions and strategies. I begin with quantitative analysis, and then move to qualitative analysis. For quantitative analysis, the production data were coded to examine changes in student usage of thanking expressions over time. Quantitative analysis, for the most part, did not evidence numeric changes in the number and types of expressions, unlike Study 1. I then move to qualitative analysis, which evidences shifts in the quality of students' thinking processes and thanking expressions, which improved along with conceptual development.

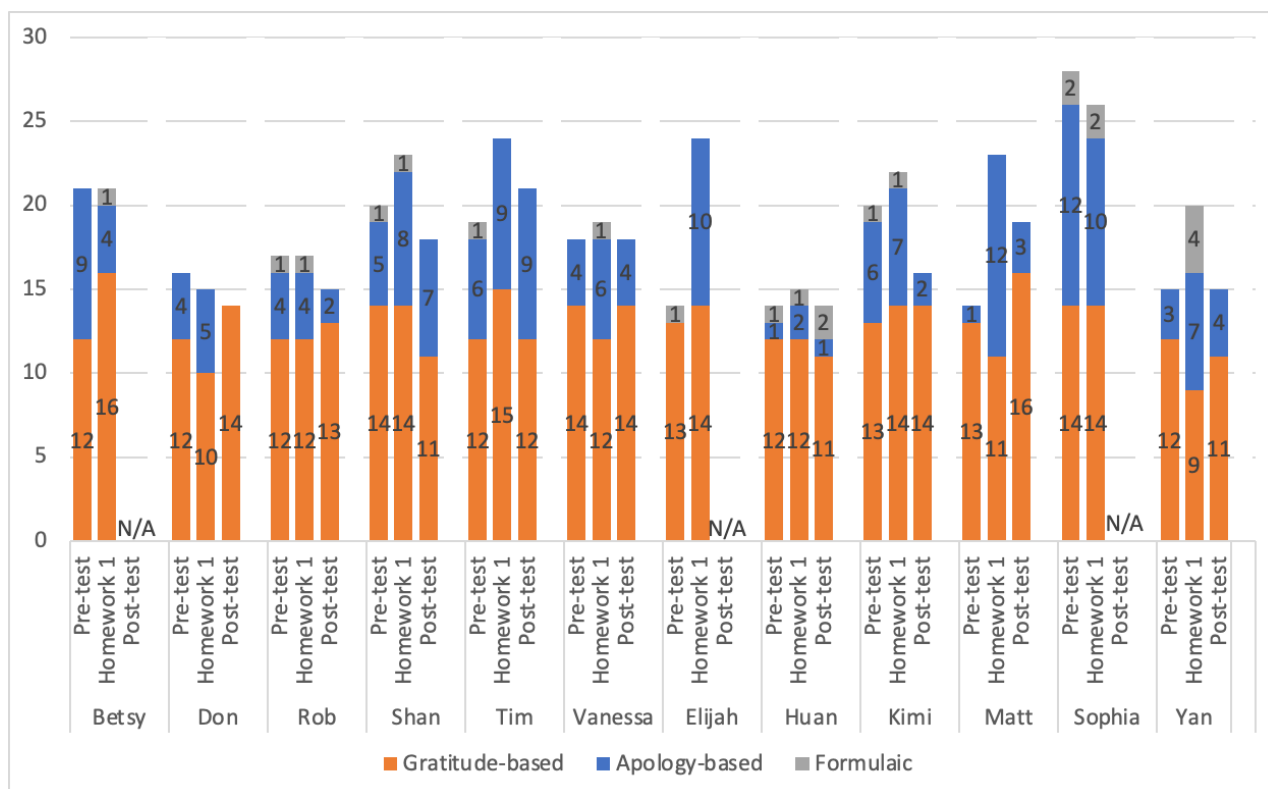
Qualitative analysis showed how sociopragmatic conceptual development influenced students' gratitude expressions by focusing on three students: Elijah, Vanessa and Rob. These three students were chosen because they showed development in different ways. Elijah showed both conceptual and production development (quantitative and qualitative) while Vanessa and Rob's conceptual understandings developed, with qualitative changes in their production data. I then explore impacts of conceptual development on students' agency and pragmatic choices in thanking. Lastly, I discuss material appropriateness for this instructional level.

6.4.1. Quantitative Analysis of Production Data

Measured quantitatively analysis of coding shows that production development varied among students. Students' DCT answers were coded for common expressions, gratitude elaboration strategies and emotion expressions. The pre-test DCT showed what students could do before the instructional unit, homework DCTs showed performance with external assistance, such as SCOBAs, and the post-test analysis revealed task performance without assistance, therefore showing to what extent they became able to perform on their own. The homework completed after each interactive session focused on the focal topic of each session: Thus Homework 1 (after Session 1) focused on choice of common expressions (i.e., gratitude-based, apology-based, and formulaic expressions), Homework 2 (after Session 2) focused on elaborating strategies, and Homework 3 (after Session 3) examined emotion expressions. Quantitative analysis of DCTs for common gratitude expressions (Pre-test, Homework 1 and post-test) are presented in Figure 6.6. Orange bars represent gratitude-based expressions, blue bars represent apology-based expressions and gray bars represent formulaic expressions. The

numbers on the bars represent the number of respective common expressions a student used on that DCT. ‘N/A’ means no data or no submission.

Figure 6.6: Students’ Use of Common Expressions in DCT Answers



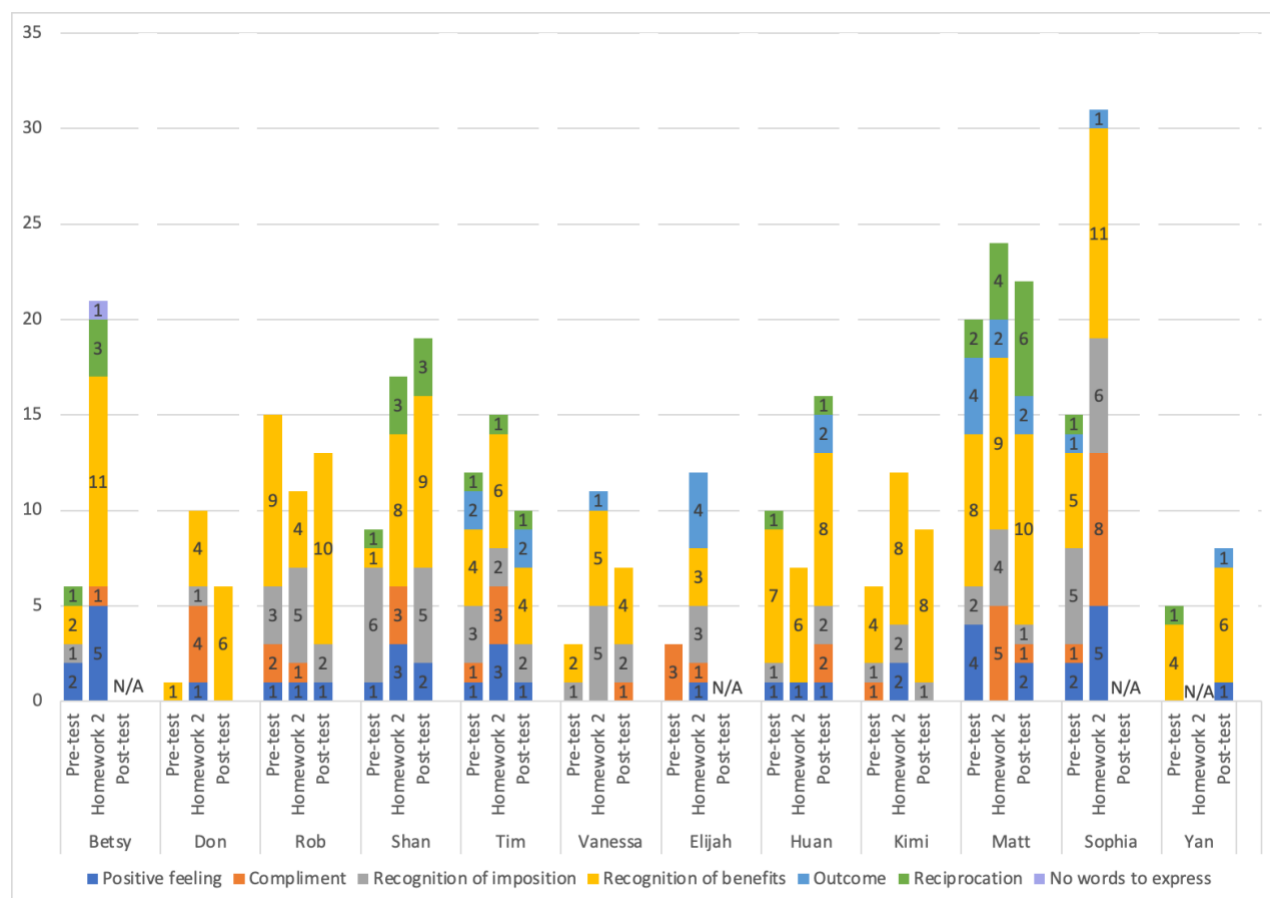
All but Elijah used apology-based expressions on the pre-test, showing that students were aware that apology can be used in thanking. However, gratitude-based expressions predominated, consistent with previous findings that L2 learners use apology-based expressions less than native speakers do (Moriya, 2006; Ohashi, 2008; Tsujihara, this volume (see Chapter 5.6.1)). While the choice of common expressions depends on the speaker/beneficiary’s emotions, sociocultural factors also play an important role. Especially in high-burden and/or distant relationship

situations, apology expressions are expected (Suriratt, 2011). Interestingly, from the pre-test to the post-test, students’ use of apology-based expressions did not show much change.

Similar trends were observed for elaboration strategies and emotion expressions. Some students’ usage showed increases, but others did not show prominent quantitative changes.

Figure 6.7 presents quantitative results in a bar chart. The colors represent different kinds of elaboration strategies. The numbers on the bars note the number of elaborating strategies students used in each DCT assignment. Missing data or lack of submission are marked with “N/A”.

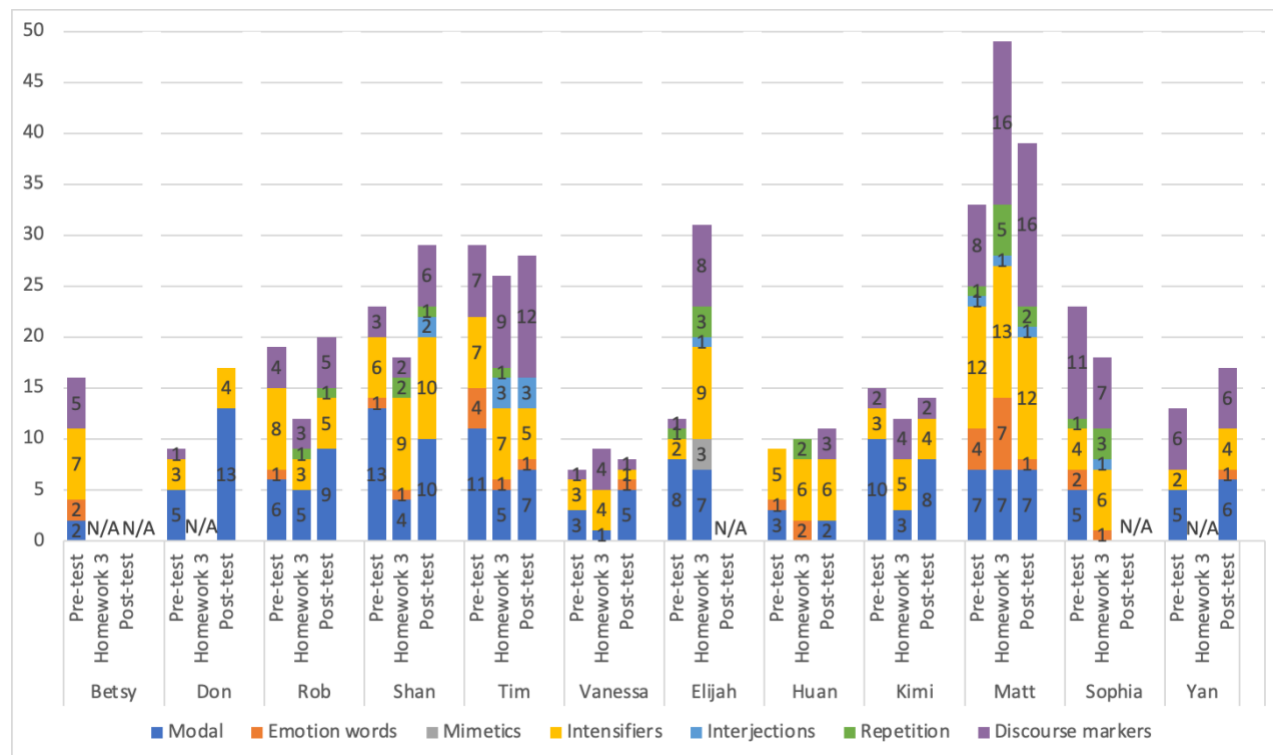
Figure 6.7: Students’ Use of Elaborating Gratitude Strategies in DCT Answers



No clear pattern is evident in this data set: students each show their own developmental path when analyzed quantitatively.

Figure 6.8 quantifies students’ use of emotion expressions over the three measures. The colors represent different kinds of emotion expressions. The numbers on the bars note the number of emotion expressions students used in each DCT assignment. A no-data or no-submission is marked with “N/A”.

Figure 6.8: Students’ Use of Emotion Expressions in DCT Answers



Most students increased their usage of elaborating and emotion expressions. However, the level of development varied. Some students (Don, Kimi, Matt and Vanessa) showed an increase in the number and/or variety of usage in elaborating strategies and/or emotion expressions in the homework than on the post-test. The difference between the homework and

the post-test was the availability of external help, particularly SCOBAs, as mediating tools. The fact that their production dropped in the post-test from the homework shows that their performance was still other-regulated. It may indicate that SCOBAs oriented their actions by guiding them to closely examine various factors. This accords with the findings in Study 1. SCOBAs created ZPDs, and students' development was occurring within the ZPD. In other words, students may not have fully internalized the target concepts, and may have still been in the process of developing. Therefore, their homework performance indicates their current abilities to complete the task with assistance, namely potential development in the future. As internalization progresses, they would eventually be able to complete the task without assistance, and their actions would be self-regulated. Thus, it is important to understand how their internalization advances with assistance in other-regulated actions.

Closer qualitative examination of students' conceptual development revealed evidence of development that did not appear in the coding analysis. In the next section, I focus on three students and closely examine how sociopragmatic conceptual development influenced their thinking performance. Finally, a brief caveat is necessary: Both here and elsewhere, changes across DCTs may show development, but performance may also be impacted by fatigue, demotivation, or rushing to finish an assignment. Grading practices of giving full credit for DCTs without considering quality of performance might also have had an impact.

6.4.2. Qualitative Analysis of Three Focal Students' Sociopragmatic and Conceptual Development: Elijah, Vanessa and Rob

Quantitative analysis cannot give us a full developmental picture. Thus, this section provides a qualitative analysis of the DCTs and transcripts of three focal students. This

examination of students' microgenetic development shows how students' conceptual development influenced the quality of their thanking expressions. Elijah, Vanessa and Rob were selected because they developed differently. Elijah was a lower-proficiency student in the group; understanding of Japanese thanking and his ability to express gratitude was highly limited on the pre-test. During C-BLI, Elijah showed remarkable development in both performance (analyzed quantitatively and qualitatively) and conceptual understanding. Unlike Elijah, Vanessa and Rob did not show a clear pattern of quantitative change, in neither terms of the number of gratitude expressions nor range of strategies in their DCT answers. However, qualitative analysis shows improvement in the sophistication of their thanking as their conceptual understanding progressed. Vanessa learned to reflect her communicative intentions in her thanking. Rob gained a deeper understanding of indebtedness and reciprocity in Japanese culture while participating in communicated thinking during the Discussion Session with the Japanese participants, and began analyzing situations from Japanese cultural perspectives.

