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Self-perceived personality shift on non-native English speakers

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ENGLISH SPEAKERS

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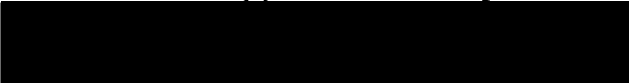
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ABSTRACT

This qualitative study is conducted to investigate how language learners are socialized into the target speech community, and also, whether they perceive the shift in personality when using the target language to interact with different social groups in different social contexts. The data for analysis is collected in a writing classroom context in an Intensive English Program (IEP) within two months through (1) audio-taping in-class discussion (2) two interviews (3) the journals of the student participants. Discourse Analysis is employed to analyze the linguistic patterns of two focal students, Chinese learners of English. It is found that identity construction through language use profoundly affects one's language socialization process. When one's language use approximates the speech norm shaped by the study context with interactive features, s/he is more likely to construct favorable identities to establish the bond with interlocutors at each turn of talk and finally gain solidarity and membership, and vice versa. In addition, these two focal students' constant investment as an IEP student leads to their active participation in in-class discussion, which fully engages them into the language socialization process. However, the negotiation of Chinese ideology, Liu's (2002) concept of *lian*, may induce one's

struggle with social identity investment and personality shift as well, ending up with code-switching, i.e. investment in taciturn in English, to confront and counter the power differentials in larger communities. Expectedly, this may further deter language socialization from taking place for the access of social resources to interact with native speakers is not fully used.

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INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

There has been an abundance of research focusing on how to help non-native English speaking (NNES) university students develop reading and writing abilities for academic work (Aebersold, 1997; Benesch, 2001; Grabe, 1991; Reid, 1997). However, the importance of oral communicative abilities for participating in English-speaking communities was less emphasized until some scholars proposed that communicative competence could possibly shape one's self-image and further impact his/her interpersonal relationships in the target speech community. In 1995, Norton Peirce pointed out that NNES's lack of sociolinguistic competence in conversation may distort their personalities. Responding to Norton Peirce's concern, Spielmann and Radnofsky (2001) found that some of the respondents in their study noticed their personalities differ when they were immersed in the target language speaking environment. They further suggested that this metamorphosis could negatively affect NNES's language learning since the metamorphosis "became even more critical outside of class, when actual socialization was at stake" (p. 267). Namely, sociolinguistic competence is

pivotal to determine and construct one's self-image and affect how one perceives himself/herself as well. I, also as an English as a foreign language (EFL) learner, notice that I have "self-perceived personality shift" (SPPS) when I am using different languages. By SPPS, I mean NNES's awareness that the personality they display when speaking the target language differs from the personality they display when their mother tongue is in use.

This current study is conducted under the framework of language socialization (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986) and Norton Peirce's (1995) theory of social identity. I would like to examine how English as a second language (ESL) learners enrolled in an Intensive English Program (IEP) in the United States are socialized into the cultural and behavioral norms of the target speech community through language learning. Furthermore, I would like to investigate if SPPS prevails among ESL learners and if the language socialization process helps decrease the frequency of SPPS. Norton Peirce's theory is believed to provide reasonable explanation for language learners' options between speech and silence. According to her theory, at the moment when interacting with target language speakers, language learners are experiencing "constantly organizing and reorganizing a sense of who they are and how they relate to the social world"

(Norton, personal communication, June, 2002). An identity that language learners perceive themselves or would like to construct or "invest" can be a site of struggle and directly influences their investment in target languages. What language learners respond, how they respond, and for what purpose, are all determined by their self-perception, history, and desires for future possibilities. However, when cultural influence is involved, language learners' silence can be much more complex than Norton Peirce's theory can predict, especially for the Chinese language learners of English. For example, the Chinese ideology of face-saving illustrated in Liu's (2002) study may be applied to supplement Norton Peirce's arguments about silence. Thus, two questions will be addressed in the current study: (1) Is identity construction, self-image constructed by one's linguistic patterns, the key element that effects and determines the language learners' language socialization process into an ESL speech community? And (2) Do language learners perceive the shift in their personalities in different contexts, such as their participations in class and in the larger speech community? If so, is it social identity negotiation that may be applied to explain the SPPS phenomenon?

Literature Review

According to Watson-Gegeo and Nielsen (2003), language socialization (LS), one socio-cultural approach in Second Language Acquisition (SLA), originated in the late 1960s and 1970s due to the linguists' concern about "the narrowness of the prevailing child language acquisition model" (p. 156). LS is strongly opposed to the concept that language learning is limited to the acquisition of its linguistic forms or structures. Instead, its primary interest, as Zuengler and Miller (2006) specified, is to explore how novices obtain their community membership by gaining not only linguistic but also socio-cultural expertise of that particular community (p. 39). Based on the premise of LS that linguistic and socio-cultural knowledge are closely intertwined, linguistic forms and structures are believed to be constrained and shaped by different social or communicative contexts and fully loaded with social significance. "What" is verbally communicated and "how" it is appropriately presented within the contexts is internalized and socialized through language use within the speech community (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986). In other words, while language learners are learning appropriate verbal communicative patterns in a particular social environment, they are acquiring the implicitly-conveyed cultural norms and values

and even acceptable social behaviors of this particular social context and of that preference group. Therefore, language learning can be defined as a process of cognitive development and enculturation as well.

In addition to the emphasis on the interrelationship between linguistic and socio-cultural knowledge, interaction is also a crucial factor that determines how well LS proceeds. According to Schieffelin & Ochs (1986), LS should be considered an interactive process, where "language socialization begins at the moment of social contact in life" (p. 164). Every moment of interaction provides potential socializing experience for language learners to gradually learn the communicative and socio-cultural norms of the very community. The more opportunities language learners have to interact with native speakers, the more likely it is for them to tune themselves to acting or speaking properly so as to fit in the society. However, frequent social interaction is no guarantee of a successful LS process since the nature of interaction is equally weighty enough to determine language learners' investment. Moreover, language learners' previous subjective experience of language also matters. In Hymes's (1967) "Models of the Interaction and Social Settings", he inferred that "an adequate study of language recognizes that communities differ in patterns and

roles assigned to language…and these variables affect language use and acquisition by children [and adult language learners as well]" (Lovelace and Wheeler, 2006, p. 303-304). This well explains and corresponds to the central belief of LS that language learners are not ahistorical but active and selective agents while engaging in this interactive process. Their early culturally- prejudiced language experience may counter or facilitate their process of LS, and this also problematizes the theory of LS.

To sum up, the core of LS is that every speech community has its definition of propriety of language use, i.e. linguistic forms of preference are political, which contain and convey the values of the speech community. Only through moments of social contact with the speech community members does LS persist and ferment. While adjusting their language use to the communicative norms, language learners are also acquiring the culture and values of the very speech community. In addition, based on what has been discussed so far, we may conclude that not only language learners' subjectivity and former experience with language but also their frequency and quality of interaction with NES are key elements contributing to the advancement of LS process. Drawing on Lave and Wenger's (1991) theory of situated learning, LS is congruent with the concepts they advocate because it can

be defined as "[language] learning as participation in the social world" (p.43) and as well "an integral part of generative social practice in the lived-in world" (p.35). As we have known, the ultimate goal of the LS process is that language learners have successfully tuned their language use through constant social interaction to the communicative norms and been approved the membership in the very speech community; likewise, in Lave and Wenger's words, that is how new entrants are allowed access to resources in forms of interacting with community members and access to participation in a wide range of activities and constitute a sense of belonging to eventually become full participants, who have acquired the sociocultural practices of that community. If language learners are allowed rich and easy access to the resources as mentioned earlier, LS is believed be accelerated, and vice versa. However, due to the focus of my study, only the factor of interaction will be emphasized and further discussed in this chapter. The following research articles are conducted with the focus on the social interaction between NES and NNES to explore how language learners are socialized into the norms of their target speech community.

Interactional routines in the classroom context have been considered a good locus to observe how language socialization occurs. With the feature of repetition, routines make the

recurrent verbal or behavioral patterns salient and predictable, which help language learners to develop their linguistic competence and acquire the embedded cultural meanings as well. What follow are three substantial studies. In 1999, Kanagy examined the classroom context particularly to see how English-speaking children learning Japanese in Japan acquired the interaction skills and the behavioral regulations in the Japanese classroom. Her findings indicated that daily routines provided the framework for language learners to initiate and respond to the conversation in Japanese, which effectively led to an increase in language learners' autonomy of the target language. Ohta, in the same year, well illustrated that teacher-student interaction in the teacher-fronted Japanese classroom was organized in three consecutive turns: initiation- response- follow-up (IRF) as a mini-dialogue. In the follow-up turn of IRF, she further inspected how the teacher frequently used "Ne", a highly-preferred linguistic feature to show affective alignment in the Japanese discourse, to express evaluation and assessment after the student's practice. According to Ohta, the teacher's scaffolding and explicit guidance in IRF not only legitimized the students' peripheral participation but also enabled them to be active and competent interlocutors in the target language. The result of language

socialization was manifest. The students in peer interaction were found able to use "ne" productively and appropriately when responding to their interlocutors.