Elijah's Sociopragmatic and Conceptual Development: A Qualitative Analysis.

Elijah is an L1 English and L2 Swedish speaker. He has been studying Japanese for over eight years, including four years of classroom instruction. He reported speaking Japanese with some Japanese friends, but not consuming any Japanese media. He visited Japan for ten days, which included a five-day homestay with a Japanese family. Prior to C-BLI, Elijah's understanding of Japanese thanking and his ability to express gratitude were highly limited. Elijah was the only student who did not use any apology-based expressions on the pre-test (see Figure 6.6). His written explanation of Japanese thanking from the pre-test is presented in Excerpt 6.1. My translations of Japanese words are enclosed in single quotation marks.

Excerpt 6.1

I learned a lot about *keigo* ‘honorific language’ and respectful language. When you want to show gratitude, you use higher register words to show that. And there are subdivisions of *keigo* where you use the words depending on the subject’s relation to the speaker or listener....

Elijah’s explanation focused on honorific language, without mentioning the speaker’s emotions, sociocultural factors or the empathy operation that affect thanking in Japanese. Elijah’s pre-test DCT reflections similarly show Elijah’s focus on social hierarchy, which he mentioned in seven out of the 14 DCT items. Elijah did mention that the size of a favor, expectedness (or not), and feeling grateful also affected his choice of speech level and the length of thanking. Excerpt 6.2 is an example. Elijah mentioned, appropriately, the size of the favor and social hierarchy. My translations are enclosed in single quotation marks.

Excerpt 6.2 Elijah’s Thanking Expressions and Reflections from the Pre-test DCT, Item 4

DCT situation	During conversation practice in Japanese class, you encounter a word you don’t know how to say in Japanese. Your classmate/conversation partner looks it up in the online dictionary and finds the word for you.
Emotion checklist	Gladness
Written DCT answer	<i>A, soo desu ka. Arigatoo ne!</i> ‘Oh, I see. Thanks!’
Oral reflection	It’s a fairly quick thing to do. And they are not necessarily a <i>meue no hito</i> ‘superior.’ So, I’d just want to thank them, and you know just quickly thank for it.

Because the favor is small (“it’s a fairly quick thing to do”) and there is no social hierarchy (“they are not necessarily a *meue no hito* ‘superior’”), he chose to “quickly thank for it.”

Over the instructional unit, Elijah’s thinking processes and gratitude expressions started to change. He considered the speaker’s emotions and various sociocultural factors more

extensively. He also used more apology-based expressions (10 times) in appropriate contexts, as shown in Excerpt 6.3.

Excerpt 6.3 Elijah's Thanking Expressions and Reflection in Homework 3 DCT, Item 1

DCT situation	You are about to take an exam in Japanese class and realize that you forgot a pencil. You ask your teacher if they have a pencil, and they did.
Emotion checklist	Indebtedness; Guilt
Written DCT answer	<i>Sumimasen. Sensee ga kudasaranakattara shiken o dekimasen.</i> 'I'm sorry. If you hadn't given me a pencil, I couldn't have done the exam.'
Oral reflection	I would feel indebted that they gave the pencil to me. I assume that was the only pencil. I mean it's not that huge of a deal, because it's sort of their job, I guess. Because they are a teacher. But I just wanted to recognize that was something that probably inconvenienced them by saying <i>sumimasen</i> 'sorry'. And then, recognizing that if they had not done that, I couldn't have done the test.

In this situation, Elijah considered the size of favor ("I assume that was the only pencil.") and social expectedness ("I mean it's not that huge of a deal, because it's um, sort of their job I guess."). He also talked about feeling indebted, ("I would feel indebted..."), something which he hadn't mentioned on the pre-test. His choice of *sumimasen* 'sorry' is also the result of the empathy operation ("I just wanted to recognize that was something that probably inconvenienced them by saying *sumimasen*"). He also incorporated an elaborating strategy, mentioning that the outcome would not have been realized without the act of the hearer.

Elijah's elaboration strategies and emotion expressions also changed (see Figures 6.7 and 6.8). His use of these on the pre-test was limited. In his DCT homework assignments, he began to incorporate a greater variety of expressions. Table 6.9 presents his DCT answers and reflections in high-burden, distant-relationship, and speaker-initiated situations on the pre-test, Homework 2 and Homework 3.

Table 6.9: Elijah's Written DCT Answers and Reflections Relating to Elaboration Strategies and Emotion Expressions

Pre-test, Item 12	<i>A, Nodo-san, watashi o kyuukeyuuka ni tsurete itte kudasatte arigatoo-gozaimashita. Sekkakudatta no deshoo.</i>
	'A, Nodo, thank you for taking me to the emergency room. <i>Sekkakudatta no deshoo</i> [incomprehensible].'
	they don't necessarily know me very well. so they did me a service.
Homework 2, Item 6	<i>Sumimasen-deshita. Sensee no okage de nihon bunka o oshieraremashita. Sensee ga irassharanakattara kono happyoo o dekinakatta to omoimasu. Arigatoo-gozaimashita.</i>
	'I'm sorry. Thanks to you, (we were) able to teach Japanese culture. If you were not there, I think we would not have been able to have this presentation. Thank you.'
	I wanted to start out by recognizing that it was something that was hard for them to do. And then, I wanted to show recognition of benefit through telling them what happened. And then, mentioning that the outcome would not have been realized without the act of the hearer. And then, finally just highlighting the happiness with the way it went.
Homework 3, Item 6	<i>Sensee, senjitsu wa sumimasen. Suisenjoo o dondon kaite itadaite arigatoo-gozaimashita. Tottemo taihen datta no deshoo. Sensee ga sore o shinakattara ryuugaku o dekinai o omoimasu. Hontoo ni arigatoo-gozaimashita.</i>
	'Professor, I'm sorry about the other day. Thank you for writing the letter of recommendation fast [sic]. It must have been difficult. If you didn't do that, I think (I would not have been) able to study abroad. Thank you very much'
	I wanted to re-thank them because I hopefully thanked them when I asked them to do it. And then, I wanted to use a modal expression <i>itadaite</i> to show that it was something that I appreciate them writing the letter really quickly. I did use a mimetic in there to show that was quickly done. And then, I wanted to say that it was probably a really big deal for them, since they had a busy schedule. So <i>tottemo taihendatta no deshoo</i> 'It must have been very difficult.' And then, I wanted to recognize the benefit by saying that the outcome would not have realized without the teacher doing that. And then, I wanted to thank them again showing that I'm extremely GLAD and grateful that they did that for me.

All of these situations involve high-burden and distant relationships, which should evoke an apologetic tone. Elijah's thanking on the pre-test lacks any apologetic tone. He might have tried to recognize imposition with the adverbial phrase *sekkakku*, which acknowledges someone's effort (Makino & Tsutsui, 1995), and implies that the benefactor went to some trouble. However,

sekkaku wasn't used properly: *sekkaku* generally appears in a subordinate clause followed by a reason clause (e.g., *-node*, *-kara*, *-nara*, *-shi*) or a concessive clause (e.g., *-kedo*, *-noni*, *-nimokakawarazu*) (Hasunuma, 2012). Because Elijah's utterance lacked a main clause, it wasn't clear what he intended to say. Though Elijah's production, as expected, continues to include errors, we see tremendous development in his expanded use of elaborating and emotion expressions.

In Homework 2, he thanked with more elaboration strategies. In Homework 3, Elijah's responses included various elaborating and emotion expressions, which made his thanking more sophisticated, including the benefactive verb (modal expression) *-itadaite* "to show that it was something that I appreciate them writing the letter really quickly," and a mimetic word, *dondon* "to show that was quickly done." Though this word choice is not correct, it clearly expresses Elijah's intended meaning—he appreciated his teacher's speedy provision of a letter of recommendation. This is a good example of how conceptual understanding supports a student in communicating clearly, even with language mistakes. Elijah's elaboration strategies included considering the benefactor's busy schedule, recognizing this imposition by saying *tottemo taihen datta no deshoo* 'it must have been very difficult,' with the strengthener *tottemo*, 'very' that includes emphasis with a geminate consonant. Elijah also said that the outcome would not have been realized without the act of the hearer, *sensee ga sore o shinakattara ryuugaku o dekinai to omoimasu* 'If you hadn't done that, I think I couldn't have studied abroad.' Then, he ended by strengthening a gratitude-based expression with *hontoo ni*, 'really,' elongating the sound to emphasize, "I'm extremely glad--GLAD and grateful that they did that for me." Elijah's DCT reflections evidence his conscious inclusion of the thanking concepts in his choices of gratitude expressions.

Homework 3 is where we see this striking development in Elijah's usage. Since he did not complete the post-test, it is not clear to what extent Elijah might have expressed gratitude without support. However, his Homework 3 answers show clear development, both conceptually and in his ability to connect his intentions with his linguistic choices.

Vanessa's Sociopragmatic and Conceptual Development: A qualitative Analysis.

Next, we look at Vanessa, whose production development was not as prominent as Elijah's in the quantitative analysis. This section explores the possible impact of conceptual development on the language production of students whose pragmalinguistic development was not evident via quantitative analysis. Vanessa is an L1 Cantonese and L2 English speaker. She has been studying Japanese for eight years, mostly by self-studying, with just four months of classroom instruction. Outside the classroom, she uses Japanese with friends and watches Japanese TV dramas. She home-stayed with a Japanese family in Japan for one month. In addition, she had taken seven trips to Japan of about one week each. Unlike Elijah, the number and range of expressions and strategies in Vanessa's gratitude expressions (see Figures 6.6, 6.7, and 6.8) didn't change much. However, her DCT reflections evidence conceptual development and changes in her thinking processes for choosing thanking expressions, and analysis of her language use shows that along with these conceptual shifts, her gratitude expressions also qualitatively changed.

Vanessa used apology expressions on her pre-test, demonstrating that she knew that apology could appear in thanking. However, her OBA was not complete. She did not know why apology occurred in Japanese thanking and was uncertain about expressing gratitude via apology. On the pre-test survey, Vanessa mentioned repetition of thanking expressions and

bowing as ways to express gratitude in Japanese. Excerpt 6.4 is taken from Vanessa's pre-test survey.

Excerpt 6.4

I don't think I have learned much about expressing gratitude in Japanese. Japanese people do repeat "Thank you" or the phrase that they expressed gratitude with for a few times, and sometimes they bow too.

Her pre-test DCT reflections further show Vanessa's consideration of some sociocultural factors related to thanking. Social distance and size of favors triggered Vanessa to feel indebtedness or guilt. She also mentioned social distance, but this impacted speech formality, though not her sense of indebtedness. Excerpt 6.5 presents an example of Vanessa's answers from the pre-test.

Excerpt 6.5 Vanessa's Thanking Expressions and Reflections from the Pre-test DCT, Item 12

DCT situation	Around midnight, you felt very sick and needed to go to the emergency room. Since you can't drive, you asked your neighbor whom you don't know very well to take you to the emergency room, and they did. A week later, you run into the neighbor and are about to say thank you.
Emotion checklist	Indebtedness, Guilt
Written DCT answer	<i>Senshuu, yonaka na noni byooiin made tsurete ite kurete arigatoo-gozaimeashita.</i>
Oral reflection	'Thank you for taking me to the hospital last week, even though it was in the middle of the night.' I don't really know how to apologize. I try to convey how bad I felt because I don't really know them well. And probably they don't know me well either. So I try to say, 'oh I'm really sorry, even though it's really late at night,' like 'thank you for bringing me to the hospital.' And because it's someone I don't really know, so I try to make the conversation formal as far as I can.

According to Vanessa's reflections, social distance prompted indebtedness and guilt ("I try to like convey like how bad I felt, because it's someone I don't really know") and she tried to highlight how bad she felt. In her language, she seems to have expressed her bad feeling by using the modal expression *-noni* (*yonaka-na noni* 'even though it was in the middle of the night'), which implies that something occurred contrary to one's expectation, expressing frustration, surprise and/or regret (McGloin, 1989). In this situation, contrary to a general expectation that people sleep at night and should not be bothered, the beneficiary wakes their neighbor up to be taken to the emergency room. Thus, *-noni* implies the speaker's recognition of imposition and regret.

It is also possible that Vanessa might have tried to express her bad feeling with the particle *made*. *Made* is equivalent to *to* in English and indicates a boundary of motion or time. In this situation, a directional particle, *ni* or *e*, which indicates the destination, is also possible. *Made* can denote an emphatic effect, showing unexpectedness or the speaker's surprise (Ito, 1997; Noguchi & Harada, 1996), while *ni* or *e* do not have this implication. Although not mentioned in her reflection, Vanessa might have used *made* in effort to recognize imposition. Nonetheless, Vanessa's thanking mainly consisted of gratitude-based expressions, *byooin made tsurete ite kurete* 'for taking me to the hospital,' and *arigatoo-gozaimashita* 'Thank you for what you did'; overall her language lacks the apologetic tone that she intended to project. Vanessa seems, in fact, to recognize this problem, stating "I don't really know how to apologize."

After the interactive lectures, Vanessa started expressing her feelings that she had imposed by thanking with apology-based expressions and recognitions of imposition. Excerpt 6.6 presents an example from her post-test DCT.

Excerpt 6.6 Vanessa's Thanking Expressions and Reflection from the Post-test DCT, Item 5

DCT situation	During class, you suddenly feel very sick. Your friend calls an ambulance, and they go to the emergency room with you despite the fact that it was in the middle of the lecture. The next day, you are better and are about to thank your friend.
Emotion checklist	Guilt
Written DCT answer	<i>Wazawaza byooin made tsuite kurete arigatoo. Gomen ne, jugyoo aru noni.</i>
Oral reflection	‘Thank you for going through the trouble and coming to the hospital with me. I’m sorry even though you have class.’ In this situation, because it’s a friend, I’d try to keep it more simple, like ‘thank you for taking me to the emergency room.’ And also [I would] apologize, because they should be in the lecture rather than going to the hospital with me.

She successfully conveyed her feelings of guilt by using the apology-based expression, *gomen ne* ‘I’m sorry.’ Additionally, she used elaborating and emotion expressions to highlight how bad she felt: she recognized imposition by saying, *jugyoo aru noni* ‘even though you have class,’ and the modal expression *wazawaza*, expressing that the other person went out of their way to help her. Additionally, she expressed gladness with the gratitude-based expression *arigatoo* ‘thank you’, and elaborated with the modal expression *-kurete* (beneficiary verb).

Some students, like Elijah, increased the number of thanking expressions and strategies that they used while others, like Vanessa, did not. For these students, changes in their language use cannot be measured quantitatively, so we could erroneously conclude that there was no pragmalinguistic development for students like Vanessa. However, like Vanessa, students who showed little quantitative change demonstrated qualitative improvement in their gratitude expressions. On the pre-test, Vanessa lacked confidence in expressing gratitude in situations where her actions caused a high degree of imposition, and in how to sound apologetic while thanking; her OBA, built on fragmented and incomplete sociopragmatic understanding, needed

to be re-focused and transformed by learning scientific concepts that were both systematic and applicable to wider situations. C-BLI aims to develop sociopragmatic concepts as a foundation for developing pragmalinguistic skills; qualitative analysis of Vanessa's articulated thinking and language production shows how this goal was realized in Vanessa's development.

Her insufficient everyday sociopragmatic concepts were transformed via C-BLI into scientific concepts; she became able to clearly express her intentions via thanking expressions and sustained strong performance through to the post-test. Here we see an example of, as Vygotsky proposed, how development occurs twice, first on the social plane, between people, and then on the psychological plane, within the speaker's own psychological functioning (see Chapter 2). The next section focuses on the mediating processes of language socialization, and explores how explicit language socialization by native speakers from Japan mediated the third focal participant, Rob's, conceptual understanding and promoted internalization processes.

Rob's Sociopragmatic and Conceptual Development: A Qualitative Analysis. Some concepts took longer for students to internalize than others. Understanding the concept of indebtedness was difficult for some students. Although indebtedness is universal, what prompts indebtedness and how people reciprocate varies across languages and cultures (Greenberg, 1980). In Japanese, indebtedness is provoked by sociocultural factors, including hierarchy, social distance, and the size of a favor or gift. For students, connecting sociocultural factors with indebtedness was particularly challenging, even for heritage speakers who regularly speak Japanese with family and friends and have seemingly experienced rich Japanese language socialization. However, for speakers of Japanese as a home language who live in the US, Japanese language socialization is accompanied by the individual's language socialization into

the dominant surrounding culture. It's possible that this dominance of the local culture may diminish the impact of language socialization in the minority language, such that merely having rich opportunities for language socialization may not guarantee internalization. L2 learners, including those who grew up with the target culture, benefited from this instructional unit, including both explicit instruction in the target concepts, and structured language socialization opportunities, which further fostered internalization processes.

For Rob, language socialization opportunities provided in the study mediated internalization of the target sociopragmatic concepts. Rob is a heritage speaker and regularly speaks Japanese with his mother. He reported English as his L1 and Japanese as his L2. His answers and comments indicated that he positions himself as American rather than Japanese. He took four years of formal classroom instruction in the U.S. He has never lived in Japan, but experienced at least 15 childhood trips to visit family in Japan. Rob is an interesting participant because his Japanese is mostly natural and native-like; he has had plenty of language socialization experience in Japan and with family. Yet his OBA prior to the instructional unit was insufficient, which left him confused about Japanese thanking. Explicit language socialization experience in C-BLI enabled Rob to develop scientific concepts, particularly the concepts of indebtedness and reciprocity, giving him tools to analyze situations from Japanese cultural perspectives.

On the pre-test survey, Rob described how Japanese people do thanking with some perplexity. Excerpt 6.7 presents Rob's comments about Japanese thanking from the pre-test survey.

Excerpt 6.7

I've noticed that Japanese people tend to appear humbler than Americans when expressing gratitude. Japanese also bow and sometimes engage in a back and forth about who over who is more grateful. It's very bureaucratic and sometimes time consuming/tiring. ... The key difference between American and Japanese culture when expressing gratitude is the magnitude of thankfulness that you are expected to display. In American culture, if you're truly grateful, you'll obviously express it accordingly. However, if something is menial or unsubstantial, a simple "thank you" will usually suffice. It is hard to imagine Americans going over the top to thank their neighbor for some cookies or a friend for a postcard. I've noticed that Japanese are expected to express gratitude for actions that aren't as obvious to Americans.

Rob's impression about Japanese thanking was "humbler" than American culture. Rob's comment that Japanese people, "sometimes engage in a back and forth about who over who is more grateful," shows some understanding, albeit not expressed explicitly, of reciprocity. Rob describes this social norm of reciprocity as "very bureaucratic and sometimes time consuming/tiring." He is aware of differences in thanking processes, but does not value these practices; he does not possess sociopragmatic knowledge of how reciprocity is related to thanking.

Then, he shared an anecdote, in which his Japanese grandmother asked him to call and thank a professor he had never met, even though the professor had not done anything for Rob. His anecdote illustrates this gap in his understanding of why Japanese people express gratitude for simple favors.

Excerpt 6.8

For example, my grandmother is friends with the wife of a former University of Tokyo professor. Last summer, after hearing I had applied for the University of Tokyo program, he offered to tour the Hongo campus with me. About two weeks ago, his wife and my grandmother were chatting when his wife mentioned that the professor was disappointed to hear that my program was cancelled. My grandmother then expected me to call the professor and express thankfulness for his concern. It was very odd to me, considering that I was expected to take time out of my day despite the fact that he had not even called

me directly. I feel Japanese people are more conditioned to realize and reciprocate gratitude for menial actions.

His grandmother likely felt indebted toward the professor, especially because the professor is higher than Rob and herself in social hierarchy. However, Rob wrote, “It was very odd to me, considering that I was expected to take time out of my day despite the fact that he had not even called me directly.” As such, this demonstrates a gap in the feeling of indebtedness between Rob and his Japanese grandmother.

As Rob wrote on the pre-test survey (“if something is menial or unsubstantial, a simple “thank you” will usually suffice (in American culture)”), Rob’s pre-test DCT answers and reflections showed that he primarily relied on the size of favor to decide on how much gratitude to express. In particular, substantial investment and borrowing money prompted him to feel indebted. He selected ten of the fourteen scenarios as indebted or guilty situations for the speaker, with four of the ten being connected to apology-based expressions. Even after the interactive C-BLI lectures, Rob continued to rely heavily on the size of favor to decide on choosing gratitude expressions and how much gratitude to extend, without considering other sociocultural factors.

Rob’s understanding about indebtedness and reciprocity was enhanced through language socialization with Japanese participants. Rob participated in the Discussion Session, which took place after the three interactive lectures, where students individually met with Japanese participants for discussion and received feedback on their DCT in Homework 3. Rob first talked with Naomi and realized that he did not feel indebted in situations where Naomi did. In Excerpt 6.9, Rob and Naomi discuss a DCT situation where a student forgets a pencil on an exam day

and asks their teacher to borrow one. In this situation, although lending a pencil is a simple favor, the social hierarchy between the teacher and the student can create indebtedness.

Excerpt 6.9

- 1 N: Indebtedness. *Kore ga jibun yori mo ue no hito?*=
‘Indebtedness. For people who are superior to you’
- 2 R: A
- 3 N: *=ni taishite wa hairi masu.*
‘there is this.’
- 4 R: *A:: kantan na mono demo?*
‘well, even for simple things?’
- 5 N: *Kantan na mono demo. Konobaai, tashika tesuto ga ukerenai janai desu ka? Enpitsu ga naito*
‘even for small things. In this case. if I’m not mistaken, you can’t take the exam, can you? if you don’t have a pencil.’
- 6 ...
- 7 R: *Demo enpitsu o kashite morau tte=*
‘but, isn’t borrowing a pencil’
- 8 N: *Hai.*
‘yes’
- 9 R: *=futsuu janai desu ka? Sensee da to.*
‘a normal thing? when it’s from a teacher.’
- 10 N: *U:n*
‘well’
- 11 R: *Tte yuu ka, sorega ma: shigoto janai kedo. hhh. shigoto no ichibu tte yuuka. Seeto ga komatteru tokoro- nanka atarimae tte yuu ka. ... Sore ga chotto ma: amerikajin to shite wa muzukashii.*
‘I mean. that’s not their job but. hhh. it’s kind of a part of their job. When student is in trouble. well. it’s nothing special. ... it’s kind of. well. as American, it’s hard to see it that way.’
- 12 ...
- 13 N: *Sokode karirete a yokatta tte yuu anshinkan to yappari sukoshi ue no hito- jibun ga oshiete morau dattari toka sensee tte yuu tachiba na no de ureshisa to chotto indebtedness ga hairu kana to.*
‘There is a feeling of relief that you could borrow it. all in all, the teacher is your superior. You’re in the position where you receive instruction. And they’re the teacher. So, I think there is pleasure and indebtedness.’
- 14 R: *Fu:n*
‘I see.’

In line 4, Rob seems surprised that simply borrowing a pencil from a teacher would make Naomi feel indebted. For him, it is a small favor (lines 7-9) and is a part of their job (line 11). In lines 1-3 and 13, Naomi explains that feelings of indebtedness result from the social hierarchy and her

sense of relief. Their conversation on this episode ended at line 14. Rob then talked to the second Japanese participant, Riku, and asked him about feeling indebted. Riku's answer was the same: that social hierarchy caused the sense of indebtedness. Rob again expressed his difficulty with this concept as shown in Excerpt 6.10.

Excerpt 6.10

Rob: *Un. Iya, demo ne, muzukashii no wa- yappari, nan te yuu no kana, shizen ni sooyuu. a. kotoba na n dakke? kyooshuku no kimochi ga nanka, detekonai tte yuuka kanjinai? Nanka, ma, chotto, hidoi koto- I'm gonna use like a plain language, but nanka, ano enpitsu no baai toka wa, ma, enpitsu kashite morau no tte futsuu ni sensee no shigoto ja nai desu ka? hhh. Dakara, ma:, futsuu ni arigatoo-gozaimasu de yokatta no kana: to wa, ma, amerikajin toshite wa, sore wa, daijoubu da to.*

'Yes. Well, but, what's difficult is, you know, how should I say it? It naturally-, well, what was the word? Feeling indebtedness doesn't come out. I can't feel it. Well, a little-, something awful-, I'm gonna use like plain language. But, well, in the case of pencil borrowing, well, lending a pencil is a teacher's job, isn't it? hhh. So, well, as American, I think it was fine with *arigatoo-gozaimasu*. I think it is fine.'

Rob's statement demonstrates his difficulty in connecting social hierarchy and indebtedness. His comment, "*amerikajin toshite wa. sore wa. daijoubu dato* 'as American, I think it was fine'", implies that Rob noticed a gap in analyzing favors and feeling indebtedness between him and the Japanese participants.

Rob also asked the third Japanese participant, Mami, how she would feel in the pencil-borrowing situation. Mami chose pleasure and indebtedness for the same reasons that Naomi and Riku did. Their conversation then shifts to the act of gift-giving and reciprocity. Rob asks Mami about situations where the speaker expresses gratitude even when they do not actually feel appreciative. Mami explained that expressions are highly conventionalized and formulaic, so naturally come out. She provided a hypothetical situation of a friend giving her a gift that she

does not like and explained how she would react: she would pretend to like it, compliment it, and say thanks. Then, Rob asked if she would do the same with a close friend. Mami answered that the act of giving is more important than the gift itself. Excerpt 6.11 presents the episode.

Excerpt 6.11

- 1 R: *E sore tte sa, honto ni shitashii tomodachi demo shoojiki iwanai?*
 ‘well that one. Would you not even speak honestly if it were a close friend?’
- 2 M: *U:n. demo purezento wa iwanai kamo.*
 ‘well. but I wouldn’t tell when it comes to a gift.’
- 3 R: *A:*
- 4 M: *Nanka katte kureta mono dakara. So: ne.*
 ‘because that’s something they bought for me. you know?’
- 5 R: *Fu:n. Shinyuu demo?*
 ‘I see. even if it’s your best friend?’
- 6 M: *U:n. Shinyuu. Shinyuu demo. ... Sore wa, demo, ienaku nai? nanka. katte kureta noni. e kore iranai n dakedo. mitaina. hhh.*
 ‘well. best friend. even my best friend. ... you can’t say that, can you? well. they bought it for you, and you say you don’t need it. something like that? hhh.’
- 7 R: *Soo ka na?*
 ‘Is that so?’
- 8 M: *Yuu? like I don’t need this. mitaina? hhh.*
 ‘Would you say that? like I don’t need this. like that? Hhh.’
- 9 ...
- 10 M: *Un. soo ne. demo. nanka. purezento o watasu tte yuu. sono purezento no naiyoo tte yuu yori ka wa. tabun. Nihonjin tte sono purezento o watasu kooi no hoo ga juuyooshi sareru no. dakara. watashita tte yuu. jijitsu no hoo ga. tabun. un. sono hito no tameni naru? nanka mono? tte yuu yorika wa. nanka. toriaezu. purezento tte yuu mono o tabun watasu mitaina.*
 ‘well. I see your point. but. well. the fact that you give a gift. rather than the content of the gift. probably. Japanese people regard the act of giving a gift as more important. so. the fact that you gave is probably. it’s good for them? like rather than the present itself, probably the act of giving a thing called a gift’
- 11 R: *A*
- 12 M: *Kooi no hoo ga tabun ureshii. Ureshii tte yuuka. Juuyooshi sareru ki ga suru. Soo iwaretara. Un.*
 ‘probably makes people happy. like [it] is more valued. I think. now that I think about it. yes.’
- 13 R: *He:*
 ‘really.’

The episode shows Rob and Mami's different views. Mami claims (line 2) that she would not tell her close friend that she does not like the gift. Rob asks again in line 5, and disagrees in line 7. Mami seems surprised in line 8. In the omitted lines indicated as line 9, Rob shares a personal episode where his best friend gave him a baseball cap, when he happened to already own the same one. Rob reported telling his friend that he did not need it. Then, in lines 10-12, Mami points out that Japanese people consider the act of gift-giving more important than the gift itself. Mami's explanation relates to Rob's perplexity on the pre-test survey, where he said that Japanese people tend to be more thankful for little favors, whereas for Americans a simple "thank you" would suffice (see Excerpt 6.8). Mami points out here that it isn't the size of the favor that matters in these situations, but the fact that the person went out of their way and used their time and money to buy a gift. Thus, what's most important is expressing gratitude.

Mami's comment in line 10 also relates to the concept of reciprocity. Exchanging gifts in Japan can be a balancing act in a social relationship. Receiving a gift changes the balance of the relationship see-saw, making the recipient become indebted. Thus, continuing the relationship means reciprocating by returning the favor. Mami's comment, "*purezento o watasu kooi no hoo ga juuyooshi sareru no. dakara. watashita tte yuu jijitsu no hoo ga ... juuyooshi sareru ki ga suru* 'Japanese people regard the act of giving a gift as more important, so the fact that you gave ... is more valued'," indicates that sometimes the act of reciprocity is considered more valued than the gift itself.

Rob's experience talking to the Japanese participants also relates to the episode where his Japanese grandmother expected him to call and thank the professor who had offered his grandmother a campus tour for him, to thank the professor for his concern about Rob's study abroad being cancelled. From Rob's perspective, the professor hadn't done anything for Rob to

thank him for. Mami's explanation in Excerpt 6.11 can be extended to explain why Rob's grandmother thought it was necessary to express gratitude for the professor's offer and concern about Rob's, with gratitude underscored by the indebtedness involved due to the professor's higher social position. The concept of reciprocity explains his grandmother's point of view: she was indebted by the professor's offer of a campus tour and his concern for Rob. A phone call from Rob is one way for her to reciprocate. This is not about Rob's feelings, but rather that the act of calling to express gratitude would be valued by the professor and his grandmother.

To what extent particular sociocultural factors affect one's feeling may also differ depending on individuals and contexts. The Japanese participants, when talking with students, presented their own interpretations, and did not necessarily agree on all points. Yet, what was valuable for L2 learners was the opportunity for joint-communicated thinking about how target cultural experts analyze a specific context and select gratitude expressions. As shown in Study 1, communicated thinking with experts allows L2 learners to advance through their zones of proximal development (ZPDs). Rob's communicated thinking with Naomi in Excerpt 6.9 shows how he was utilizing attention to social hierarchy as a factor causing indebtedness. His conversations with the other Japanese participants expanded Rob's ZPD to help him understand other factors, including gratitude for simple favors and reciprocity. With the ZPD as a socially created activity (Holzman, 2018), the developmental environment is collaboratively created through socio-cultural activities.