Different from Kanagy's or Ohta's studies, He (2000) analyzed four different types of routines in the teacher's language use. She argued that the interactional and grammatical organization of the teacher's directives was an important medium to socialize the Chinese American students into the cultural and behavioral norms of the Chinese classroom setting or even the larger Chinese speech communities. Two instructional directives were used to orient the class to the upcoming classroom activities, and the others, less directive-like, served to instill in the students the morals and ideology of the Chinese culture, such as respect for others. This study well illustrates how the teacher's language use impacts the students' enculturation process and socializes them into the expected cultural norms, but it fails to discuss if there is any direct influence on the students' communicative patterns. As for the students' in-class behaviors, in such an environment where the Chinese ethic is highly emphasized, the students are supposed to, and seemingly appear to, play a submissive role to do whatever the teacher demands, which is believed to accelerate the students' progress in LS. In these three studies, the

researchers appear to take a positive attitude towards

contribution of the classroom context to LS, where the teachers'

demonstrative and predictable linguistic patterns, influential

in engaging language learners in the LS process, are believed

to scaffold, and orient as well, language learners to

approximate the expected communicative norms.

Contrary to the auspicious progress of LS in the classroom

settings described above, LS in the larger communities is

seemingly affected by more unexpected factors. What follows are

another three LS-related studies conducted in the

"naturalistic" social contexts, i.e. the focus has been shifted

from the classroom settings to the interaction in real life

between native speakers and nonnative speakers in different

speech communities. Bongartz and Schneider (2003) investigated

how two English- speaking boys in Germany, aged 5 and 7, acquired

German through language play and negotiation about

decision-making to maintain friendship and enhance solidarity

with their German-speaking friends. Drawing on what they found

in the children's LS process, they argued that LS should be

considered to be bidirectional, i.e. the language use of

children, either native or nonnative speakers, was mutually

influenced. In addition, the power differentials between native

speakers and nonnative speakers among children were not

significant or even existent. The nonnative German speaking children did not always assume subordinate roles when interacting with their native German- speaking friends.

Compared with children's easy access to rich resources for LS, adult language learners appear to have more difficulty embarking on the process of LS even if they are immersed in the target language-speaking environment. Duff, Wong and Early (2000) identified that the inaccessibility of chances for interaction with NES residents resulted in NNES immigrants' adverse situations for LS, which could easily have NNES immigrants positioned in the marginal status in the society for they did not have equal opportunities for work as NES residents did due to their limited English conversational competence. As a result, the researchers intended to figure out if the adversity would be reversed during and after these NNES immigrants' participation in a government-sponsored program (resident care/ home support attendant, RC/HSAT). This language-and-skill-oriented program comprised 17 weeks of in-class instruction of nursing skills and ESL (nursing terminology is included) and a 9-week practicum. Based on the participants' accounts gleaned from the interview, their 3-week interaction with NES residents in the suburban nursing home greatly improved their communicative competence, such as showing affection and empathy

and negotiating meaning. In addition, they built up friendship with the NES residents, which had been never easy for them to achieve outside the nursing program in the real world. According to Duff et al.'s follow-up interview, these participants' successful interactional experiences with NES enhanced their self-esteem and confidence, which further enabled them to function well in the outside world afterward.

What has been discussed so far seems to paint a rosy picture about LS, a smooth and struggle-free process for language learners. It can be defined as a success as long as language learners gain the communicative norms and fulfill their social desire. However, Potowski (2001) pointed out that "'naturalistic' language learning is not always a linguistic utopia…For many immigrants, the linguistic environment represents inequitable relations of power and even hostility" (p. 2). Lave and Wenger (1991) may serve to underpin Potowski's argument. Their concept of "legitimate peripheral participation" is considered "a process which is characterized by social structures and social relations" (Alison et al., 2005, p.51), which may well explain the threat of newcomers to old-timers in the community of practice as well as the willingness of old-timers to share with or exclude newcomers from access to resources. In some competitive social contexts,

the process of LS is complicated by power dynamics. Vickers (2007) described how one NNES earned core membership in a competitive electrical and computer engineering (ECE) speech community. The NNES had been perceived as silly and immature by his NES peers because of his lack of the access to the forms of talk to construct himself as a professional in the ECE community. Through continued interactions with his NES peers, the NNES eventually became socialized into the forms of talk that enabled him to gain an identity as an expert and to reflect a personality that was well-received in the community. In addition, Vickers also pointed out that even NES could be denied the membership since they failed to adjust their language use to the speech norms. To sum up, the concept of LS is never restricted to language learners only but applicable to novices of every speech community if we take Vickers' account into consideration. Thus, it could be concluded that, as Zuengler and Cole's (2005) stated, LS, an ongoing process, is a theory applied to "investigate [and explain] novices of different ages in a variety of settings as they apprenticed to different facets of community membership" (p. 302).

In addition to sociolinguistic competence, in the process of LS, the ongoing negotiation of power and socio-cultural identities also affects how the language learners react in

various contexts, and this hypothetically determines the personalities they are revealing. Zuengler and Cole (2005) proposed that interaction between native and nonnative speakers could be "potentially problematic [and] tension producing" (p. 306) since power issues were involved. Morita's (2004) research further substantiated Zuengler and Cole's argument, pointing out that the inequality of power relations affected the ESL learners' participation in class and determined their academic performance as well. If we further question how the power asymmetry is shaped, the thorough analyses in the following two studies are believed to have presented reasonable assumptions for us. Leki (2001) attributed the cause of power gap to NES's limited experience with alien groups, while Duff (2002) suggested that "the rich intertextuality and hybridity of the discourse [in class discussion]" (p. 484), which was heavily oriented to the culture of the teenaged NES speech community, could easily inhibit NNES students from in-class participation.

In Leki's (2001) study, she focused on how university-level students interacted to accomplish their group project, and she found out that little interaction or negotiation between NES and NNES students occurred in group meetings, let alone the possibility to come up with a collaborative work. NNES at first perceived themselves as equal group members and were engaged

in group discussion, but it turned out that their contributions tended to be resisted or ignored by NES peers. They were constantly positioned in a subordinate status and their ability to make contributions was undermined. NNES's lack of norms of group discussion could be blamed for this, but Leki commented that instead, it was NES's limited interactional experience with people from different cultural and linguistic background that disabled them from scaffolding learning for NNES and from comprehending and negotiating meaning with NNES as well, which further led to "a perhaps unconscious bias, that is, a sense that [NNES's] linguistic difficulty suggests intellectual incapacity" (p. 59). Not only NES's false perception of NNES but also NNES's scant knowledge about the culture of the target speech community forms the power hierarchy. Duff (2002) argued the topics chosen by the teacher for class discussion may accentuate NES's and NNES's disparate cultural schemata. "Intertextuality involving pop-culture" (p. 483) effectively kindled NES students' interest to take part in the class discussion but it did not do so for NNES. In addition to their lack of cultural schemata and linguistic competence to interpret the ongoing conversation, their concern to be labeled as "Other" discouraged them from further inquiry. According to Duff, being a qualified community member took more than having the command

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of the target language or success in academic performance. The process of acculturation for NNES was crucial because it helped NNES avoid being marginalized. In brief, it is undeniable that the power issues can be constantly haunting at moments when NES and NNES interact in different social contexts. To understand when NNES speak and when they prefer to remain silent to negotiate power, i.e. what is responsible for their personality shift, Norton's Peirce's (1995) theory of social identity may provide us a reasonable explanation.

Norton Peirce has proposed that the theory of social identity (SI) should be applied to reconceptualize the relations between language learners and language learning environments and strongly urges its necessity to be integrated in SLA. Based on her central belief that power differentials in the social world have direct impact on interaction between NES and NNES, she argues that inspection on individual and social contexts respectively fails to provide a thorough explanation for language learners' motivation, anxiety, or comfort level under different circumstances, but SI can well explain. Norton Peirce's definition of SI basically draws on Weedon's conceptual framework, which is described as follows:

> ...Subjectivity is produced in a variety of social
> sites, all of which are structured by relations of

power in which the person takes up different subject

positions— teacher, mother, manger, critic—some

positions of which may be in conflict with others.

In addition, the subject …[is] conceived of as both

subject of and subject to relations of power within

a particular site…The subject has human

agency…[Therefore, when] positioned in a particular

way within a given discourse, the person might resist

the subject position or even set up a counterdiscourse

which positions the person in a powerful rather than

marginalized subject position. (p.15-16)

Clearly as McNamara (1997) commented, Norton Peirce

considers subjectivity a synonym of social identity (p.565).

In addition, the citation above well illustrates the three

defining characteristics of social identity in Norton Peirce's

work, i.e. "the multiple nature of the subject; subjectivity

as a site of struggle; and subjectivity as changing over time"

(Norton Peirce, 1995, p. 15). According to Norton Peirce, when

language learners are interacting with NES, they are not only

negotiating power relations in the social world, but they are

also undergoing social identity negotiation and construction.

Their choices to remain silent or speak are loaded with social

meanings, indexing their resistance to a particular SI they are

positioned in or their investment in certain SI to combat the adversity they encounter. Through speaking the target language, or in Norton Peirce's word "investment" in the target language, language learners are gradually able to access social resources and networks and further fulfill their social desires, which derive from "human needs for recognition, affiliation, and safety" (Norton, 1997, p. 410). This is why she argues that investment rather than motivation better "captures the complex relationship of language learners to the target language and their sometimes ambivalent desire to speak it" (Norton Peirce, 1995, p. 9). In brief, SI can be interpreted as various ways—language learners' understanding of themselves in relation to others and social contexts, their dynamic concept of self constructed across time and space, and their possibilities for the future.