Rob's communicated thinking with experts centered around the target concepts. The effectiveness of the language socialization sessions resulted from this focus, demonstrating the positive impact of the training Japanese participants received. Prior to the Discussion Session, they completed the DCT, received explicit instruction about the target concepts with SCOBAs,

and discussed how the concepts were applied in contexts. The Japanese participants benefited from this training, because while native speakers can act agentively and use language to realize their intentions, they don't necessarily possess metapragmatic awareness. During the Discussion Session, the native speakers relied on their training, using SCOBAs to mediate their guidance of L2 learners and joint-communicated thinking. For students, SCOBAs provided scientific concepts to promote their understanding by visually displaying connections between Japanese cultural concepts, feelings, and linguistic expressions. For the Japanese participants, SCOBAs were mediating tools that made their internalized concepts more explicit so that they could communicate their abstract thinking with students.

On the post-test DCT, Rob's production did not show quantitative change from the pre-test (see Figure 6.6, 6.7, and 6.8). However, the post-test survey showed his developing understanding about differences in American and Japanese cultures in analyzing favors. Excerpt 6.12 presents his comments.

Excerpt 6.12

The primary difference I see between American and Japanese culture is the way we analyze favors. I have noticed that Japanese tend to be more thankful for menial actions and in turn, express gratitude on a greater scale. When completing the tests, I've had to think twice about how a Japanese person would react, instead of how I would react as an American. Americans tend to just say "thank you" and call it good. The Japanese will often express that they are grateful, no matter how small the favor is.

His comments demonstrated a deeper understanding of Japanese thanking. On the pre-test, he pointed out that Japanese people tended to show gratitude even for simple actions, but was not able to articulate why. On the post-test, he demonstrated his understanding that the differences in actions between the two cultures relate to the different ways to analyze favors. Further, his

comments reveal a new strategy of considering situations from a Japanese cultural perspective.

This was also reflected in his DCT answers. Excerpt 6.13 presents an example.

Excerpt 6.13 Rob's Thanking Expressions and Reflection from the Post-test DCT, Item 14

DCT situation	You have a very important job interview and cannot be late. In the morning, you find that your car engine does not work. It seems no taxis/ubers are available due to the morning rush hour. You ask your Japanese neighbor, and the neighbor gives you a ride. Thanks to the neighbor, you make it to the job interview. The next day, you see the neighbor on the street. You wish to express your gratitude.
Emotion checklist	Gladness; Indebtedness; Guilt
Written DCT answer	<i>Isogashii tokoro meiwaku o kakete suimasen-deshita. Okage de mensetsu ni mani aimashita. Hontoo ni arigatoo-gozaimashita.</i>
Oral reflection	<p>'I'm sorry for causing you trouble when you are busy. Thanks to you, I made it to the interview. Thank you very much.'</p> <p>In this scenario, it would really depend on how well you know the neighbor. This is actually one of the scenarios when we were talking with the Japanese students. I think my response lacked the most in comparison to the Japanese students'. So, I tried to kind of live up to their standard for this. So, I just kind of went with the very formal apology for taking time out of their day, and let them know that thanks to them I was able to make it to the interview. And then, thank them again. You'd definitely feel indebted and guilty. Maybe gladness, too. I (unintelligible) don't know. pleasure. This scenario would (unintelligible) depend on how well you know your neighbor.</p>

Rob expressed his indebtedness and guilt by using the apology-based expression, *suimasen-deshita* 'I'm sorry-past.' Further, he added recognition of imposition, *isogashii tokoro meiwaku o kakete* 'I caused you trouble when you were busy', to the apology-based expression. In his reflection, he pays attention to social distance, which he discussed with Japanese speakers. He specifies that "it would really depend on how well you know the neighbor", indicating that social distance impacts thanking. Although we know from Rob's interactions with the Japanese participants that he may not emotionally experience indebtedness and guilt, his reflections show

his understanding of how Japanese people would process the situation, using his conceptual understanding. As he said above, he worked to “live up to their [Japanese people’s] standard,” examining the situation from the interlocutor’s point of view and imitating what Japanese people might do. In a Vygotskian view, such behavior is the key to internalization because imitation involves understanding the goal and the means, therefore being “an intentional, complex, and potentially transformative process” (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006, p. 176).

Rob’s DCT reflection in Excerpt 6.13 shows that he was utilizing the concepts and examining various factors (i.e., means) to express gratitude (i.e., goal). Vygotsky regarded children’s play as the leading activity of development, because “in play a child always behaves beyond his average age, above his daily behavior; in play it is as though he were a head taller than himself” (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 102). By imitating Japanese people’s thinking processes, Rob was being “a head taller” and performing beyond his current cultural competence. C-BLI thus equipped Rob to develop in the future, even though he may not have fully internalized the concepts yet.

Lastly, it should be emphasized that not all learners are willing, or, as Rob did, work to take on target cultural perspectives, or, as Rob did, try to behave in a target-like way when those behaviors conflict with their previously established notions or emotional responses. The purpose of this unit was not to coerce students to enact native speaker norms or to create carbon-copy performances of particular behaviors. Rather, the goal was to teach the social meanings of Japanese thanking so that L2 learners would be equipped to judge appropriate behaviors by themselves, by empowering them with the knowledge and skills needed to make pragmatic choices and creatively apply their agency to L2 situations. In the next section, I discuss how C-BLI helped L2 learners to do this.

6.4.3 Learner Agency through C-BLI

Students' agency is not fixed but fluid (Taguchi & Li, 2020). Sometimes, they are interested in conforming to native speakers' performances, while other times they reject target norms, whether intentionally or unconsciously. In order for students to make pragmatic choices, they need a strong understanding of pragmatic concepts held in their L2 cultures of interest. Findings revealed that conceptual development via C-BLI enabled students to find ways to exercise agency and express themselves while considering what might be appropriate in the L2 culture. This section focuses on Elijah, whose conceptual development resulted in performing thanking in a way that reflected his emotions and intended meanings, as discussed in an earlier section (Section 6.7.2). Here, further analysis found that new conceptual understandings helped him make active pragmatic choices and be strategic in communication.

On the pre-test, Elijah was unable to linguistically convey his emotional responses. His pre-test DCT answers presented earlier in Excerpt 6.4 are re-introduced here as Excerpt 6.14 to revisit his gratitude expression, emotions, and reflections from the viewpoint of agency.

Excerpt 6.14 Elijah's Thanking Expressions and Reflection from the Pre-test DCT, Item 12

DCT situation	Around midnight, you felt very sick and needed to go to the emergency room. Since you can't drive, you asked your neighbor whom you don't know very well to take you to the emergency room, and they did. A week later, you run into the neighbor and are about to say thank you.
Emotion checklist	Indebtedness; Guilt
Written DCT answer	<i>A, Nodo-san, Watashi o kyuu kyuu ni tsurete itte kudasatte arigatoo-gozaimashita. Sekkau datta no deshoo.</i> 'A, Nodo-san, thank you for taking me to the emergency room. <i>Sekkaku datta no deshoo</i> [incomprehensible].'
Oral reflection	They don't necessarily know me very well, so they did me a service.

In this situation, Elijah reported indebtedness and guilt. Sociocultural factors likely created the sense of indebtedness: the hearer is a socially distant person; the size of the favor is big; and, the speaker asks the hearer for the favor, rather than the hearer voluntarily initiating the favor. Considering both speaker emotions and sociocultural factors, an apologetic tone would be appropriate. However, Elijah's expression lacks any such tone. His reflection, "they don't necessarily know me very well", indicates that he may be aware of social distance affecting gratitude expressions. It is possible that he tried to incorporate social distance into his answer by using the modal expression *kudasaru*. However, it is not enough, and expression related to social distance needs to be more elaborate.

During the C-BLI unit, Elijah's gratitude expressions became more complex and connected to his intentions. Excerpt 6.15 reports one of Elijah's responses from Homework 2, where his linguistic choices effectively expressed his stated emotions and intentions.

Excerpt 6.15 Elijah's Thanking Expressions and Reflection from Homework 2 DCT, Item 3

DCT situation	You are organizing a <i>matsuri</i> event at the university. Your friend voluntarily donates \$100 for the event. You'd like to extend your friend gratitude.
Emotion checklist	Pleasure; Indebtedness
Written DCT answer	<i>Tomo-chan suimasen-deshita. Okane o kurete totemo ureshikute arigatoo-gozaimashita.</i> 'Tomo, I'm sorry. I'm very glad that you gave me money and thank you.'
Oral reflection	I feel indebted to them that they had to make such a decision. And I want to recognize that that was probably a hard thing for them to do. And, also, I want to highlight my pleasure that they did it, because it would contribute to the good of the event.

In terms of sociocultural factors, although it is a friend socially close to the speaker, the high amount, for a student, of a one-hundred-dollar donation would likely create a sense of indebtedness. Elijah reported both pleasure and indebtedness for this situation. In his gratitude expression, he linguistically expressed these by using both apology- and gratitude-based expressions to show both the pleasure and indebtedness sides of his gratitude. He wrote “I want to highlight my pleasure that they did it because it would contribute to the good of the event.” In his thanking expression, he elaborated the pleasure side of the emotion, *ureshiku-te* ‘glad and,’ with the strengthener *totemo* ‘very.’ He also used the benefactive verb *kureru* in *okane o kurete* ‘for giving me money’ to highlight that he benefitted from his friend’s action. Here we see a clear connection between Elijah’s development of sociopragmatic concepts and his pragmalinguistic construction of his gratitude expressions; his language reflects his personal emotions and the sense of indebtedness provoked by the sociocultural factors. He also expressed his desire to highlight his pleasure and he successfully realized this in his gratitude expression.

In Homework 3, Elijah’s development is evident in his strategic pragmatic choices. Excerpt 6.16 is a DCT answer from Homework 3. In his reflections on this unwanted gift, Elijah explicitly stated that he did not want to project any sense of gratefulness. He avoided gratitude-based expressions in order to not receive beets in the future.

Excerpt 6.16 Elijah's Thanking Expressions and Reflection from Homework 3 DCT, Item 14

DCT situation	Your Japanese neighbor grows beets in their garden and occasionally share lots of them with you. To be honest, you do not want them, since you usually cannot finish and so they spoil. The neighbor is offering you the beets they grow again.
Emotion checklist	Indebtedness
Written DCT answer	<i>A, soo desu ka. Sumimasen.</i>
Oral reflection	<p>'Oh, I see. I'm sorry.'</p> <p>I feel indebted to them that they did something for me that I can't really appreciate. But, I also don't want to say anything like <i>arigatoo</i> 'thank you' to give the hint that I'm enjoying it. Because I think if I say something like '<i>A soo desu ka</i> [I see]. <i>Sumimasen</i> [I'm sorry].' and just leave there at that, they might be less likely to do that in the future.</p>

Elijah's feeling as a speaker is indebtedness, and since he wouldn't feel grateful, he reported, "I also don't want to say anything like *arigatoo* 'thank you' to like give the hint that I'm enjoying it." He thus avoided gratitude-based expressions and only used apology-based expressions so that the neighbor might be less likely to give him beets in the future.

In the Discussion Session, Elijah talked about this beets episode with a Japanese participant, Riku. Excerpt 6.17. presents their discussion on Elijah's pragmatic choice.

Excerpt 6.17

- 1 E: ... *Demo boku wa, soo desu ka. sumimasen. to iimashita. De boku wa arigatoo-kansha no kimochi o tsutaetaku arimasen deshita node sumimasen dake tsukaimashita.*
 '... but. I said, "I see. I'm sorry." Then, because I did not want to tell thank you, gratitude feeling, I only used sorry.'
- 2 ...
- 3 R: *A demo iidesu ne. Elijah-san no sugoku simple de. ano. umai- joozu na hyoogen da to omoimasu.*
 'Well. yeah. It's good. Because yours is very simple. well. good. I think it's a good expression.'

- 4 E: ... *Karera wa nanika o- nanika o yarinikui koto o shita n desu keredomo, boku wa sore o appreciate o dekinai- kansha o dekimasen node tabun chotto zaiakukan desu ne.*
 ‘... they did something- something hard to do. But I can’t appreciate it. Because I can’t be grateful, there is probably feeling of guilt.’
- 5 R: *Tashika ni, tashika ni. Demo, ano, Elijah-san, sugoi- yappa sinpuru de ii desu ne. ...*
 ‘I see. I see. but. well. Elijah. very. yes. it is simple and is good. ...’

Excerpt 6.17 shows that Elijah deliberately avoided using gratitude-based expressions to accomplish his communicative goal, which was not receiving beets in the future. In line 1, Elijah says he only used *sumimasen* ‘sorry’ because he did not want to express gratitude. In line 3, Riku agrees and compliments Elijah’s expression. Line 4 shows that Elijah recognized the social factor, or that the size of favor is probably big, which may lead to an apology-based expression. However, he again emphasized that he did not want to show any appreciation in his response, resulting in selecting an apology-based expression, *sumimasen* ‘sorry.’ In line 5, his Japanese partner again agrees and provides positive assessment. It is interesting to compare Riku’s response here with Mami’s response to Rob from the hat episode (see Excerpt 6.11). Both show the giver’s thoughtfulness. In Rob’s hat situation, Mami noted that showing gratitude for thoughtfulness was more important than the fact that the hat was not needed. In Elijah’s beets episode, on the other hand, his communicative goal is to avoid receiving more beets in the future, while not hurting the hearer’s feelings.

By internalizing the L2 concepts, students gained tools to exercise agency in culturally appropriate ways. New conceptual understandings enabled Elijah to construct thanking expressions as he wanted. Elijah’s pragmatic choice in the beets episode may not conform to idealized native speaker norms, but it makes sense in terms of social meanings and his communicative goal. As L2 concepts are transferable across contexts, making pragmatic choices

based on L2 concepts allows students to consider possible behaviors in a wide range of contexts, while seeking ways to express themselves as a member of the L2 community.

Cultivating this ability can enhance students' self-confidence and encourage L2 learners' willingness to communicate (WTC), which MacIntyre et al. (1998) defined as "readiness to enter into discourse at a particular time with a specific person or persons, using an L2" (p.547).

According to MacIntyre et al., developing the desire to look for communication opportunities and communicate in them is the ultimate goal of language learning. To develop willingness to communicate, self-confidence is one of the key components. The C-BLI unit increased student confidence in their thanking, according to the post-test survey. Table 6.10 shows changes in students' confidence levels from the pre-test to the post-test, along with some of their comments from the post-test survey. To assess student confidence levels, the survey asked students to report how confident they are in expressing gratitude in Japanese on a scale from 1 to 10, 1 being the least confident and 10 being absolutely confident.