Ullman's (1997) advocated incorporating SI into language teaching. He concurred with the idea that the act of immigrating to a new country definitely involved transformations in one's social identity. He took the role of parent as an example. Immigrant parents with insufficient linguistic competence of the target language might lose their balance in the new society. Their competence to perform tasks could be undermined especially when they needed to interact with native speakers. Consequently,

their children who acquired a foreign language faster than they did turned out to be the ones they could rely on to tackle these for them. Therefore, Ullman argued that language teaching should "support students in the process of self-recreation, with the ultimate goal of making language learning more effective [and practical]" (p. 1). To heighten language learners' awareness of their social identities and identity shifting, he further listed several methods for language teachers to design activities, such as portfolio writing and dialogue journal writing.

Unlike Ullman's (1997) effort to associate SI with pedagogy, Skilton-Sulvester (2002) investigated how negotiation of social identities influenced four Cambodian women's attendance rate in English learning programs. In her study, she attempted to extend Norton Peirce's conception of investment. From her perspective, investment should not be limited to speaking the language; rather, the drive for learning its linguistic knowledge, such as attending IEP classes, should be included. Furthermore, she pointed out that the language teacher's teaching style and ways to organize classes profoundly influenced language learners' final decision-making to attend school when they were struggling with and swaying among identities. Drawing on her own analysis, Skilton-Sulvester

argued that the traditional concept of motivation was not sufficient to explain language learners' investment in the target language. Furthermore, without knowing language learner's complex history and what multiple identities they were struggling with, educational institutions could hardly offer the right course contents or activities that helped the immigrant students fulfill their social needs. To sum up, Ullman's (1997) and Skilton-Sulvester's (2002) studies not only clearly illustrate Norton Peirce's definition of social identity, but they also make valuable contribution to relate SI to language learning and teaching.

Norton Peirce's theory of social identity may be a supplement to the insufficiency of traditional conception of motivation. However, some researchers still question its credibility. For example, Price (1996) indicated that Eva's silence in Norton Peirce's study might not be necessarily the result of "victimization and suffering" (p. 335). Instead, it could be viewed as a form of resistance, an alternative way of communication. Even though Norton Peirce's (1996) follow-up explanation is clear and sensible that Eva is positioned in the subordinate status without any ability to defend herself, and Price may possibly misinterpret Norton Peirce's text, Price's inquiry does highlight something worth noticing. From my

perspective as an ESL learner with Chinese heritage, Norton Peirce seems to oversimplify language learners' employment of silence. Price's reasoning can be true in some situations since silence can also indicate moments when one is negotiating his/her cultural identity. What follows are three studies shedding light on Asian students' silence in university-level American and Canadian classroom settings. These scholars' interpretation of silence helps us reconsider Norton Peirce's theory.

The first study that we are going to discuss basically attributes language learners' silence to interference of Chinese cultural ideology and to some degree manifests the blemishes in Norton Peirce's theory of social identity. Jenkins (2000) investigated what possible factors could be to deter international teaching assistants (ITA) from investing in speaking English to improve their communicative competence. For seven Chinese ITAs, the participants in this study, their stipend and job opportunity to be an ITA were the ways to support their living in the US. Once they scored less than 220 on a communicative competence test (SPEAK), they would risk losing either of them in the next school year. However, the test failed to spur these ITAs to interact more actively with NES to practice their oral English. Instead, they memorized test questions to

prepare SPEAK. If we draw on Norton Peirce's theory, ITA should be a good social identity for these Chinese students to invest in and claim the right to speak in NES-NNES conversation because this position endorses their stronger academic knowledge compared with NES undergraduate students' or their peers'. More specifically, the role of ITA is supposedly weighty enough for them to talk confidently in public for it is endowed with power in the world of social constructs, authorizing, or legitimizing, their participation. Unexpectedly, these ITAs neither took the social identity as an ITA when interacting with NES nor invested in practicing English.

Jenkins concluded that these Chinese students' silence, or lack of investment in Norton Peirce's words, could be ascribed to their cultural politeness strategies and how they prioritized tasks. In class, "the chalk and talk approach" limited these ITAs' interaction with NES peers, and their deeply-rooted cultural belief stopped them from asking professors questions. According to Jenkins, asking professors questions was regarded as a challenge of teachers' authority and professional ability so that they would rather privately consult their Chinese peers for clarity. As for ITAs' failure to annotate students' papers as the faculty requested them to, these ITAs admitted that they had difficulty doing this because of their unfamiliarity with

the course content and the instructors' handwriting. However, they never discussed this with the faculty. Jenkins interpreted this as cultural influence since showing compliance and maintaining harmony was highly emphasized in the Chinese culture. Moreover, ITAs stated that their schedule was so tight that they could hardly find time to interact with NES. The intense pressure in keeping up with course work, the urgency in figuring out the course content based on which they could annotate students' papers, and performing ITA assignments were their top three priorities in their daily life. Their motivation to interact with NES peers was even fading away since they had sensed their NES interlocutors' impatient attitudes or facial expression in conversation.

To sum up, Jenkins's findings suggest that these Chinese students' culturally-constructed identity as a good student (of conformity and consideration for others) surpass their social identity as an ITA, i.e. they invest in "good students" more than "qualified ITA". Distinct from Norton Peirce's (1995) definition of investment, I would like to argue that silence is not simply a symbol of NNESs' succumbing to power issues but an alternative form of investment in conversation for the Chinese students. With the cultural transfer of the Chinese heritage, these ITAs choose to invest in their

culturally-defined identity so that they invest in silence.

Silence, in the social context investigated in Jenkins's study,

was defined by the researcher as a way that Chinese students

honored their professors and maintained the professors'

authority. However, it can be loaded with different meanings

under different circumstances if we take the following research

papers into consideration.

Influenced by Cheng's (2000) study, Zhou, Knoke and

Sakamoto (2005) argued that east-asian students' reticence was

never culturally-predetermined but context specific (p. 289).

The cultural personalities of the Chinese had been believed to

be nurtured and shaped by the Confucian doctrine; however, some

of the researchers' manipulative ways of presenting the

Confucian philosophy, or their misinterpretation of it, falsely

ascribed the Chinese students' silence in ESL classroom to their

alleged Confucianism-dominated ways of thinking and behaviors.

Zhou et al. commented that social contextual elements were

pivotal and responsible for the Chinese students' linguistic

inhibition. Based on the data gleaned from their face-to-face

interviews with ten Chinese students, they listed a variety of

factors first. These factors could be cultural (their

unfamiliarity with Canadian/western culture and the content of

Canadian education to build up a common ground, deficit of

knowledge about the communicative norms to participate in class discussion in the Canadian classroom setting), individual (their perception of their own English proficiency, their fear to handle communication breakdown, and how they perceive themselves as a NNES), and situation specific (their familiarity with the peer students in class, peer support). Perhaps, Zhou et al. believed that the impacts of the former two factors could be gradually mitigated once NNES embarked on the processes of language socialization, so the focus of their study was on the situation- specific one. They argued that "silence is not merely defined as an individual decision not to speak. Rather, more importantly, it is understood as classroom processes in which Chinese students' individual characteristics interact with classroom context to engender their reluctance to participate, despite opportunity to do so" (p. 297). Asked to reflect on the experience to share Chinese/indigenous knowledge in class, these Chinese students agreed on the fact that they perceived indifference and the lack of interest of their NES peers or even professors impeded their spontaneous and subsequent participation. However, the whole situation differed, according to the Chinese students' accounts, when they were invited to share cultural perspectives by open-minded professors. They also revealed that they would like to talk more in a classroom

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with friendly and supportive atmosphere where their opinions were respected instead of being judged from NES's "mainstream perspectives" (p. 302). Therefore, Zhou et al. assumed that NES's topic change or no response to the Chinese students' contribution (when sharing indigenous knowledge) might probably result from their existing stereotype or misconception about Chinese culture. Moreover, they considered that sharing indigenous knowledge could be understood as a form of resistance to the hegemonic knowledge systems and pedagogies (p. 304).

To sum up, silence is not always the virtue or norms to confine the Chinese students' participation mode in classroom setting. For the Chinese students who are capable of orally communicating indigenous knowledge in class, their willingness or reluctance to speak simply depends on the responsive attitudes of the professors and peers who they are interacting with. As a result, we may conclude that these Chinese students' silence is not passively imposed on but actively exerted to respond to this asymmetric power relation between NES and NNES. Silence, in this situation, can be conceived a form of resistance as Price (1996) argued.

The last but most substantial study focuses on a Chinese ideological notion, lian (臉), and fully discusses its impacts on Chinese students' silence. Liu's (2002) statement that

"silence in interaction is determined by many factors, such as cultural and situational context, and participants" (p. 39) well agrees with the findings of the last two studies. Specifically speaking, the factors he refers to leading to Asian students' reticence in American classroom are multiple and distributed across five categories: cognitive factors, pedagogical factors, affective factors, socio-cultural factors and linguistic factors (p. 38). In his study, he investigates how interactions among these factors affect these Chinese students' differential classroom silence/communication patterns. More importantly, Liu further offers a profound explanation to unveil the complexity of their silent behavior based on the notions of lian (its English equivalent is "face"), which is deeply engrained in the Chinese culture. Drawing on Hu's (1994) and Mao's (1994) interpretations of lian, Liu restates that "Chinese face is within the consideration of the community, and how an individual thinks his or her character or behavior is being judged or perceived by the people around him or her in that community" (p. 41). Disguised with silence, this face-saving strategy helps the Chinese language learners of English cunningly avoid embarrassment when interacting with NES.

In the following, I would like to respectively summarize and annotate how three focal Chinese students in Liu's (2002)

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study employ, or in Norton Peirce's wording "invest" in, silence to save/ gain face so as to negotiate power and counter their adverse position in power hierarchy in NES-NNES conversation. Indeed, it is their negotiation of cultural identity that determines their differential classroom participation modes.