Table 6.10: Change in Students' Confidence Level from the Pre-test to the Post-test and Their Comments from the Post-test Survey

Participant	Confidence level		Students' comment
	Pre-test	Post-test	
Betsy	6	No response	
Don	6	No response	
Rob	6	7-8	... my answers to a lot of the scenarios were fairly similar to the Japanese participants'. I am obviously lacking in formal language knowledge which may affect how I respond to certain scenarios but overall, I am fairly confident I can express my gratitude in an acceptable fashion.
Shan	7	8	I feel like I understand how it works, but it is hard for me to express gratitude in a Japanese way as I am grown in a different cultural background.
Tim	6	8	... now I am definitely feeling like I understand how to express gratitude in Japanese way more than before. The only thing that makes it not a 10 is I still struggle for when to thank someone even though you aren't grateful or when to not overthank someone even though you are extremely grateful. ...
Vanessa	5	8	I think compared to before I can definitely elaborate more when it comes to expressing gratitude
Elijah	No response		
Huan	2	3	I still did not use the <i>keigo</i> (honorific language) while expressing gratitude very well and I think this is a really hard part for foreigners. And as I think gratitude should include the illustration of your feelings, but I still feel hard to express what I felt and what I thought.
Kimi	6	7	Through the contents of this course, I felt that I was able to get a better understanding on when to utilize what expressions depending on the scenario. Now that I have a better grasp of the continuum that gratitude exists on, I feel that I will now be able to express myself and my intended emotions more accurately and appropriately.
Matt	8	9 or 8	I think after studying how gratitude works in Japanese, I think I have gained confidence in practically any situation. In about any situation I believe I would at least be able to show some form of gratitude....
Sophia	No response		
Yan	7	9	I think I'm very confident since I have learned different factors involving expressing gratitude. I feel like if I have more knowledge in extra-polite speech style and could handle more vocabularies then I will be 100% confident.

Except for the four students who did not submit the post-test survey (Betsy, Don, Elijah and Sophia), all reported an increase in their confidence in performing thanking. MacIntyre et al. (1998) claim that prior language learning may enhance or deteriorate learners' confidence. For example, novel situations may reduce confidence, because learners might be uncertain of their ability to communicate effectively. In the present study, various DCT situations were given, including some likely to be outside of students' direct experience. Students learned to analyze even novel situations and successfully composed appropriate thanking. These results showcase C-BLI's potential, especially for FL learners whose access to the L2 community is limited. Despite the lack of language socialization opportunities outside the classroom, by relying on scientific concepts which are applicable across a range of situations, students became able to make appropriate pragmatic choices. This is significant, because C-BLI can prepare students in FL contexts, providing a foundation to draw upon when they encounter out-of-class communicative situations.

6.4.4 *Material Appropriateness*

This section discusses the material appropriateness for this proficiency level. Study 1 found that production tasks, particularly role-play and DCTs, were challenging to Study 1 participants, who were predominantly enrolled in third-year Japanese. Study 2 students, enrolled in fourth-year courses, possessed higher proficiency than most of the Study 1 students. They demonstrated better language control and performance. In role-plays, Study 2 students monitored their linguistic performance, self-corrected if necessary, and performed thanking beyond their DCT answers. They demonstrated linguistic capacities beyond formulaic expressions. Along

with imitating example expressions, they used language creatively. Students also developed the ability to create nuances in their thanking expressions.

Study 2 role-plays were performed with peers in class. Students could invent thanking situations to perform, or use role-play situations provided from the homework DCT items, which they could review prior to role-playing. While in Study 1 the role-play task, which lacked these options, and were performed with the teacher, and not peers, did not elicit more than their DCT answers, the role-plays in Study 2 stimulated communicated thinking among students and elicited performances beyond their DCT answers. Table 6.11 presents comparisons of Rob and Vanessa's thanking expressions on the DCT and role-play for the same situation.

Table 6.11: Rob and Vanessa's DCT Answers from Homework 2

	Rob	Vanessa
DCT situation	You are organizing a matsuri event. You asked your professor to give a small talk about Japanese culture at the event and they did. Now the event is over. (Item 6)	You are organizing a matsuri event at the university. Your professor voluntarily donates \$300 for the event. (Item 4)
Written DCT answer	<i>Oisogashii tokoro sumimasen-deshita. Sensee ni nankai mo osewa ni natte orimasu. Hontoo ni arigatoo-gozaïmasu.</i> 'I'm sorry when you were busy. You have helped us many times. Thank you very much.'	<i>Sumimasen. Ibento no tame ni okane o dasanakutemo yokatta noni.</i> 'I'm sorry. You didn't have to donate money for this event.'
Thanking in Role-play	<i>Oisogashii tokoro sumimasen deshita. Matsuri de hanashite kurete arigatoo-gozaïmasu. Honto ni tasukari mashita.</i> 'I'm sorry when you were busy. Thank you for giving a talk at the festival. It really helped.'	<i>Sensee honto ni sumimasen. Hontoni sonnna taikin de- kifu shinakutemo ii noni. Moo hontoni arigatoo-gozaïmasu. Kono itadaita kane o tsukatte, zettai sono evento o seeko sasemasu kara. Jikan attara zehi tachiyotte kudasai. ... hai. Ganbari masu. Arigatoo-gozaïmasu. Hontoni sumimasen.</i> 'I'm truly sorry. Really that much of money- you don't have to donate. Thank you very much. Using this money received from you, we will certainly make the event successful. If you have time, please stop by. ... Yes, we will do our best. Thank you. Very sorry.'

The spoken role-play tasks elicited more elaborated thanking than Rob and Vanessa's written DCT answers. There are several possible reasons. Students may have rushed through the DCT assignments since they were homework, whereas the role-plays were conducted in class. On the other hand, while for the written DCTs, students could take time to gather their thoughts, put their thoughts into language, and think about what structures or phrases they could use, along with re-writing their answers if necessary. This might promote longer or more accurate production, but the collaborative interactive situation of role-plays also has strengths along with challenges. Spoken language allowed students to rephrase, self-correct, or repeat phrases, which made their utterances longer and may have promoted creativity. Having an interlocutor allowed for responsiveness, which may also have promoted elaboration. In this way, the role-play tasks offered students practice beyond their DCT answers. Rob and Vanessa's role-play thanking in Table 6.11 above, shows that their thanking expressions were based on their DCT answers, which they further elaborated in their spoken performances.

Langaging was also observed during the peer role-plays. Students monitored their talk and self-corrected while role-playing. Excerpt 6.18 presents an excerpt of the role-play between Rob and Vanessa on the situation presented in Table 6.11. Translations in single quotation marks were not uttered by Rob and Vanessa.

Excerpt 6.18. R=Rob, V=Vanessa

- 1 R: ... *Sensee oisogashii tokoro arigatoo-gozaimashita* 'Professor, thank you when you were busy'. Um. No, it would be *oisogashii tokoro sumimasen deshita* 'sorry when you were busy.' *Ano matsuri de hanashite kurete arigatoo-gozaimasu* 'thank you for giving a talk at the festival'. *Hontoni tasukari masu* 'it helps.' Or no, *honto ni tasukari mashita* 'it helped,' 'cause it's in the past tense.
- 2 ...

- 3 V: ((reading out the situation from the handout)). Oh okay. This one is a LOT of money. Oh my goodness. ... I really ((unintelligible)) question during the homework one. Like I was like-
- 4 R: Yeah:: ... I don't know if I would take that money to be honest.
- 5 V: Yeah.
- 6 R: I'd just feel too bad.
- 7 V: Yeah. Okay. *Etto* 'well'. So okay. Let's say I sort of GOT the money. It's [like=
- 8 R: [uh.
- 9 V: =*sensee sonna no ano honto ni ano sumimasen* 'Professor, that, well, truly sorry.' *Ano hontoni sonnna taikin de- ano, sono, kifu shinakutemo ii noni* 'well, really, that much of money- well, you don't have to donate.' *Ano. Moo hotoni arigatoo-gozaimasu* 'well, thank you very much.' *Kono itadaita kane o tsukatte ano zettai sono evento o seeko sasemasu kara* 'Using this money received from you, we will certainly make the event successful.' *Ano jikan attara zehi tachiyotte kudasai* 'If you have time, please stop by.' *hhh.*
- 10 R: Hhhh. Um. *Hai* 'yes.' *Ie* 'no.' Um. *Matsuri o tanoshimini shite i masu* 'I look forward to the festival.' *Ganbatte kudasai* 'good luck.'
- 11 V: *Hai ganbarimasu* 'Yes, we will do our best.' *Arigatoo-gozaimasu* 'thank you.' *Hontoni sumimasen* 'very sorry.'

In line 1, Rob self-corrected, changing from the gratitude-based expression, *arigatoo-gozaimasu* 'thank you', to the apology-based expression, *sumimasen-deshita* 'I'm sorry-past.' He also corrected the non-past verb, *tasukari masu* 'it helps,' to the past-tense, *tasukari mashita* 'it helped,' and said "cause it's in the past tense," indicating he was consciously monitoring and controlling his language production.

Excerpt 6.18 evidences communicated thinking between Rob and Vanessa. Prior to the second role-play performance starting from line 9, they discussed how bad they would feel accepting a large donation. This interaction may have heightened Vanessa's focus on indebtedness and guilt, resulting in more elaboration and a more apologetic tone in the role-play than in her DCT answer. It is possible that the mode of interaction (spoken instead of written) promoted heightened emotionality. Whatever the cause, Vanessa increased both elaboration strategies and emotion expressions in her role-play performance. As homework, the DCT assignments and reflections were designed to promote dialogical thinking, where students

communicate with themselves inwardly in their mind or private speech. The role-plays, on the other hand, were conducted with peers, providing a context for communicated thinking, where students developed their thoughts through social interaction. This suggests the effectiveness of having both DCT assignments and role-plays for these fourth-year students.

Compared to students in Study 1, who mostly used formulaic and example expressions from the SCOBAs, students in Study 2 constructed gratitude expressions beyond formulaic and example expressions. Excerpt 6.19, for example, re-introduces Elijah's thanking expressions from Item 6 of the Homework 2 DCT assignment. The bolded portions combine language from the SCOBAs with other expressions.

Excerpt 6.19: Elijah's Written DCT Answer from Homework 2 DCT, Item 6

Sumimasen-deshita. Sensee no okage de nihon bunka o oshierare mashita. Sensee ga irassharanakattara kono happyoo o dekinakatta to omoimasu. Arigatoo-gozaimashita.

'I'm sorry. Thanks to you, we were able to teach Japanese culture. If you were not there, I think we would not have been able to have this presentation. Thank you.'

Elijah uses example phrases from SCOBAs C, *okage de maniatta yo* 'thanks to you, I made it on time' and *xx-chan inakattara maniawanakatta yo* 'If you were not there, I would not have made it' (see Figure 6.4), creatively combining them with other expressions to adapt his thanking expressions to the context.

Students also became able to convey subtle nuances linguistically. Excerpt 6.20 re-introduces Vanessa's written answer from a post-test DCT item.

Excerpt 6.20: Vanessa's written answer to the Post-test DCT, Item 5

Wazawaza byooiin made tsuite kurete arigatoo. Gomen ne, jugyoo aru noni.

'Thank you for going through the trouble and coming to the hospital with me. I'm sorry even though you have class.'

As presented earlier, on the pre-test Vanessa struggled to convey apologetic feeling through her language. However, on the post-test DCT presented here, Vanessa tactfully communicated her feeling of guilt by incorporating different modals that recognize imposition, such as *noni* ‘even though’, and *wazawaza*, which connotes that the other person went out of their way to help her. She also elaborated expressions of gladness with the modal expression *-kurete* (a beneficiary verb). As shown in Elijah and Vanessa’s examples, students at this instructional level benefitted from practicing to connect the target concepts, language and contexts.

6.5 Conclusion

This chapter has explored developmental processes in a C-BLI unit teaching expression of gratitude in Japanese in two intact fourth-year Japanese classrooms, with analysis of pre- and post-test survey answers, DCT answers, DCT reflections, concept explanations, conversation data between students and in their conversations with Japanese participants, and role-plays. The analyses considered five areas: production development, conceptual development, the role of explicit language socialization, L2 agency development, and assessment of material appropriateness for fourth-year students.

Production development was assessed using students’ written DCT answers from the pre-test, homework and post-test. Coding of common expressions, elaboration strategies and emotion expressions showed that development varied among students. Some students, such as Elijah, increased their number of these expressions and strategies over the instructional unit, while other students, such as Vanessa and Rob, showed little quantitative change. However, all students, including those whose language did not change quantitatively, showed qualitative changes in their DCT answers, in that their intended meanings as understood via their oral reflections were

more fully expressed in their thanking. Qualitative improvements became more obvious as their conceptual understanding developed in sophistication, demonstrating how internalization was taking place. Similar to the Study 1 results, Study 2 also found SCOBAs to be an important source of mediation. Some students produced more expressions and strategies in homework (with SCOBAs) than they did on the post-test (without SCOBAs), suggesting their performance was other-regulated--students needed to rely on external assistance to complete the task. This means that students were performing ZPD activity, with internalization progressing within the ZPD, even though they did not fully internalize the material.

The instructional unit further provided language socialization experiences that were structured around scientific concepts. Structured language socialization experiences helped students to consider situations from other perspectives and to reflect on their own cultural identities. Through communicated thinking with native speaker participants, Rob noticed gaps in his cultural understanding by comparing his reasoning with that of four different Japanese participants. This is shown in Rob's comment from the post-test survey: "What is deemed as the appropriate emotional response to a certain scenario differs between Japanese and Americans. This barrier may affect how I am perceived when expressing my emotions." Interestingly, he became aware that through thanking he was constructing a persona that might be understood differently from his intentions. Explicit language socialization brought benefits even to heritage speakers who possessed a high Japanese proficiency level; despite the rich cultural experiences of their upbringing, their sociopragmatic knowledge was still developing.

The DCT reflections revealed that students actively made pragmatic choices after the interactive lectures. Sometimes students attempted to evaluate situations from Japanese cultural perspectives, like those shown in Rob's DCT reflections, while at other times they gave priority

to how they wanted to present themselves, as in Elijah's beets episode. By teaching concepts, C-BLI enabled students to make pragmatic choices aligned with their communicative intentions. Even if they chose not to conform to NS norms in terms of pragmalinguistic choices, they could still evaluate what would be appropriate in the target culture by using the scientific concepts they learned.

Identifying the appropriate instructional level, here considering third-year and fourth-year students, is important, as L2 speech act performance is related to students' proficiency level (Morkus, 2021; Ren & Gao, 2012) and the amount of contact with the L2 community (Bardovi-Harlig, 2011). The findings of Study 2 show the appropriateness of the materials for fourth-year Japanese classes at this university. Because of their stronger language control and performance, the fourth-year students were able to monitor their linguistic performance, self-correct, and perform thanking beyond their DCT answers. The fourth-year students in Study 2 also learned to express subtle differences in nuances in their thanking expressions. The instructional unit was also useful to heritage speakers who, despite high language proficiency, lacked sociopragmatic knowledge.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

7.1 Introduction

This dissertation study has investigated a novel approach to teaching the speech act of thanking in Japanese. Chapter 1 addressed problems of L2 pragmatics instruction. Researchers have been calling for development of adequate metapragmatic teaching that represents pragmatic language as observed in natural conversation, instead of developing materials based on writers' intuitions without the full meaning of sociopragmatic information (e.g., Cohen & Ishihara, 2013). In C-BLI, materials are developed based on theoretical concepts that are widely transferable across contexts. Drawing from linguistics and psychology research, this study investigated the teaching of sociopragmatic concepts of thanking in Japanese, with instruction presenting complex and abstract concepts in developmentally appropriate and interactive ways. SCOBAs were developed and used as reference for the target concepts and as a guiding tool for learners to use and internalize to perform L2 tasks. Learners reinforced their understanding by languaging with self and others, through various internalization tasks, and also engaged in application tasks.

A significant problem in the teaching of pragmatics has been extensive reliance on native speaker norms (NS-norms) as a baseline to assess L2 pragmatic competence, as pointed out by, for example, Ishihara (2010, 2019) and Taguchi and Roever (2017). This study proposed C-BLI as a solution, as an approach to teaching without relying on the NS baseline. Research using the NS standard tends to compare L2 learners' pragmalinguistic abilities with NS linguistic choices (see Chapter 1). However, unlike traditional pragmatics instruction, C-BLI first focuses on

developing L2 learners' sociopragmatic knowledge. Their pragmalinguistic development, then, can be assessed in accordance with their sociopragmatic development, namely how their sociopragmatic development influences their pragmalinguistic development. In this study, DCT reflections were used to analyze how students' sociopragmatic knowledge developed. Then, their DCT answers were investigated, to understand how their metapragmatic knowledge was reflected in their thanking expressions. This approach demonstrates a more effective approach to following students' holistic pragmatic development.

Without overreliance on NS-norms, L2 learners have more room to exercise agency, and say what they want to say, using L2 tools to express their own intentions. C-BLI guides L2 learners to make pragmatic choices based on the target concepts, instead of NS-norms. In this study, L2 learners were repeatedly reminded to explore their emotions as speakers who received a favor and were expressing gratitude. This practice encouraged students to choose actively what emotions they wanted to highlight in their thanking. At the same time, L2 learners need to develop awareness of the possible consequences of their pragmatic choices. Thus, through the instructional materials, L2 learners learned that Japanese people may find it insufficient if indebtedness is not explicitly marked in thanking; students learned about various sociocultural factors that prompt feelings of indebtedness in Japanese culture. Thus, results of this study show how C-BLI can instruct students to express their developing L2 agency in culturally appropriate ways.

The following section presents discussion around the research questions. The next section reviews the findings of Studies 1 and 2 and considers the first four research questions. The following section provides teaching implications by reviewing the fifth to seventh research questions. The research questions that guided this study are presented again in their respective

sections and frame the discussion. The discussion then turns to limitations related to the study's design and data analysis. The last section of the chapter considers areas of research that could be pursued in the future.

7.2 Discussion of the Findings

This section reviews the findings of Studies 1 and 2 regarding the following research questions:

1. In what ways does C-BLI affect the development of learners' production?
2. In what ways does C-BLI affect conceptual development related to gratitude expressions?
3. How do language socialization opportunities contribute to learner internalization?
4. How does C-BLI affect developing students' agency to make pragmatic choices?

7.2.1 Study 1: A Pilot Laboratory Study with Third-year Students

Study 1, presented in Chapter 5, investigated utilizing C-BLI to teach thanking in Japanese with third-year or above L2 Japanese learners in a laboratory setting. Quantitative analysis of DCT production data showed increases in students' use of apology-based common expressions, elaborating gratitude expressions, and emotion expressions. Even though the students started with different orienting bases of actions or OBAs, C-BLI promoted development of all students' conceptual understanding, regardless of their initial knowledge. Depending on students' OBAs, their developmental paths may differ. Andres heavily relied on the norm of his L1 Spanish, which, according to him, also frequently uses apology-based thanking. Andres could not articulate exactly why apology expressions appeared in his L1 culture. In other words, his choice of apology expressions was purely based on his spontaneous knowledge that lacked systemic and

abstract understanding. While his use of apology-based expressions was not wrong, he expressed uncertainty about his choices on apology-based thanking. Consequently, in Japanese, he tended to avoid apology-based thanking, and overwhelmingly used gratitude-based thanking in his DCT answers. Yet, students' L1 or spontaneous knowledge can be a useful mediational means when developing the new L2 scientific concepts. As he was developing scientific sociopragmatic knowledge of Japanese thanking, Andres initially demonstrated his use of both spontaneous concepts (from L1) and scientific concepts (new L2 concepts) to analyze situations and make pragmatic choices. Andres' extensive reliance on his L1 knowledge eventually disappeared as he internalized L2 concepts, and over time he exhibited his ability to evaluate context entirely using L2 concepts.

On the other hand, Logan's OBA was based on a book, *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* (Benedict, 1946) and his experience in Japan, as well as in the language classroom. Logan's OBA was not complete and accurate due to lack of conceptual understanding about speakers' emotions, sociocultural factors, and gratitude strategies. He used apology-based expressions to express gratitude in high-burden situations, to heighten the level of formality, and to make his utterance longer. During the instructional unit, Logan built his conceptual understanding on the spontaneous concepts that were previously formed. He also complemented his lack of conceptual understanding and linguistic insufficiency with external materials such as SCOBAs while executing tasks.

These findings are significant because traditional instruction tends to focus on instructional outcomes—measures of student performance—but fails to attend to their quality of understanding or developmental processes (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006). On the pre-test production task, both Andres and Logan used apology-based thanking in their DCT answers. On the surface

it seemed that they were at the same developmental stage because their production was similar. However, they were actually at different phases of development in terms of conceptual understanding. Andres possessed little understanding and relied on his L1 knowledge, while Logan demonstrated some extent of knowledge of thanking in Japanese. Thereby, Andres and Logan needed different mediational support. Understanding students' OBAs allows a teacher to provide appropriate mediation so that students' internalization successfully progresses within their ZPDs.

Although students started with different OBAs, all students showed development. C-BLI provided scientific concepts via SCOBAs, interactive lectures and various internalization tasks. Students referred to the SCOBAs to orient their thinking processes and performance until their actions became self-regulated and automatic. Not only were SCOBAs used as reference, but they also drew students' attention to the target concepts while completing tasks. Students' production of target expressions was higher in homework assignments, when students were allowed to use SCOBAs, than in the post-tests, in which SCOBAs were not allowed. Logan reported that he looked at SCOBAs to "remind [himself] of all the options that [he had]", and tried using new expressions while completing the homework tasks.

Students were allowed to look at SCOBAs when completing DCTs in Homework 3 and 4, while SCOBAs were not available when completing DCTs in Post-tests 1 and 2. Like Logan, most students used more elaborating strategies and emotion expressions in Homework 3 (with SCOBAs) than in Post-test 1 (without SCOBAs), evidencing students' other-regulation and reliance on SCOBAs. The difference between Homework 3, which students could do with assistance, and Post-test 1, which students could do without assistance, can be seen as students' potential development (Vygotsky, 1978). As internalization was taking place, reliance on

SCOBAs apparently disappeared. On the later tasks, students outperformed Homework 4 on Post-test 2, showing both their high level of internalization and suggesting continuing development even without external assistance. This indicates SCOBAs are an important mediational tool guiding students to self-regulated actions.

The emphasis on promoting languaging also distinguishes C-BLI from traditional instruction. Sociocultural theory considers language to be the most important mediational means for one's cognitive development (Swain et al., 2009), and understands language, whether used internally or spoken aloud, as a part of human cognition. As in Swain (2006), the C-BLI tasks in this study were designed to promote students' languaging and to have students try out the target concepts; students substantially engaged in both communicated (with others) and dialogic (with the self) thinking. Through languaging with self and others, students engaged in articulating their understanding, both making meaning and developing their knowledge.

According to Vygotsky, communicated thinking with others is an important step for the formation of concepts before students reach the level of a mental action. Andres' communicated thinking with the teacher re-oriented his attention to overlooked concepts (i.e., speaker's emotions) and developed his thinking. In Andres' communicated thinking, the teacher directed his attention to his emotions as the speaker, which Andres hadn't considered in his homework DCT. With the teacher's verbal guidance, Andres re-explored the DCT situations and focused his attention on his emotions as the speaker who expressed gratitude. From this point forward, Andres started incorporating speaker's emotions when forming thanking in later assignments.

We also observed that Logan's skill in elaborating gratitude developed through imitation or following models provided by the SCOBAs, the internalization tasks, the teacher and the Japanese participant. Logan learned new expressions to mention imposition, which, evidenced by

his linguistic development, provided him with support needed to strengthen the form-function-context mappings. Vygotsky states, “development based on collaboration and imitation is the source of all the specifically human characteristics of consciousness that develop in the child” (Vygotsky 1987:210). Imitation is a creative process where something new is created out of following and re-creating the expert’s models. In fact, Logan modified the target expression to fit into other contexts and expressed his indebtedness on the post-test. Through this imitation process, learners become “related to speakers, feelers and thinkers” (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006: 167).

Practice with applying the target concepts in language use is also important. In Study 1, the DCTs were designed to give students practice applying the target concepts to different scenarios. Students worked to produce gratitude expressions by connecting the concepts, language, and contexts. Through the iterative processes of languaging and application practice, students became able to select appropriate thanking expressions.

Finally, as mentioned earlier, Study 1’s results also reveal the potential of teaching pragmatics in a nuanced manner that does not judge students according to native speaker norms. C-BLI in this study fronted concepts and taught social meanings behind native speakers’ behaviors. In DCTs, students practiced considering their emotions as a speaker who performs thanking; thus, the students constructed thanking that accorded with the emotions they wanted to highlight. L2 learners chose thanking expressions and strategies based on their emotions prompted by the situation, not based on how NSs would behave. In a DCT situation, Andres named both pleasure and indebtedness about the received favor, yet he decided to emphasize his indebtedness and select apology-based thanking. Logan chose to show humility by using an apology-based expression, although the context did not elicit speaker’s indebtedness or guilt.

These results indicate that by internalizing scientific concepts and applying them to different circumstances, L2 learners became able to actively make pragmatic choices that accord with their subjectivities.

7.2.2 Study 2: Intact Classroom Study with Fourth-year Students

In Study 2, as reported in Chapter 6, students' OBAs were even more varied. Study 2 was a study of two intact classrooms with fourth-year students, who mostly had higher proficiency than the students from Study 1. Students in this group experienced a diverse range of language socialization outside the classroom, such as interacting with Japanese people, traveling, consuming pop culture, and studying in Japan, with more opportunities for language socialization than the students in Study 1. Hence, at the outset of the study, most were already able to use some apology-based expressions, elaborating strategies, and emotion expressions. However, students lacked complete sociopragmatic understanding, especially understanding why apology expressions may occur in thanking. As a result, their thanking expressions did not effectively express speaker emotions or reflect the intentions they meant to convey. Quantitative analysis of the various DCTs produced throughout the instructional period did not show production development in some students; however, qualitative analysis showed that the quality of students' thinking processes changed as their conceptual understanding was developing. Subsequently, their thanking production became more sophisticated. On the pre-test, Vanessa's thanking expressions did not reflect her emotions. Her intention to connote indebtedness or guilt was not reflected, as her thanking expressions lacked an apologetic tone. She did not successfully convey her thoughts and feelings with the Japanese language she was creating. In fact, in her DCT reflections, she reported her uncertainty about how to express an apologetic tone.

On the post-test, though quantitative analysis did not capture her development, development of Vanessa's conceptual understanding resulted in qualitative changes in her thanking expressions. Vanessa successfully conveyed her feelings of guilt by using apology-based expressions. She further highlighted how bad she felt by adding elaborating and emotion expressions. In other words, she clearly connected her feelings to thanking expressions. Even those who did not show quantitative change demonstrated qualitative improvements in their thanking expressions. This shows the significance of process-oriented, or microgenetic, analysis. Coding and quantitative analysis, though done with care, did not capture these changes. Had this outcome-oriented analysis been the only measure used, it might have been concluded that Vanessa did not show any development, because she did not demonstrate many pragmalinguistic changes in her production. However, the process-oriented qualitative analysis used in this study succeeded in capturing Vanessa's conceptual development and her more sophisticated production over time.

The DCT reflection task prompted both dialogic thinking and languaging. Students verbalized their understandings and ventured hypotheses in different contexts as they were completing these tasks. One could argue that it is communicated thinking, because students recorded their reflections with the awareness that the teacher would listen to them. However, far more private speech or self-directed speech was observed in students' DCT reflections than in communicated thinking with the teacher in the individual sessions. Private speech appears when a task is complex and requires a heavy cognitive load, and learners use private speech to regulate their mental and physical actions (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006). This suggests that learners' dialogical thinking mediates cognitively complex thinking and helps learners focus their

attention on the target concepts, organizing their thinking and developing their higher mental functions.

Although conceptual development was observed among Study 2 participants, not all concepts were processed equally. In particular, understanding the Japanese concept of indebtedness was challenging for students. The findings showed that language socialization opportunities were helpful in mediating and enriching students' internalization processes. Rob's in-study experiences of language socialization during the Discussion Session with Japanese people helped him attend to sociocultural factors in thanking, especially hierarchy, that may prompt feelings of indebtedness in the target culture somewhat differently than in his L1 culture. The results suggest that these structured language socialization opportunities with trained cultural experts were a helpful mediating activity.

Previous language socialization research (e.g., Duff & Talmy, 2011) has found that, despite the fact that mediated activities involving experts (e.g., native speakers) can expedite L2 language acquisition, learning outcomes from these socializing experiences are unpredictable. A possible reason may be that native speakers do not necessarily understand scientific concepts that motivate L2 usage. Therefore, target natives may provide spontaneous concepts or folk beliefs that may not accurately reflect their language activities (see Chapter 2). To work around this problem, Japanese participants also completed a DCT and received a mini-lecture with SCOBAs on theoretical concepts on how thanking works in Japanese; this was done before students met with the Japanese participants for conversational tasks centered around the target concepts. When the native speakers and L2 learners met in the session, their conversations were constructed via SCOBAs to focus on the target concepts. For example, Rob and his Japanese participants discussed the target concepts and SCOBAs as common ground to analyze DCT

scenarios and shared their perspectives. This discussion based on the target concepts helped participants to orient their attention, select language for analysis, and promote development in each student's ZPD.

Regarding L2 agency, sometimes students attempted to see situations from Japanese cultural perspectives, while other times they were more interested in how they wanted to present themselves through thanking. Such desire to present oneself in an L2 is not static, but rather fluid (Ishihara, 2019). This study showed that C-BLI equipped students to make informed pragmatic choices so that they could either conform to or diverge from target norms as they made pragmatic choices. By introducing concepts, C-BLI provides students with the tools they needed to find a balance between exercising agency to express their own personalities and feelings and following L2 norms.

Students used the L2 concepts rather than idealized native speaker norms to analyze contexts and perform thanking. This was accomplished by teaching students that Japanese people also make choices and respond in dynamic ways to different situations based on their own feelings and cultural understandings. Rob analyzed the DCT situations using the target concepts and considered what was culturally expected to show in his thanking, even though he personally did not feel indebted from the situation. Elijah did not want to show any gladness in thanking in the beets episode. Yet, he acknowledged the benefactor's efforts growing beets and sharing them with him. Thus, he strategically focused on acknowledging the benefactor's generosity with an apology-based expression and avoided gratitude-based expressions. As his Japanese partner acknowledged, his pragmatic choice was appropriate, and his intended meaning was successfully conveyed in his thanking.

Thanking in Japanese requires attention to the speaker's emotions along with sociocultural factors. While the speaker's emotions are inner-directed and subjective, the sociocultural factors are culturally embedded. In that sense, teaching thanking is meaningful because it prompts students to think about what they want to express while, at the same time, thinking about how they might be expected to behave in the target culture.

7.3 Implications for Classroom Instruction

This section reviews the fifth to seventh research questions and offers teaching implications. The research questions are:

5. How appropriate are the materials for students in third-year Japanese (i.e., 300-level) and fourth-year Japanese (i.e., 400-level), respectively. How do the materials impact students at different levels of instruction?
6. What level might be appropriate for conducting a study in an intact class?
7. How does language proficiency impact C-BLI in terms of conceptual development and learners' abilities to realize their intentions in L2 production?