As Liu (2002) illustrated, Yuan was perceived as an active student in class participation sometimes, good at raising thought-provoking issues and providing in-depth comments grounded in his strong academic knowledge. Sometimes, he was silent in the whole class session. According to him, deciding his form of participation in class solely depended on "his confidence about the knowledge of the subject matter under discussion" (p.42). He assured himself that his every single contribution in class should be of quality, i.e. it should promote the class's understanding to "a step further of the class content" (p. 41), before he spoke. The silence he invested was also worthwhile for it allowed him room to learn from the ongoing class discussion, confirm the knowledge he was uncertain of, and avoid making mistakes. For Yuan, silence is "the value of wait time" (p. 42) since it protects him from potential embarrassment. Exposing his weakness in academic knowledge to the public makes the public face for him and for his Chinese peers threatened or ruined. Thus, we may conclude that not only

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what to contribute but also when to be silent is his strategy to gain and maintain the Chinese face.

Unlike Yuan's active participation, Jian's participation mode in class as an attentive listener was extremely influenced by his cultural upbringing (according to Jian's accounts) and as well, constrained by his limited oral communicative ability. Silence in class was his way to show respect for teachers, but its deeper meaning could be silence saved Jian's face from disclosure of his poor communicative English skills to the public. However, after he realized that class discussion facilitated learning, Jian started negotiating his cultural ideology, trying to participate in class differently. He was gradually adapting himself to the norm of American classrooms, i.e. asking questions in class. His transformation made silence loaded with more meanings. In class discussion, Jian took advantage of silence, withdrawing from the class discussion for a while, to organize his thought before he took the turn to make contributions. According to Liu's description, Jian "wrote down questions, carefully rephrased them silently several times until he felt comfortable to ask them, but such a prolonged rehearsal stage resulted in his further silence as other students took the turns or the instructor shifted the topics for discussion" (p. 45). Silence indexes Jian's intention of

participation. In his case, silence allows him more time to well prepare himself to participate in class discussion, but ironically, it is also how he is excluded. The reasons why Jian makes use of silence to do rehearsal are understandable. On one hand, it boosts his comfort level to participate in class discussion, and on the other hand, it minimizes the risk of losing face. In addition to exploring silence literally, Liu seems to ascribe the Chinese people's "voiceless" response to silence (p. 45). By the word "voiceless," I mean that Chinese people seldom express what they really desire or how they really feel simply out of courtesy or when the interlocutors are "within the hierarchical relationship [such as] between the teacher and the student" (p. 44). When Jian's professor asked him if he could understand the class discussion, he answered "yes" instead of the honest admission "no". His purpose to say so, according to Liu, was to save his face for what he really concerned was to be considered a stupid student. Personally, this face-saving strategy may better serve to interpret ITAs' silent behaviors in Jenkins's study. As a qualified ITA, they may assume themselves to have adequate or even stronger academic competence than their peers. Once they ask questions in class or reveal their difficulty tackling the overloading ITA assignments, they might worry if their incautious moves would affect how their

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professors or peers perceive them and judge their academic competence. This may explain why they would rather endure the overloading burden and live up to the tight schedule than turn to their professors for possible solutions. Thus, their silence can be more than showing conformity or maintaining harmony. Based on this assumption, I would like to conclude that ITAs' silent behaviors may result from their purpose to save their face rather than to save their professors' face[1]. For ITA, face can matter.

In the third case study, Nan's poor English conversational ability limited her classroom participation mode as a silent observer. To compensate for her inability to be involved in class discussion, she attentively took notes in class and invested a great amount of time and efforts in studying course content after class. Through gaining high scores on tests, she proved that she was a capable and qualified PhD student in Pharmacy despite the fact that she had difficulty orally participating in class discussion. This was presumably her way to gain face in the eyes of others (p. 46). The other way for Nan to gain

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[1] As discussed earlier, Jenkins commented that ITAs' preference to ask their Chinese peers questions instead of directly consulting their professors was due to their concern of offending their professors. She interpreted these Chinese ITAs' avoidance to ask professors questions as a way to show their politeness and uphold their professors' authority.

face was to ask her professors "valuable" questions, the answers to which were unavailable even after she had consulted the textbook or discussed with her Chinese peer students. Nan's definition of valuable questions might serve to answer the math professors' perplexity and complaints in Jenkins's (2000) study about ITAs' preference for discussing math with their Chinese peers. It is not only for clarity, but it also helps evaluate if this question is worth asking. This can be how they define and act as "a good student". To sum up, through Liu's qualitative study, we gain a better understanding about silence in the Chinese culture. Based on what we have discussed so far, silence is ambiguous and complex since face-threatening factors vary with different social contexts, interlocutors and circumstances. But still, we may concisely interpret silence as a face-saving strategy used to avoid embarrassment in the Chinese culture.

Drawing on the former three studies, the following tables (see Tables 1 and 2) briefly summarize when silence occurs (face-threatening factors) and what it stands for based on the researchers' perspectives (the authors' interpretation) and mine (my interpretation). In addition, I annotate what social identity they are investing in when they choose to be silent. Silence I would like to examine is the kind that language

Table 1. Authors' Interpretation of Chinese Students' Silence.

Research	#	Face-Threatening Factors	Response	Author's interpretation of silence
Jenkins (2000)	1	Ask their professors math questions	Silence	Respect & conformity
	2	Discuss their difficulty in handling the overloading ITA assignment with the faculty	Voiceless	Conformity and harmony
	3	NES peers' impatience is perceived in conversation.	Silence	Chinese students' excuse for not interacting with NES
Zhou et al. (2005)	4	NES peers' or even professors' indifference or lack of interest in their Chinese/ indigenous knowledge	Silence	><
Liu (2002)	5	Yuan: Comment on something based on the knowledge he is uncertain of	Silence	Face-saving: silence is the value of wait time. He can confirm his knowledge and benefit from others' contributions
	6	Jian: Withdraw from class discussion to rehearse his questions	Silence	Face-saving: silence allows him time to well prepare himself before he gives it a shot

Table 2. My Interpretation of Chinese Students' Silence and

Their Social Identity Investment.

Research	#	My interpretation	Social identity they invest in
Jenkins (2000)	1	The questions they ask should be valuable to save their face.	Culturally-defined "good student"
	2	Their academic competence should be congruent with others' expectation to save their face.	Qualified ITA
	3	It is polite and face-saving to know when to stop when others don't want to be bothered.	A foreign student who deserves equal respect
Zhou et al. (2005)	4	They are aware that they deserve respect. If they don't, they resist further participation to save face. (These students participate more actively when their professors are open-minded)	An equal member
Liu (2002)	5	Face-saving	Culturally-defined "good student"
	6	Face-saving	Culturally-defined "good student"

learners invest in out of their agency, rather than passively

imposed on, to negotiate power in the social world, so the

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pedagogical and linguistic factors are removed from the tables. As the tables show, I would like to conclude the central argument in Liu's (2002) study that silence is used to save one's face is also applicable to explain the Chinese student's reticence in both Jenkins's (2000) and Zhou et al.'s (2005) studies. To save one's face, I assume that these Chinese students do not claim "the right to speak." Rather, they choose to invest in silence. Silence serves different functions in the Chinese students, allowing them to act as "a good student" (# 1, 2, 5 and 6), behave politely and considerately (# 3), and negotiate power (# 4). In other word, silence is the result of cultural identity negotiation for the Chinese students.

If we relate the issue of cultural identity negotiation to Norton Peirce's theory of social identity, I would like to argue that her theory could be more complete if the cultural factor is taken into consideration. Personally, Norton Peirce's SI theory can reasonably explain conversation and interaction modes when the interlocutors are sharing the same linguistic and cultural background. However, it can be problematic when the factor of cultural difference is involved. In addition to social relations that Norton Peirce emphasizes, other factors, such as age, sex and power distributed to social status in the hierarchical society, also influence and determine one's

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communicative patterns, but the weight that each factor carries

may vary from culture to culture. Thus, each culture may have

its own way to interpret language use and silence in

conversation. Let's take Chinese culture for example. Silence

is so complex and distinct from how NES define it. It is possible

that culture conditions Norton Peirce's reasoning so that she

emphasizes more on "the right to talk" but neglects the

possibility for "the right/appropriateness to remain silent."

It can be questionable when Norton Peirce argues that investing

in a particular SI is investing in speaking the target language.

For the Chinese students, it makes more sense if we argue that

investing in a particular SI is investing in silence, as

illustrated in Liu's study. Silence for its three focal students

is worth investing in because they speak only when they are well

prepared and think it is necessary to. In addition, the

investment forms of the Chinese students to negotiate the power

in ESL context can vary. To earn their professors' and peer

students' recognition and gain their face, there can be some

students investing in their academic performance, such as Nan

in Liu's study. Some may choose to bite the bullet to accomplish

difficult tasks to show their conformity, such as the ITAs in

Jenkins's study, even though their investments quite contradict

their professors' expectation that ITAs should increase their

frequency to interact with the faculty and improve their communicative skills through these opportunities. To sum up, Norton Peirce's (1995) study may explain the Chinese students' verbal participation in class discussion (They invest in the SI as a good student so they speak), but it fails to sufficiently analyze their retiring moments (In my opinion, they may invest in the SI as a good student so they remain silent). In the ESL classroom context, to speak or not to speak seems to be a question more than SI negotiation can answer. Rather, the influence of cultural ideology may provide a better explanation as discussed earlier.