For conceptual development, the instructional materials were helpful for both 300- and 400-levels. As discussed above, languaging facilitated L2 learners' internalization of conceptual understanding. Use of English, students' L1 or stronger L2, allowed students to understand abstract L2 concepts, engage in complex cognitive processes, and internalize the target concepts. According to Vygotsky, language is the most essential tool to mediate both interpersonal communication and intrapersonal cognitive activities to regulate one's own actions. Because students have better control over their L1 to focus, organize, and control their cognitively

complex mental activities, conceptual development is most efficiently promoted via students' L1 or well-established L2.

Production tasks were challenging for the 300-level students. In particular, role-plays were too difficult for students at this level. To complete role-play successfully, students would, on the fly, need to consider how the target concepts would be applicable in the situation, select appropriate thanking strategies and expressions, and construct thanking all at once, while holding a conversation. Because role-play tasks required an excessively heavy cognitive demand for the 300-level students, they were not very fitting. DCTs also seemed difficult for this level, especially forming elaborating gratitude and emotion expressions. During the instructional unit, students attempted to construct complex sentences, which showed their development. However, the need for complex sentences sometimes resulted in unclear or incomprehensible expressions that were difficult to assess for their intended meanings; fortunately, this problem was usually resolved by looking at their oral DCT reflections, which were in English, and where they could state what they had been trying to accomplish in each DCT item.

It is, however, also possible to adjust the difficulty of the unit's tasks and modify the materials to be better suited to third-year or lower-proficiency students. With students who still have limited control over language production, more pragmalinguistic support is needed. For example, the unit could start by teaching formulaic expressions for elaborating strategies and emotion expressions. This would equip students, at the outset, with linguistic tools needed to express gratitude. In Study 1, Logan learned formulaic expressions from a Japanese participant and applied them to different situations in later DCT assignments. Formulaic expressions not only reduce the processing-load, but also enhance fluency in communication (Ortaçtepe, 2013). In teaching third-year students, thus, the teacher might use scenario analysis tasks to introduce a

variety of formulaic expressions for students to practice. When having students watch video clips or read transcripts, they could identify conventional thanking expressions by underlining them. In this way, students could learn formulaic expressions in context. Then, the teacher can encourage them to use these new expressions in DCTs. Formulaic expressions can also be introduced in discussion sessions with Japanese people: the teacher can ask Japanese participants to suggest formulaic expressions when discussing DCT scenarios.

Materials used in this study can also be used with lower-level students, such as those in second- or first-year Japanese. Teaching could start with common gratitude- or apology-based expressions. Basic gratitude- or apology thanking expressions such as *arigatoo* ‘thank you’ and *sumimasen* ‘sorry’ are introduced in lower-level textbooks (e.g., Banno et al., 2020; Hatasa et al., 2015; Tohsaku, 1993). When introducing *arigatoo* and *sumimasen*, teachers can introduce the concept of thanking, and introduce appropriate SCOBAs to teach gratitude and apology-based thanking in Japanese. Students can discuss in English factors to consider when deciding whether to use gratitude- or apology-based thanking. Internalization and practice tasks could focus on common thanking expressions. Students could read a DCT scenario and decide whether to use gratitude- or apology-based thanking (or a combination of these). Scenario analysis tasks could also be designed around common thanking expressions. Using this approach allows students to engage in languaging about speaker’s emotions and sociocultural factors to consider whether thanking should be gratitude- or apology-based. Students can also be asked to keep journals in their L1 when they encounter thanking situations during or outside the classroom, such as when watching Japanese media. In this way, students can develop conceptual proficiency and flex their conceptual muscles even before they have a lot of L2 proficiency; proficiency in target concepts allows learning to lead L2 development, by helping students to develop a foundation for their L2

usage. And, as their proficiency level advances, teachers can add elaborating strategies and emotion expressions to basic thanking expressions.

Heritage learners also can benefit from this instructional unit. The heritage learners in this study possessed strong proficiency but showed a lack of cultural understanding; this resulted in insufficient thanking in some situations. Rob's proficiency level, for example, was so high that he had no problem expressing his thoughts and having complex and extended conversations in Japanese with Japanese participants; however, Rob's thanking expressions sometimes lacked apologetic tones, especially in the situations involving hierarchical and distant relationships, due to a lack of understanding Japanese cultural concepts. In fact, Rob based his thanking mostly on American cultural concepts. While Rob showed some understanding of the differences between American and Japanese thanking on the pre-test survey, he also expressed confusion about thanking in Japanese culture. Analysis of Rob's development via this unit demonstrates how heritage learners can also benefit from conscious cultural learning linked to speech acts.

Finally, it is important to highlight the role of proficiency. C-BLI aims to develop L2 learners' meaning potential by fronting concepts. Although it is important for students over time to develop the ability to express their intended meanings accurately in the target language, analysis of learners' language production accuracy should be handled in a nuanced manner. Teachers must not merely see production errors as something to be corrected. Rather, it is important to consider the whole of what each student is working to express, even though students make grammatical mistakes, and all utterances are not clear. Students should be encouraged by teachers for the conceptual development they demonstrate. It is expected and natural that learners make mistakes. What is more important than accurate production is that students become able to apply L2 concepts to their production. This will help their overall expressions of gratitude to be

culturally appropriate and easier for people to understand even when they are making language mistakes.

7.4 Limitations of the Study

This section presents the limitations of the study. I first discuss limitations on the scope of research design and methodology. Although originally planned to be taught in face-to-face classes, the two studies ended up with different modes of instruction due to the COVID-19 pandemic. While Study 1 was conducted in-person prior to the pandemic, Study 2 was conducted entirely online.

The instruction benefitted from online tools. For example, I was able to invite Japanese people living in different parts of Japan, who were willing to share their perspectives of Japanese culture and thanking. However, there were also challenges for the online modality. Pair- and group work were all done in online breakout rooms, with students assigned in pairs or groups to different virtual rooms. This made it difficult for the teacher to grasp the overall performance as a class. Unstable internet connections were another problem. When a student lost their internet connection and took a while to come back to the Zoom session, this made their pair- or group-work time shorter, or resulted in them missing a part of the lecture. Unstable internet connections also resulted in some data loss, with some students failing to save some audio files on the online portals.

Another main difference between Study 1 and Study 2 was the form of participation. The Study 1 small-group class was composed of student volunteers. Study 2, on the other hand, had mandatory student participation in the instructional unit, since it was part of the course curricula of their intact classes. Additionally, Study 1 was conducted during the summer, when most

students were not in school, while Study 2 was conducted during a regular academic quarter. Thus, there might have been some gap in students' motivations. For example, during the academic quarter students may have rushed to finish the tasks, skipped an assignment, or provided minimum answers due to fatigue, lack of interest, and/or time constraints.

For the Discussion Sessions, a diverse group of NS participants--high school, undergraduate, and graduate students--were recruited. Native speakers showed multifarious perspectives when analyzing favors. For example, Aya, a high school student, overall tended to feel less indebted than older Japanese participants. To Aya, social hierarchy was not a very significant factor when analyzing indebtedness. This may be due to her stage in life. In high school, a teacher-student relationship can be casual, and students do not necessarily feel indebtedness when their teacher does a favor for them. This may indicate that different age groups analyze favors differently. How about company employees who are in a rigorous hierarchical system? How about parents whose social networks are built around their children's schools? How about elders who have longer life experience? The different perspectives of diverse Japanese participants show the importance of having a variety of age groups and life situations to provide learners richer insights into how Japanese people analyze favors, as well as debunk the idea of a fixed native speaker norm.

Limitations of data analysis should also be acknowledged. When the DCT answers were coded, some expressions were hard to distinguish from one another. An expression such as "a:" in "a: *arigatoo gozaimasu*" would have been coded as an 'interjection' or a 'hedge.' Was this intended to show enthusiasm in thanking (i.e., "a:" could be an expression of pleased surprise, if uttered in a rising tone), or hesitation and lack of enthusiasm (i.e., if uttered in a lower tone or with hesitant delivery). This was especially difficult to determine with written DCTs, as they did

not provide any cues such as tone of voice or length of sound. Some instances were clarified by student explanations in their DCT reflections; however, when they did not, no code could be assigned since there was no way to know their intentions.

Finally, in analyzing language production during thanking episodes, this study was only able to consider linguistic performance DCTs. In real-life social interaction, however, language includes paralinguistic cues such as gestures, facial expressions, posture, manner, and tone of voice. In fact, some students mentioned paralinguistic features in their DCT reflections, but these were beyond the scope of this study, and therefore were not included in coding. Additionally, some students also mentioned gift-giving as a way to reciprocate a favor. Although interlanguage speech acts research has generally focused on pragmalinguistic factors and sociopragmatic knowledge of L2 learners, it would be worthwhile to expand the scope of thanking to include paralinguistic features and gift exchanges, as these also are part of human language.

7.5 Directions for Future Research

In conclusion, this section presents directions for future research. Future research can explore discourse-level thanking, learners' long-term development, learners' L2 emotion development, L2 learner agency in speech acts, and communicated thinking among peers.

7.5.1 Discourse-level Thanking

Instruction and analyses can be extended to the discourse level, as speech acts are generally co-constructed by the interlocutors in spoken language. If we consider how thanking functions, more broadly, in discourse, re-thanking is a frequent phenomenon in Japanese conversation. Re-thanking typically takes place when the beneficiary interacts with the

benefactor on another day. It is widely used as a conversation-opener in Japanese culture, regardless of social closeness (Ichihara, 2016). In terms of instruction, re-thanking could be taught as a conversation opener. Practicing re-thanking would provide speakers with a new set of tools to appropriately initiate conversations with familiar interlocutors.

The concept of reciprocity in Japanese thanking can also be extended to a discourse level practice. Ohashi (2008) observed balancing acts in Japanese thanking. In telephone conversation data in Ohashi's study, when a beneficiary highlighted indebtedness, the benefactor denigrated the favor, for instance, by saying *ie ie* 'no, no' (Ohashi, 2013). Ohashi also noted that this balancing act continued until the benefactor changed the topic. It was consistent in Ohashi's data that a topic change was typically done by the benefactor, not the one who benefitted from the gift or favor. Successful thanking requires active participation of both the speaker/beneficiary and the hearer/benefactor via collaborative construction. Developing sociopragmatic knowledge and performing skills for constructing a whole sequence of thanking, both as a speaker and a hearer, is necessary. Including discourse-level analysis and instruction would be greatly beneficial to upper-level students in particular, and could be added in a subsequent instructional unit to build upon earlier development.

7.5.2 Long-term Development

Within a 10-week instructional period, we were able to observe the emergence of learners' conceptual as well as production development. In particular, their conceptual development was remarkable in a short period of time. While production development was also observed in terms of an increase in expressions and strategies, it was slower than the conceptual development and varied across participants. For future research, it is worthwhile to explore the

impact of conceptual development on production development in the long-term. Especially of interest is how well-established scientific concepts related to Japanese sociopragmatics might serve as a foundation for pragmalinguistic development over time.

We also observed that L2 emotion concepts may take longer to internalize. Even a heritage speaker like Rob struggled to understand Japanese conceptions of indebtedness. As the unit progressed, he began analyzing situations using new conceptual knowledge and articulating his effort to see situations through the eyes of the Japanese cultural conceptions of indebtedness taught in the instructional unit. The set length of the instructional unit did not allow time for us to observe the full internalization trajectory of Rob's understanding about indebtedness, suggesting that L2 emotions may take some time to internalize. Therefore, students' developmental paths should be followed longitudinally for further examination. Longitudinal data to follow learners' development in expression of emotions in the L2 would add more insights on the impact of C-BLI on L2 emotional expression development.

7.5.3 Teaching Expression of Emotions in the L2

C-BLI can also be a good place to teach L2 emotional concepts in the classroom, especially those closely related to sociocultural factors. Other than indebtedness, emotions like embarrassment (Goffman, 1967; Keltner & Haidt, 1999), empathy (Clancy, 1987) and shame (Shweder, 2003) are also closely connected to cultural factors, and therefore are potential targets of instruction. L2 emotions are rarely perceived as embodied, and L2 learners may feel emotional detachment from their L2 (Pavlenko, 2002; 2004a; 2006). Learning L2 emotions in the classroom is particularly challenging, and efforts to teach L2 emotions have been neglected (Dewaele, 2010; Pavlenko, 2005). The present studies' results regarding the emergence of L2

learners' understanding of Japanese concepts of indebtedness suggest the potential for teaching other L2 emotions using C-BLI. Conceptualizations of the self may vary along a dialectical continuum from individually-oriented to focused on interdependence. In Asian cultures, including Japan, conceptualizations of the self tend to highlight interdependence, and an emotional expression can be regarded as a public instrumental action (Marcus & Kitayama, 1991). Thus, sometimes, how emotions are expressed may be more linked to aspects of interdependence, and less to a speaker's inner feelings. Of course, teachers should not expect L2 learners to feel the same way as native speakers do in the target culture. However, it would be helpful for L2 learners to learn how emotions are experienced and expressed in L2 culture to give them a broader access to emotional expression beyond their L1, and to better understand differences in expression and experience emotion between their L1 and L2.

7.5.4 Communicated Thinking among Peers and Conceptual Development

The role of peer interactions is another area worthwhile exploring for future research. Study 1 showed that communicated thinking with experts facilitated internalization by the teacher or NS participants (see Chapter 2). Rob and Vanessa's conversation presented in Study 2 possibly heightened Vanessa's focus on indebtedness and guilt. It is interesting that, unlike communicated thinking prompted by experts in Study 1, Rob was not navigating Vanessa's attention to indebtedness. Even in an unguided interaction, Vanessa's thinking was still developing through languaging with Rob. As a result, she produced more elaboration strategies and emotion expressions in her role-play performance, which she performed with Rob, than in her DCT answers, which she did alone. Future research could further investigate, for example, how the roles of communicated thinking in peer interactions differ from those with experts, if

communicated thinking is more observed in peer interactions than in teacher-student interactions, and how peer interactions can be best implemented in C-BLI.

7.5.5 Development of L2 Learners' Expressive Agency

Relating to long-term development, L2 learner agency in using the L2 for self-expression should also be explored longitudinally. For example, it would be interesting to investigate how learner agency in L2 use changes as their conceptual understanding continues to develop longitudinally. To have true agency in L2 use, learners need to understand how their language impacts others; L2-related pragmatic concepts provide this groundwork. Building on that, it would be interesting to explore how learner agency develops as their learning circumstances change, for example via study, work or travel abroad, as they have opportunity for interactions with L2 speakers in-country. What happens as learners notice L2 pragmatic concepts being enacted around them? Might development of L2 learners' expressive agency affect their production of thinking? How would their scientific concepts gained from C-BLI play a role in developing L2 learner agency further? One way to investigate these questions would be delayed-post interviews and/or DCTs, following in-country experiences. What remains important, though, is that classroom instruction is never, ideally, the endpoint of SLA, but rather, a springboard to further development. This unit provided L2 learners with new understandings and “aha” moments that they can continue to build on in their future as speakers of Japanese.

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Appendix A Transcription Conventions

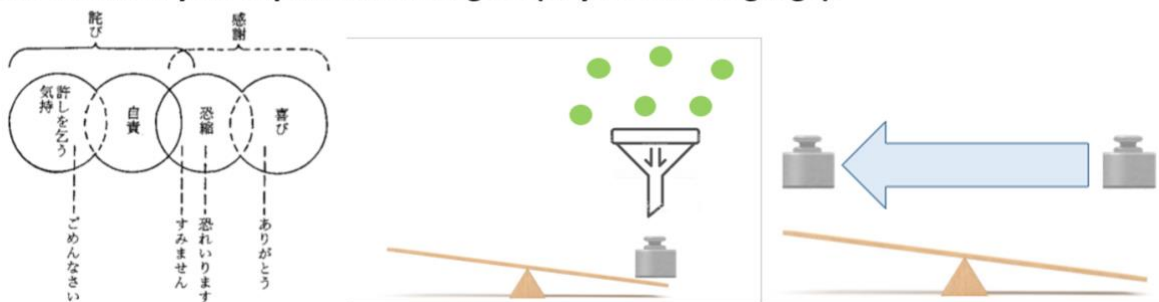
[Overlap
?	Rising intonation
.	Falling intonation
(2.0)	Timed pause (2.0 seconds or more)
(())	Comments enclosed in double parentheses (description of relevant motion)
:	Elongation of a syllable
-	Cut-off or interruption
=	Latched utterance, no interval between utterances
‘ ‘	Translation from Japanese into English
...	Omitted utterance
CAPITALS	Markedly loud speech
ACC	Accusative case marker
NOM	Nominative marker
TOP	Topic marker
DAT	Dative marker
GEN	Genitive marker

Appendix B

Sample Concept Explanation Prompts

Study 1 Homework written concept explanation (SCOBAs allowed)

I. Explain as detailed as possible how gratitude works in Japanese using the following figures. You can write your explanation in English (or your first language).

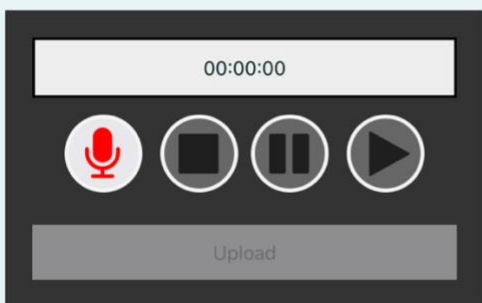
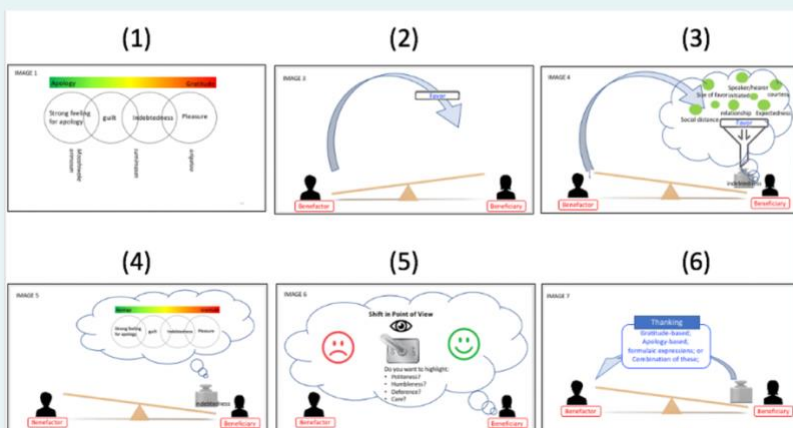


Study 1 Concept oral explanation in the individual sessions (SCOBAs not allowed)

- Can you tell me your understanding of how people show gratitude in Japanese?
- Can you explain how gratitude works in Japanese?

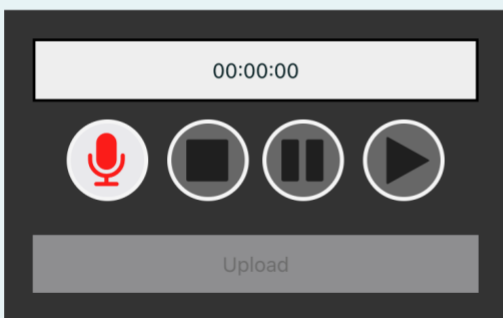
Study 2 Homework oral concept explanation (SCOBAs allowed)

Look at the six images we discussed in class and orally explain about each image in your own words.



Study 2 In-class oral concept explanation (SCOBAs not allowed)

Please orally explain how gratitude works in Japanese. Refer to the concepts we discussed in the last session. You are not allowed any references (handout, notes, webpage, etc.). Record your oral explanation and submit.



Appendix C

Sample DCT Items and DCT Reflection Prompt

Sample written DCT item from Study 1

(5) Around midnight, you felt very sick and needed to go to the emergency room. Since you can't drive, you asked your neighbor whom you don't know very well to take you to the emergency room and s/he did. Now you are back from the hospital and about to get off your friend's car.

Your neighbor: はい、着きましたよ。今日は大変でしたね。お大事に。

You: ()

Sample Oral DCT Reflection Prompt from Study 1

- Can you explain why you chose sumimasen or arigatoo in this situation?
- Can you tell me why you chose this elaboration strategy in this situation?
- Can you tell me why you chose this emotion expression in this situation?

Sample written DCT item and oral DCT reflection from Study 2

Around midnight, you felt very sick and needed to go to the emergency room. Since you can't drive, you asked your neighbor whom you don't know very well to take you to the emergency room and they did. A week later, you run into the neighbor and are about to say thank you.

You: _____

Neighbor: いえいえ、元気になってよかったです。

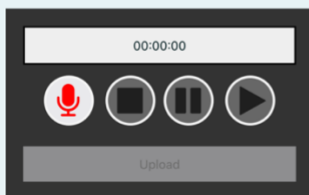
Which emotion(s) would you feel from this situation (as a speaker who expresses gratitude)? You can select more than one answer.

Select one or more:

- Indebtedness
- Others
- Guilt
- Gladness
- Pleasure

Reflection on your answer:

Please provide a rationale for your answer. Record your explanation.



Appendix D Sample Role-play Scenarios

Sample Scenario 1 from Study 1: Ride home

You are at a party and just missed the last train. Your friend is kindly offers you a ride home although her/his home is not in the same direction. You accepted the offer, and your friend took you home. Now you arrived your apartment and are about to get off her/his car.

Sample Scenario 2 from Study 2: Professor's talk at the event

You are organizing a *matsuri* event at the university. You are looking for a professor to give a small talk about Japanese culture at the event. You ask your Japanese professor, and they agree to give a talk for free of charge. Now the event is over. You'd like to extend your friend gratitude.

Sample Scenario 3 from Study 2: Donation for the event

You are organizing a *matsuri* event at the university. Your professor voluntarily donates \$300 for the event. You'd like to extend your professor gratitude.

Appendix E

Sample Scenario Analysis Tasks

Oral scenario analysis task from Study 1, Session 1 (Pair-work)

1. Find common gratitude expressions.
2. Discuss with your partner possible sociocultural factors that affect the size of indebtedness.

Written scenario analysis task from Study 1, Homework 2 (Individual work)

1. Read each scenario carefully.
2. Highlight any common gratitude expressions (i.e., arigatoo, sumimasen or formulaic expressions).
3. Write your analysis of why the speaker choose that gratitude expression in the episode.

Oral scenario analysis task from Study 2, Session 1 (Pair-work)

1. Read the transcript with your partner.
2. Discuss sociocultural factors that affect the size of indebtedness and think about the speaker's choice of common expression(s) in relation to the speaker's emotions.
3. Do you think the empathy operation takes place in the episode?

Appendix F
Journaling Prompt from Study 1

Observe Japanese people's conversations, watch media (e.g. drama, movies and anime), or read (e.g., manga, short stories and novel), analyze how people show gratitude, and keep journal.

Write...

1. Situation/context
2. Interlocutors
3. Relationship
4. Possible sociocultural factors
5. Expressions they use
6. Anything else you noticed

Appendix G

Language Socialization Task Prompts from Study 2

Choice 1. Observation on TV dramas, TV shows, and/or films

Instruction:

Watch thanking episodes from the list below. Analyze the thanking episodes and write your reflection. You are welcome to find additional thanking episodes from other media.

Reflection prompt:

1. Which episode(s) did you choose?
2. Which common expressions are used? Are these gratitude-based, apology-based, or formulaic expressions (or a combination of these)?
3. What kinds of sociocultural factors play a role in the speaker's choice of the common expressions?
4. Provide your analysis of why the speaker chose the common expression(s) (i.e., gratitude-based, apology-based, formulaic, or a combination of these) in the specific context?
5. What types of gratitude elaboration strategies are used?
6. What other gratitude elaboration strategies do you think would be effective in this context? Provide your explanation.
7. What types of emotion expressions are used in a gratitude episode?
8. What other emotion expressions do you think would be effective in this context? Provide your explanation.
9. Please share any additional comments.

Choice 2. Observation on manga and/or short stories

Instruction:

Read thanking episodes from the list below. Analyze the thanking episodes and write your reflection. You are welcome to find additional thanking episodes from manga or short stories you read.

Reflection prompt:

1. Which episode(s) did you choose?
2. Which common expressions are used? Are these gratitude-based, apology-based, or formulaic expressions (or a combination of these)?
3. What kinds of sociocultural factors play a role in the speaker's choice of the common expressions?
4. Provide your analysis of why the speaker chose the common expression(s) (i.e., gratitude-based, apology-based, formulaic, or a combination of these) in the specific context?
5. What types of gratitude elaboration strategies are used?
6. What other gratitude elaboration strategies do you think would be effective in this context? Provide your explanation.
7. What types of emotion expressions are used in a gratitude episode?
8. What other emotion expressions do you think would be effective in this context? Provide your explanation.
9. Please share any additional comments.

Choice 3. Conversation with native speakers

Instruction:

You will have conversations with Japanese people you know. Try to show your appreciation to your interlocutor. Record your conversation, analyze your conversation in terms of thanking episodes, and write your reflection.

Reflection prompt:

1. Briefly explain how you showed your appreciation to your Japanese interlocutor.
2. How did your conversation go? Are you satisfied? Provide your evaluation.
3. Did you use any common expressions of gratitude? Which ones? Why? If you did not use any, please explain why.
4. Did you use any elaboration strategies? Which ones? Why?
5. Did you use any emotion expressions? Which ones? Why? If you did not use any, please explain why. If you did not use any, please explain why.
6. Please share any additional comments.

Choice 4. Observation on conversation with native speakers

Instruction:

Give some small gift or do a small favor for a Japanese person. Record your conversation, observe how they express gratitude, and write your reflection.

Reflection prompt:

1. Please briefly explain what you did and how your interlocutor responded.
2. Did the Japanese person use any common expressions of gratitude? Which ones? Provide your analysis of why the speaker chose the expression(s)? If they did not use any, please provide your analysis of why.
3. Did the Japanese person use any elaborating gratitude expressions? Which ones? Provide your analysis of why the speaker chose the expression(s)? If they did not use any, please provide your analysis of why.
4. Did the Japanese person use any emotion expressions? Which ones? Provide your analysis of why the speaker chose the expression(s)? If they did not use any, please provide your analysis of why.
5. Please share any additional comments here.

Appendix H

Pre-test Interview/survey Questions

Study 1 (Semi-Structured Interview)

1. What is your first/native language? If you speak any additional language(s), which ones?
2. Do you speak Japanese with your family? If yes, who do you speak with?
3. How long have you been studying Japanese?
4. How many years of formal language classes have you completed?
5. Have you lived in Japan? If yes:
 - a. For how long?
 - b. When?
 - c. Where?
 - d. Homestay? Lived alone? Had roommates (Japanese or non-Japanese)?
6. Can you tell me your understanding of how Japanese people express gratitude?
7. Have you ever observed Japanese people expressing gratitude? What did you notice? How?
8. What is your understanding of how people in your culture express gratitude?
9. Do you see any differences from your culture?
10. Do you have any experiences of showing your gratitude in Japanese or to a Japanese person?
 - a. What was the situation?
 - b. Where did it occur?
 - c. To whom?
 - d. When did that happen?
 - e. How did it go?
 - f. Why did you feel that way?
11. How confident are you in expressing gratitude in Japanese? 1 being not confident at all to 10 being completely confident. Why?
12. How confident are you in expressing expressions in Japanese? 1 being not confident at all to 10 being completely confident. Why?

Study 2 (Online Survey)

1. What is your first/native language? If you speak any additional language(s), which ones?
2. Which ethnic group/community do you belong to or most identify with?
3. If you speak Japanese with your family, who do you speak with?
4. How long have you been studying Japanese?
5. Have you taken Japanese classes before this quarter? If not, in what occasions have you studied Japanese?
6. How many years of formal language classes have you completed?
7. Do you use Japanese outside the classroom setting? If yes, please describe.
8. Do you watch anime/dramas? If so, how much? Please describe.
9. Have you lived in Japan? If yes:
 - a. For how long?
 - b. When?
 - c. Where?
 - d. Homestay? Lived alone? Had roommates (Japanese or non-Japanese)?
10. Have you visited Japanese? If yes:

- a. How many times?
 - b. When?
 - c. For how long in each visit?
11. Do you plan to study abroad or live in Japan within the next calendar year? If yes, please describe.
 12. Write anything that you have learned about expressing gratitude in Japanese. It can be things you learned in the Japanese classroom or elsewhere (e.g., your family, friends, etc.).
 13. Have you noticed any differences between what you were taught and what you have observed when Japanese people express gratitude? Please provide as much detail as you can.
 14. What differences do you see in expressing gratitude between your culture(s) and Japanese culture?
 15. Have you ever expressed gratitude to someone in Japanese? If so, think about an example to show/answer the following example:
 - a. What was the occasion? For example, did someone help you, give you, do something nice, being nice, and/or do a favor? If yes, please answer the following questions:
 - i. Where did it occur (e.g., school, office, with friends, etc.)?
 - ii. To whom?
 - iii. What did you feel you should do?
 - iv. How did it go?
 - v. Why did you feel that way?
 16. Has anyone ever expressed you gratitude in Japanese? If so, think about an example to show/answer the following example:
 - a. What was the occasion? For example, did someone help you, give you, do something nice, being nice, and/or do a favor? If yes, please answer the following questions.
 - i. Where did it occur (e.g., school, office, with friends, etc.)?
 - ii. From whom?
 - iii. What did they do?
 - iv. How did you feel?
 17. On a scale from 1 to 10, how confident are you in expressing gratitude in Japanese? 1 being not confident at all to 10 being completely confident. Why?
 18. In expressing gratitude in Japanese, people may include some emotional expressions. How do people in Japan express emotions when they are showing gratitude?
 19. What have you learned about expressing emotions when thanking in Japanese?
 20. On a scale from 1 to 10, how confident are you in expressing emotions when expressing gratitude in Japanese? 1 being not confident at all to 10 being completely confident. Why?

Appendix I

Post-test Interview/survey Questions

Study 1 (Semi-Structured Interview)

1. Can you explain how gratitude expression works in Japanese?
2. What determines the sense of indebtedness in Japanese?
3. How do people express emotions in Japanese?
4. What differences do you see in expressing gratitude between your culture(s) and Japanese culture?

Study 2 (Online Survey)

1. Please orally explain your current understanding of how gratitude expression works in Japanese. You are not allowed to look at any references (handout, notes, webpage, etc.). Record your oral explanation and submit.
2. On a scale from 1 to 10, how confident are you in expressing gratitude in Japanese? 1 being not confident at all to 10 being completely confident. Why?
3. In expressing gratitude in Japanese, people may include some emotional expressions. How do people express emotions when they are showing gratitude? Please record your oral explanation and submit. You are not allowed to look at any references.
4. On a scale from 1 to 10, how confident are you in expressing emotions when expressing gratitude in Japanese? 1 being not confident at all to 10 being completely confident. Why?
5. What differences do you see in expressing gratitude between your culture(s) and Japanese culture?