CHAPTER TWO

METHODS AND STUDY CONTEXT

The Methods

To address my thesis questions, I followed the methods discussed in "Methodological Strategies in LS" (Watson-Gegeo & Neilsen, 2003, p.161) to conduct a two-month case study to inspect the language socialization process of NNES students enrolled in Level Three Composition Class in IEP (Intensive English Program) at CSUSB in 2006. IEP is basically designed for students whose paper-based TOEFL scores are less than 500, and Level Three is intermediate on the five-level scale. 10 out of 14 students in Level Three voluntarily participate in this current study (1 Korean, 1 Japanese, 1 Arabian, 3 Chinese and 4 Taiwanese students). Their age ranged from 18 to 28, and all of them had been learning English for years as English education were mandatory since they attended middle school in EFL (English as a foreign language) classroom context. The data for this current study was collected through (1) audio-taping (2) interviews and (3) the journals of the student participants. The same method, as adopted in Peirce's (1995) and Morita's (2004) research, was employed to investigate multiple data sources to triangulate the data.

In-class and Out-of-class Observations

Audio-taping in the formal classroom setting and casual daily conversation is the most essential data-collecting method employed in this current study. Not all the audio-tapping data was transcribed. It was until the focal students were finally determined in the end of the summer quarter that the data involving the focal students were picked out and transcribed. The transcribed data is mainly used for the following analysis on how language may affect one's identity construction. These data record all the student participants' concurrent linguistic habits or commands of the target language and even well capture their responses of spontaneity at the very communicative moment, which not only provides us sufficient source for further discourse analysis, but it also allows us a glimpse of the self images they have been constructing through language use and witness how it affects their social networking in return. To help the students get used to my presence, I attended their writing class regularly and stayed in IEP until 2:30pm every day. Sometimes, I joined their lunch hours and even hung out with them after school or on weekends. The total of audio-taped recording in regular in-class discussion was 10 hours. The digital recorder was usually placed in front of me only so as to reduce its impact on the student participants. The quality

of the recording was still satisfactory since the class size and the classroom was compact. In addition to the in-class audio-taping, one 30-minute session of outside-class group meeting was recorded. My original plan was to have the student participants to carry out the information-gap activities in the library, but they preferred to do it in different ways. Two group meetings were held during their lunch break in two different off-campus restaurants, and one was recorded during a barbecue at Lake Perris. However, the data for analysis was virtually selected from the in-class discussion since the quality of conversation in outside-class group meetings seemed to fluctuate more than I had expected due to the complicated interpersonal relations among group members. For example, one male student became way more shy and reticent when one of his female group members was who he admired!

Interviews

In addition, without direct contact with the participants, there is little possibility for the researcher to ascertain how other factors could be also contributing to their current English use. Interviews allow the researcher to collect detailed information from 10 student participants about their goal and history of English education, the frequency with which they get involved in larger English communities and attitudes towards

English communication breakdown, and, most importantly, confirmation with them after some special incidents observed in classroom. All the student participants were interviewed, and two official interviews with each student participant were arranged in the second and final weeks of the summer quarter. English was used only when the student participants' first language was not Mandarin. The questions asked in the first interview focused on the student participants' experiences with English learning, their purposes to enroll this oversea language program, and how they got used to their life in the US. The second interview was a follow-up. The questions included the student participants' frequency to interact with NES, whether they encountered any difficulty in English conversation and how they perceived themselves when dealing with the conversation breakdown, and as well their feelings and attitudes toward using English in either private or public conversation.

Journals

All the student participants were requested to keep journals about special events and their reflections about their social contact with the native speakers of English. In this way the researcher is able to have a better understanding of the impacts on the ESL learners and of what the consequence can be. Due to the unavailability of opportunities to interact with

native English speakers off campus, the student participants turned in their journals every other week as an average. It ended up that only April and Brent were consistent journal keepers. Therefore, according to their higher frequency of participating in class discussion and submitting journals, I selected April and Brent (pseudonyms) as the focal students in my study after all the data collection work had been completed. Interestingly, their linguistic patterns happen to be distinct from each other, which directly impact their popularity and interpersonal relations among their peers. The following is the background overview of these two focal students, as for their detailed information, which will be fully described and discussed in the next chapter. April, a 21-year-old bilingual of Korean and Chinese, came from China and currently an undergraduate student majoring in Foreign Languages and Literature in Moscow. She took the advantage of her summer vacation to improve her English skills, and this was her first time to visit an English-speaking county. As for Brent, aged 28, the oldest student in Level Three writing class, he came from Taiwan. He had used to be a computer engineer and, frequent contact with foreign computer engineers was a necessity of his duty. Thus, aware of his urgent need to improve his English communicative skills, he took a leave of absence for 6 months and enrolled in IEP in May. Compared with

the rest of the students in class, April and Brent participated in class more actively. It was very likely that their short stay in the US made them cherish every opportunity to interact with others in English. For the other students, their main purpose to enroll in IEP was to equip themselves to pass TOEFL and enter undergraduate or graduate programs in the US in future. Therefore, some of them seemed to care about their grades more than to improve their oral communicative ability.

As for data analysis methods, how to fully illustrate the focal students' self images or identities constructed through language use in IEP context is my primary concern so that enough transcribed data is presented in the subsequent chapter. To lessen the impact of my bias, the data for analysis is selected from their recurring discourse moves and some special events as well. In addition, the data quantity may allow the readers an objective and pantoscopic view of the focal students' linguistic patterns and reduce the interference of my subjectivity. As for the data adopted from their journals, the original texts, either in Chinese or in English, are juxtaposed with the translated version. By doing this, on one hand the readers can more easily understand the focal students' English competence at that time, and on the other I am afraid my translation can be unsatisfactory and even lead to the wrong

conclusion so that the readers are allowed room to study or interpret by themselves.

The Study Context

The Focal Composition Class and Its Instructor

The instructor of Level Three Composition in Summer 2006, Laura (pseudonym), is an experienced faculty member in Intensive English Program (IEP). Based on several unofficial interviews with her during recess, she has been teaching international students for years, especially the ones in Level Two and Level Three. Therefore, she knows quite well how to tailor her teaching plans to motivate and engage students in in-class discussion. In her writing class, her teaching philosophy, collaborative learning, and the student-centered pedagogy not only create abundant opportunities of language socialization for the students, but they also greatly influence and shape the socio-cultural and linguistic norms of the ESL classroom context. Based on her teaching philosophy that collaborative learning facilitates the students' brainstorming process and allows them to hear different voices, she arranges a great proportion of time for her students to do class discussion over a variety of topics pertinent to the contents of the textbook. For example, when the class is reading an article which explores

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the hardship of running Disneyland in France, Laura invites her student to imagine and discuss what problems they might encounter if Disneyland were built in their own country. This is a way for the students to learn different perspectives and life experiences from each other, and most importantly, it is also a way to help the students develop their critical thinking ability, which is highly valued in the western academic community. The more they learn from each other, the more their established world knowledge will be challenged and reshaped, and consequently, this may help the students discuss an issue in depth in their composition assignment. To encourage her students to participate in class discussion, she obviously accommodates her English to the students' English level to facilitate their understandings as well as to lower their anxiety, and her speaking rate is deliberately slowed down as 2-3 words per second.

In general, the classroom atmosphere in Level Three is more laid-back than competitive. The competition-free atmosphere is further reinforced by the evaluation system of the student's academic performance. Let's take Laura's composition class as an example. The students' grade is determined exclusively by their individual effort: 20 % by attendance and participation and 80% by writing assignments. To encourage the students to

take revision seriously, the teacher often reminds them that the more revision they do, the better their writing will be and the higher scores are guaranteed. In other words, there is no necessity for them to compete in their academic achievement with others so as to move on to the higher level, but what really counts is their personal endeavor.

The Social Context and the International Students

The Intensive English Program (IEP) is known as an English-immersion program, the ultimate goal of which is to help English learners adapt themselves to the English-speaking environment so as to survive and succeed in their social and academic life. In IEP, the students' comfort level in speaking English is apparently heightened by the faculty's accommodated speech and their classmates' nonnative-speaker-styled English. Based on my observation of the interactions between the Level Three students, English for these language learners is a more practical tool to build up their social networks than simply a school subject. From greeting to joking, or from serious class discussion to daily gossip, English is used in different contexts and for different purposes. They are, without doubt, gradually getting used to speaking English in front of their NES teachers and NNES classmates and to socialize with them. Moreover, they seem to have an easy and optimistic attitude

toward the occurrence of communication breakdown. The possibility can be communication breakdown takes places at times in conversation with their peers in English, and thus, they may consider it normal and expectable. Sometimes they try hard to fix it, but sometimes they just ignore it and change the topic to save both of the interlocutors' faces. It is probably because they are not sure whose problem it is. Is it the speaker that fails to comprehensibly convey his/her own idea or is it the listener's poor listening competence that should be blamed? At times, the students even make fun of their close friend's suffering from it. Furthermore, although the students' speaking ability differs from individual to individual, there is no fixed expert-novice relativistic relationship among the Level Three students. Their communicative ability appears to vary depending on topics, interlocutors, and social contexts. Take Arabic-speaking students for example. It seems to be easier for the Arabic-speaking students to pick up the English language. Compared with the students from the East Asia, they have better listening comprehension, and their better pronunciation and accent and way of thinking make their English more comprehensible. In spite of these advantages they have, they still have moments of struggling to get their points across. Also, they are prone to actively consult the teacher and even

their peers when they have questions regarding academic English knowledge. Both of these phenomena, i.e. taking communication breakdown for granted and no fixed and manifest expert-novice relationship among Level Three students, further successfully lower their' affective filter when speaking English in private or in public.

CHAPTER THREE

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This Chapter is comprised of four parts. Firstly, I will briefly discuss the speech norm of this focal writing class, which is profoundly influenced and shaped by the study context, i.e. the composition instructor's pedagogy and her conversational style as well as IEP's unique culture and the students' social needs. Whether one can successfully accommodate one's language use to the speech norms can be a weighty matter because one's linguistic pattern is an integral part of self-image construction, which further determines one's interpersonal relationships and whether s/he can ultimately gain the membership in this IEP social context. Then, I will focus on two student participants, April and Brent, illustrating whether they are properly socialized into this speech norm and exploring the possible factors that may affect these two participants' LS process. Finally, based on April's and Brent's journal entries, what contributes to their SPPS or non-SPPS will be further analyzed.

As mentioned in Chapter Two, the composition instructor in this focal writing class, Laura, highly values the teaching philosophy of collaborative learning. Thus, it is quite apparent

that she endeavors to establish a learner-friendly and comfortable environment in class to invite her students to participate in class discussion, playing roles as a host to regulate the student's turn of talk, a meaning facilitator to help the students to get their points across in class discussion, and a member of this speech community to actualize her ideal of collaborative learning.

Laura's regulation of the turns of talk seems to ensure that anyone who is giving his/her opinion will be respected and paid attention to because being respectful especially when someone is speaking is one of the rules that she often emphasizes. Right before Laura transfers the turn of talk to the students, she will raise her voice and say "OK" or "NOW" to remind the class that she has already finished her talk and next is the students' turn to contribute their brilliant ideas to the ongoing discussion. Her purpose is to help the students gain more control of the rhythm of the conversation, as described in Gumperz (1982, p. 36): "speakers' moves and listeners' responses are synchronized in such a way as to conform to a regular and measurable rhythmic beat." With the teacher's salient signal, the students are more aware that the turn of talk is going to be shifted and it is predictable. Basically, Laura has two routine ways to initiate the class discussion.

One is that she directly orders which student to give comments, putting him/her in the spotlight (For example, "Mark, do you agree with that?" or "what about you, Judy?"). The other is that she asks a question starting with "What do you think…" or "Does anyone… " and then remains silent waiting for volunteers to answer. In addition, the class discussion generally goes turn by turn, like Teacher-Student-Teacher or Teacher- Student 1-Student 2-Teacher. Without the teacher's ratification, it is considered improper to talk. Occasionally, the instructor will say "hey someone is talking here" to make certain the class are taking the identity as hearers rather than addressees only. According to Goodwin & Heritage (1990), it seems normal and reasonable that "hearers [can] decline to collaborate in a speaker's position [by failing to provide one of the participation displays made relevant by a speaker's action], which can in turn lead the speaker to add new material to her utterance, thus providing further grounds for the assessment" (p. 294). However, for NNES student speakers, hearers' non-collaborative attitude can be distracting and discouraging to them. It seems that they might have difficulty shifting their topic or adding new materials spontaneously and immediately based on their interlocutors' concurrent response. In fact, their confidence of speaking in public, fully relying on their

audience's attention and ratification, is gradually accumulated from successful conversational experience. Therefore, it can be the reason why Laura repeatedly emphasizes the significance of being good hearers. This may also explain why overlapping or interruption seldom occurs in class discussion. More importantly, Laura's regulation of the conversation flow may help the students constantly assume the role of an attentive interlocutor in conversation, which benefits the speakers and the hearers as well. Only when the speakers' social needs to be listened and to be respected are met, it can be easier for the speakers to fully express their opinions in public. As for the hearers, they are building up a good interactional relationship with the speakers for their attention and manners strengthen the speakers' comfort level to speak English in front of the class and self confidence by having more successful communicative experiences.

Based on my classroom observation and my private talk with her, Laura is not only fascinated with exotic cultures, but she also enjoys learning different cultures from international students. She occasionally demonstrates her strong knowledge of foreign culture to guide the class discussion, which enables her to guess and show her understanding whenever the students have difficulty expressing their ideas. This is how she enhances

the students' sense of confidence, and the following are two basic ways that Laura frequently uses to free the students from the embarrassment due to the advent communication breakdown. One way is that the teacher usually allows the students sufficient time to organize their thoughts and put them into words. Even though the students fail to clearly express their opinion on a culture-related issue, she will guess their meaning based on their key words or on her understanding of their culture, and then she will paraphrase it. The other way is, from time to time, she completes the students' sentences with the exact word, which her students try searching their vocabulary repertoire for but in vain or which they hesitate to say due to their uncertainty. Her strategies serve two functions: on one hand, they meet language learners' need to be understood. On the other hand, the teacher's paraphrase helps the class to have a better understanding of the speaker's comment and gives the speaker the credit s/he deserves. In this writing class, meaning negotiation seldom occurs. It occurs only when the teacher exactly knows what the student says regarding their culture is partially-described or not clear at all. She will question to show her doubt, giving the student a chance to correct or modify his/her comment. In brief, by showing her interest and understanding of what the students are trying to

say and showing her appreciation of their efforts with positive comments or a simple "yeah", her students are constantly encouraged, implicitly or explicitly, to talk, using English as frequently as they can to express themselves. Moreover, it is worth mentioning that Laura fully demonstrates the quality of being an active hearer. In addition to her displayed interest in the speaker's content, she makes best use of every chance she has to boost her students' confidence level in speaking English for she is always the one who takes the hearer's responsibility to figure out what the speaker really tries to say. The initiative she takes in bridging the communication gap disables the occurrence of meaning negation, which can possibly result in a face-threatening situation, and more importantly, that fact that the speaker's contribution can be ratified by the hearers, especially by a NES, indicates that the speaker is competent to make himself/herself understood in English.

Laura's endeavor to bridge the power gap between the teacher and the student is through her constant investment in the social role as a peer of Level 3 students. She tends to show great interest in learning from the students and teach in a form of sharing rather than instilling, even though she is undoubtedly the one with the highest position in the power hierarchy in the classroom since her power status is legitimated

by her identity as a native speaker and teacher. But, instead of constructing herself as an expert, she always shows her interest in different cultures and eagerness to learn more from individuals. In addition, the teacher often genuinely shares her thoughts or personal experience with the class in order to start or support or expand the class discussion. Moreover, somtimes the way she gives the students advice is like the way the mother affectionately advises the child. As a result, the more the students know about her, the closer their relationship becomes and the more their mutual trust is interwoven. Based on my observation, the teacher prefers to construct her self image as a friend of the students' more than an authoritative figure as a composition instructor. In sum, Laura's sharing her own experience with the class allows her to establish the bond or solidarity with her students. Furthermore, her easy-going attitude encourages her students to participate in and her interactive ways of teaching makes her students gradually get used to in-class discussions in a friendly environment, and both can be crucial factors to make it possible for the students to remain the way they are with or without her presence when English rather than their mother tongue is in use.

In brief, since the teacher is the only native speaker in the writing class, there is a great possibility that her style

of conversation serves as a model for the students to follow. As a result, not only the teacher's respectful attitude towards the interlocutors but also her conversation style of support and genuineness may implicitly shape the speech norm of this ESL classroom context.

Moreover, based on the description of the study context in Chapter Two, we may find that in addition to the teacher's conversational style, the students' social need of solidarity is another essential factor that determines the formation of the speech norm of this ESL classroom context. It is believed that solidarity can be building up through language use at each turn of talk. Whether the students construct a proper self image through language use to fulfill their peers' social needs and gain approval in return quite matters in this target social context. Thus, before we move on analyzing April's and Brent's language use, the communicative norm of this ESL classroom context could be summarized as follows.

1. Being respectful: The conversation should go turn by turn. Competition for the turn to talk, interruption, and overlap are considered rude and improper. Moreover, most of the class discussions focus on cultural issues; therefore, how to appropriately introduce the uniqueness of one's own culture and how

to avoid negative and judgmental comments on different cultures are equally important. If not, the careless remark can easily end up in quarrels as demonstrated in the following analysis.

2. Being supportive: It is the listener's responsibility to figure out what the speaker is saying, and it appears to be more polite to apologize first before asking for clarification because it is the listener's fault of being unable to get the speaker's points. In addition to "yeah," the backchannel cue used most frequently to show the listener's understanding, the students have some other strategies to satisfy the speaker's need of being understood, such as repetition of the key words to show surprise or curiosity, short response to the speaker to express their agreement (For example, "same here" or "same in my country"), and sometimes even exaggerative laughter. One Japanese girl whose English is not always comprehensible to communicate with others is prone to make use of her loud and high-pitched laughter to replace her verbal remark. By doing this, her embarrassment of not knowing how or what to respond to others seems to be removed. At the same

time, her laughter conveys her understanding of what the speaker is saying and successfully expresses how much she is entertained.

3. Moderate opinions on cultural issues: When the speaker is describing a cultural phenomenon or giving personal comments on culture-related issues, what should be avoided are extreme words, judgmental statements and overgeneralization. This is because everyone attending this class must have his/her own established world knowledge, which has been accumulated from their personal life experiences or accessible information sources, such as media or the internet. Dogmatism easily breeds argument or even objection.

4. Sharing personal opinions or experience: This is what the teacher encourages the students to do since it well fits her teaching philosophy that the students' world view can be broadened or reconstructed based on a diversity of opinions. Moreover, sharing is a way to establish mutuality and connectedness. It not only allows others to better understand the speaker, but it also invites others to understand his/her own unique culture from the speaker's perspective.

5. Taking the social identity as an Level Three students: Since the students are fully aware that their enrollment in IEP is to perfect their English, acting like a novice, such as asking questions properly, admitting difficulty accomplishing the assignment, or giving answers with hesitation, agrees well with the social identity as a member of the Level Three community. Solidarity can be enhanced, competition decreased, by doing these since a beginning language learner's frank response to admit his/her difficulty in understanding what the teacher is saying may help the teacher adjusts her teaching methods, and most importantly, it may also indirectly help some other confused students gain additional or supplementary explanation from the teacher.

To sum up, self-image constructed by one's linguistic patterns is believed to be the key element to determine how one is perceived and further affects his/her language socialization process into the target speech community. In this friendly and competition-free environment, the speech norms of interaction of this IEP social context described above outline and circumscribe how one should act or speak to construct proper identities in order to become better socialized into this target

speech community and ultimately gain the membership. In the subsequent section, based on the data gleaned from in-class observation, we are allowed a glimpse into the relations among language use, identity construction and the impact on one's popularity among the peers in the target speech community.

Language Socialization Process

What follows will separately focus on the participation in class discussion of two student participants, April and Brent. They were selected as focal students in this study not only because they turned out to be most consistent journal keepers but also because that the ultimate goal of their short-term visit in the US were identical, but unfortunately, their efforts were paid off in quite different ways. Basically, these two students have strong learning motivation since they tend to pay attention to and participate actively in class discussion by willingly sharing their viewpoints in class. Evaluated according to the instructor's criteria, both of them are "good students" for their active participation is a valuable contribution to the enrichment of class discussion. However, based on my observations, we can learn from the next excerpts that these two students construct their self images quite differently through their language use and, as a result, the

peers take different attitudes towards them. The peers' response can be an index to show if they are viewed as a qualified and welcome members in this speech community. In the following, I will respectively illustrate and discuss these two students' ways of language use in class discussion.

Participant One: April

Excerpt 1. The teacher invites the class to talk about how the thinking place is defined in their own culture. April points out men's and women's ways of thinking are supposed to be different even if they share the same cultural background. By carefully using quantifiers and adverbials, April successfully constructs her objectivity, which makes it easier to have her voice accepted and gain approval by the peers (see Table 3). The teacher mentions the differences in analogies of how people think from culture to culture. Then she asks the students from Saudi Arabia whether it is true or not that the Arabs think with the heart but feel with the bowel. After confirming this with the Arab students, the teacher goes on and asks Chinese speaking students where their thinking place may be. In turn 4, April replies that different genders have different ones. In turn 6, she starts her response with the adverbial "sometimes," which reduces her dogmatism and increases objectivity. Also, it minimizes in advance the magnitude of the impact on the male

Table 3. Excerpt 1.

1.Teacher	Bowel is down here in this digest area. Yeah yeah (skipped a part)….what about in China or Taiwan? Where is the thinking place? …in poetry. This is in poetry.
2.April	Where we thinking about family?
3.Teacher	Where is the thinking place, in your head or in your heart?
4.April	The thinking place. Men and women are different
5.Teacher	Different?
6.April	(giggling) Yeah sometimes different.
7.Teacher	OK April is going to teach us tell us the difference. Can you tell us the difference?
8.April	Sometimes the woman. The woman's thinking place are in our hearts.
9.Teacher	Ok.
10.April	I think so. Yeah. The most I mean the most of woman thinking from heart. Heart is the thinking place. But for man, sometimes not just heart. They have other place. Thinking place.
11.Peter	Yeah, the lower part.
12.Teacher	Oh ok ok I thought only my mother said that. I thought she made that up. Now it fits her philosophy. Ok ok. Let's move on. Ok ok. So women with emotions too, so your heart is not only for thinking but also it's for feeling.
13.April	Yes.

students for her next move is to charge them with their sexual impulse exceeding their reason. Moreover, in turn 8, her repetition of "sometimes" emphasizes that women only occasionally think with the heart. Further, she differentiates men's "sometimes" circumstance from women's. Her assumption can

be that "most of" the women, not "all", from time to time think with the heart, and the quantifier she uses again decreases the possibility of overgeneralization. As for men, she says men's thinking place is "sometimes not just heart," and then she laughs and hesitates to go on. She cleverly makes a vague conclusion that men have "other" thinking place. Interestingly, one male student completes the answer for April, pointing out "the lower part" in turn 9.

In this excerpt, we can see April's way of reasoning and her repeated use of adverbial "sometimes" and the quantifier "most", rather than "all", to maintain her objectivity and solidarity. Being objective is not only the admission that one's perspective is localized but also the preservation of room for voices of diversity, which makes April's voice more easily heard and ratified. In addition, her careful diction appears to have taken into consideration her audience or the aftermath of her account so that any possible argument can be precluded, and it also allows April to construct an identity as a moderate commentator and inhibited girl for she does not finish her talk in turn 10 but leave the room for the audience to infer the conclusion. April's incomplete comment frees her from the risk of irritating the male classmates, and it can be associated with her abashment to initiate this inappropriate subject in public.

Excerpt 2. The class is discussing the crime rate and what the main crime is in their hometown. This is the only discussion that April is found using judgmental words to criticize the police in Russia. However, her alignment with the unfairly-treated social group spurs her audience's sympathy, and more importantly, successfully gain her audience's consensus to her charge of the corruption of the Russian police (see Table 4).

In turns 1, 8 and 13, April said that "there are a lot of crime in Russia", and "if we have some problem we never call the police" and "they are the good guys but in Russia no," using the extreme words "a lot of," "never," and "no" to prepare the audience for her following impartial disclosure of the Russian police's corruption. In turn 9, the teacher repeats April's words "you never call the police", but recontextualizes it as a question. The teacher's recontextualization seems like an indirect tactic to urge April to re-examine her own account and ensure if it is exactly what she means. In turn 10, after April shaking her head to answer the teacher's question, the class consecutively asks "why." In turn 11, "yeah" confirms April's perspective. April further narrows down the particular social group of victims suffering from the police's dishonesty, saying "I mean foreign people" (she means the illegal Chinese immigrants that she met when she worked with the local police

Table 4. Excerpt 2.

1. April	Yeah crime. There are a lot of crime in Russia. Russia really with the foreign people. The police as not police, the police is
2. Peter	Bad guy? (laughter)
3.Teacher	Oh the police department is xxx
4. April	Yes.
5.Teacher	O:::h the policemen aren't honest.
6. April	Yeah they don't have, they don't have foreign people.
7.Teacher	O:::h
8. April	They just, if we have some problem, we never call the police.
9.Teacher	You never call the police?
10.Class	Why?
11. April	Yeah. I mean foreign people.
12.Teacher	O::h.
13. April	Of course, sometimes we probably they can help like a little thing. We need police to help us, maybe in America or in China or in other country. I mean crime depends the police. They are the good guys, but in Russia, NO.
14.Teacher	O:::that's interesting.
15. April	Yeah. (24)
	...
16. April	In Ru- in Mascow I had one experience u::m xxx I do some part time work like translate Chinese and Russian language. One time I work in um police, work with police. There are so many um illegal people illegally people live there and wor-work in Russia. So u::m I have to tri- I have to translate work because Chinese people who live there illegally. They can't speak Russian language, but the police they can't connect with them yeah so:: I go there, but you know, at that time I just thought the police they do right thing, but after the work, somebody told me. You know, they just want the money. You sit you go there you went there and you help them, they just xxx

	do xxx thing. Actually they just want the money.
17.Teacher	Yeah.
18. April	From illegally people.
19.Teacher	Yeah.
20. April	Because illegally pe- even they live illegally. But they have money. They have a lot of money.
21.Teacher	O:::h.
22. April	Yeah. So the police they know about this.
23.Teacher	O::h. That's so bad.

in Russia are the only victims). It is interesting to see that April identifies herself with this group from her switch in the pronoun use from "they (turn 6)" to "we (turn 8)", aligning herself with the Chinese illegal immigrants. In turn 13, she firstly agrees with the police's unquestionable dedication to controlling the crime rate and then takes some countries for example. This statement makes her stance not radical at all. She, just like everyone else, believes that the police are supposed to be good guys who uphold the world justice and order, and she does have the ability to distinguish "decent policemen" from "dishonest ones." Her one-worded comment "NO" on the Russian police and the pause prior to it accentuate her absoluteness. In turn 16, she says when she worked for the police as an interpreter in Russia, one of these illegal Chinese immigrants told her about the police's extortion from them. This

sad story further justifies her accusation of the Russian police's corruption as well as rationalizes her use of extreme and judgmental words. On the other hand, we can see the teacher's stances are gradually changing from her response in each turn. She is gradually being convinced by April, from doubt (turn 9) to "that's interesting (turn 14)", and finally showing her pity "that's so bad (turn 23)." With the endorsement of the teacher, April's violation of the speech norm, Moderate Opinions on Culture-Related Issues, is understandable and even forgiven.

From this excerpt, we may see April has been constructing herself as one of the sufferers of social injustice in Russia, appealing to her audience for empathy and understanding how unfavorable situation they are in more than simply criticizing the police. In addition, April's judgmental account does not yield a fierce argument not only because none of her target audience is from Russia and may feel offended but also because April condemns the Russian police's behaviors based on a humanitarian perspective, which is highly esteemed in human society. Her utterance clearly reveals her stance to uphold the very moral standard, and most importantly, it invites whoever appreciates value of humanitarianism but abominates bullying to be her alliance. By constructing a passive victim and aggressive critic of justice, April makes her criticism easier

to be ratified, and meanwhile, this is her way to gain solidarity and socialize into this speech community.

In the following two excerpts, Excerpt 3.1 and 3.2, we can see how April establishes her solidarity with her peers, Daphne and William, by supporting whatever they say without making any clarification for them. Before we take a close look at these two excerpts, the following brief introduction of Daphne and William might help the readers have a better understanding of their English conversational ability at that time. Daphne is a Korean undergraduate student in her junior year and her major is computer science. She seldom speaks in class discussion, but she always takes an active role participating in class/group discussion by attentively listening. Occasionally, she hardly makes herself understood because her English has a strong Korean accent. April and Daphne sit next to each other at all times in class, and even in recesses, they hang around together. April tends to come to Daphne's rescue when she and her interlocutors are struggling with meaning negotiation. As for William, he is from China. He mentions in the interview his preference for trying new words to make sentences in conversation. However, based on my observation, his creative combination does not make sense from time to time and even makes him seem rude, or awkward. Most of the time, when the teacher can barely understand his

way of joking or may be irritated by his digressive comments, she tends to seriously and directly ask for clarification by responding, "I don't understand" or "I don't get it." This kind of reply occurs rarely in class, but it happens to William relatively often.

When the speaker clarifies for others, basically, it indicates that the speaker thinks s/he is more linguistically competent and constructs his/her self-image as a superior. However, in the following two excerpts, we may find that April tends to play the role as an attentive hearer in the conversation, even if the interlocutors fail to fully express their meanings or make comprehensible output.

Excerpt 3.1. The students are discussing four pieces of music played. They are asked to write down their feelings and guess what culture is associated with the music. The fourth piece of music is a Korean song. As we may see, even though Daphne's response is unclear and fragmental when asked to share her viewpoints with the class, April has been constructing her identity as a supportive partner of Daphne's rather than a competitor to endorse Daphne's contribution and collaboratively fulfill the assigned task (see Table 5).

Daphne recognizes it in the middle of the music, saying "I see" in turn 6. After her private discussion with April in

Table 5. Excerpt 3.1.

1. Teacher	Xxx African singers and it is African music this album be um celebrate African rhythms, African music. So it was sort of that African and American combination. Ok. The fourth one.
2. Girl	Korea.
3. Teacher	Ok. Korea. Who know, how come you know that you know this man.
4. Girl	Not a word.
5. Teacher	Ok.
6. Daphne	U:::m I see.
7. Boys	U:::m (Boys imitates her abruptly high-pitched voice in a naughty way, and then the class burst into laughter.)
8. Teacher	Very popular. (Daphne and April are talking in Korean.)
9. Class	ENGlish.
10. Teacher	Yeah. Excuse me. How rude.
11. Daphne	She she knows. She knows her his name. Um but the first time.
12. April	Yeah the first time.
13. Teacher	Oh. A person you think you did not notice?
14. April	Yeah. I think it is.
15. Teacher	Beautiful singer. Beautiful. What's this song what is the word for the song?
16. April	Um..
17. Teacher	About what?
18. April	Love.
19. Teacher	Love.
20. Daphne	Freedom and love a::nd
21. April	Yeah.
22. Teacher	Ok. It's just beautiful without even knowing the word. You feel the emotion in that song, don't you?
23. Daphne	Yeah yeah yeah.

Korean, in turn 11, she says "She she knows. She knows her his name. Um but the first time," trying to explain that April heard something about this singer before but it is her first time to listen to his music. Daphne's comment is not clear enough that, in turn 13, the teacher needs to negotiate the meaning. From the question the teacher asks, apparently, she can not figure out what Daphne's and April's "first time" is for. However, even though Daphne fails to precisely express her idea, April still agrees with Daphne's statement by repeating her words "yeah the first time" in turn 12, without making further explanation. The possibility can be either that both of them know quite well what "the first time" refers to based on their private discussion in Korean, or that April tries to be supportive regardless of the fact that Daphne's comment is fragmented and unclear.

Later in turn 15, the teacher asks both of them, April and Daphne, to find a word to summarize what this Korean song is trying to communicate. In turn 16, we can see April is wavering in what to answer by her prolonged syllable "Um." Then, in turn 18, without knowing whether her answer is direct to the point, she gives the answer with a rising tone to show her uncertainty. The rising tone can be a way to enhance solidarity with the whole class because it associates April with the image of the novice in this musical field even though she is a Chinese-Korean

bilingual. Whether her answer is correct or not, her hesitation indicates that April's knowledge about the Korean music is as limited as her peers'. In turn 19, the teacher's repetition of April's answer "love" without any comment signals that April's answer is not satisfactory enough. This encourages Daphne to give it a try. In turn 20, Daphne says "freedom and love." She comes up with new information "freedom" and supports April's former contribution by mentioning "love" as well. Daphne's last "and" leaves her sentence unfinished, seemingly struggling to search for another word to perfectly convey the spirit of the song. But, in turn 21, April does not complete Daphne's sentence. Instead, she chooses to back up Daphne's idea of freedom, saying "yeah." In this excerpt, we can see how April and Daphne collaborate to answer the teacher's question, instead of competing to give an impressive answer. In brief, April's constantly constructing herself as a supporting role not only decreases the possibility to threaten Daphne's face in public but also increases Daphne's comfort level in sharing her thoughts in English especially when her contributions being approved, which well explains how April establishes solidarity with her peer, Daphne.

Excerpt 3.2. The class is talking about which foreign language is most interesting and popular to learn in their own

country. This time, William's answer stays on the right track, and April, again, plays a subordinate role to reinforce William's confidence to speak in front of the class, and most importantly, fortifies the bond with her peers within this speech community (see Table 6).

Table 6. Excerpt 3.2.

1.William	Actually in China. It's a long time ago. Um my my during time my grand father they like they they were learn the Russia.
2.April	Yeah so many.
3.Teacher	Yeah um they encourage the students to study Russian now.

William tries his best to express that several decades ago, in his grandfather's generation, there was a tendency to learn the Russian language in China. Although his statement is comprised of ungrammatical fragments, April still takes the listener's responsibility to figure out William's meaning and answers "yeah." Her "yeah" makes William's effort ratified. Besides, her further comment "so many" further establishes the credibility of William's opinion.

In brief, April shows her great respect and support to her classmates whose English communicative competence is not as good

as hers. Instead of clarifying their ideas for them, she prefers to be a responsible listener, trying her best to understand. What is worth mentioning is that "yeah" is frequently used among this speech community's members, the composition teacher included. The meaning of "yeah" can be that the listener concurs with the speaker's viewpoints to show his/her solidarity, and meanwhile, the listener's "yeah" meets the speaker's need of being understood since the speaker's English output is proven intelligible. As illustrated in Excerpts 3.1 and 3.2, April successfully constructs her identity as an attentive hearer, providing timely endorsement to the speakers' perspectives, which has been her way to show respect to the speakers and acknowledge their contributions to in-class discussion and gain solidarity in return.

The next two excerpts, Excerpts 4.1 and 4.2, demonstrate how April shows her interest in the content of her classmates' speech. As these excerpts show, the hearer's enthusiastic remarks, such as probing or giving positive personal comments on the speaker's speech content, may successfully invite the speaker to talk more. In Excerpt 4.1, the class is discussing if Disneyland were built in their own country, what day would be the busiest day in Disneyland. The reply of Mike and Henry, two of the Arabic speaking students, greatly arouses their

classmates' curiosity. April's enquiries and confirmation remarks seem to reflect her eagerness to receive more information from her Arab classmates. What is worth mentioning is that this time the teacher does not regulate the student's turn to talk at all. April and two of the Arabic speaking students, Mike and Henry, are acquiesced by the teacher to lead the direction of the class discussion. In fact, in this classroom context, Laura is basically the one who leads the class discussion and determines the topic shift. Instances when the students develop an interview-like conversation without the teacher's intervention rarely occurs based on my observation.

Excerpt 4.1. The culture of Saudi Arabia seems to be of interest to the Level Three students. April's eagerness to know more about this exotic culture by frequently asking Arab students questions is not only conducive to the enrichment of in-class discussion but also advantageous to her socializing with the peers (see Table 7).

The teacher asks the students from Saudi Arabia in turn 1. Mike answers Thursday. In turns 4 and 6, April asks why consecutively. Her revelation of her own feeling by commenting "very interesting" may help the Arab students feel less obligated to respond but more pleased to share their unique culture with someone who is fascinated by it. In turn 12, April's

Table 7. Excerpt 4.1.

1.Teacher	How about Saudi Arabia?
2.Mike	Thursday.
3.Teacher	Oh we really mess up.
4.April	Why?
5.Emily	Why why why?
6.April	Why Thursday? Very interesting?
7.Mike	Because weekend.
8.Henry	Weekend we have Thursday and Friday.
9.Mike	Thursday and Friday.
10.Teacher	O:::h sure Thursday is like Friday.
11.Henry	Yeah and Saturday and Sunday are work days.
12.April	Saturday and Sunday works day? (students make different sounds or laughter to show how incredible it is)
13.Henry	Workday yes.
14.April	Thursday and Fridays is?
15.Henry	Weekend yeah.
16.Class	O:::h (different tones of sounds to show their surprise)
17.Henry	Yeah.
18.Emily	U:::m?
19.Henry	Saturday is u::m
20.April	It's because of your religion?
21.Henry	Hum?
22.April	Because of your religion?
23.Mike	No because we are unique (the class laughed again).
24.Teacher	Very unique country.
25.Mike	No:: Because because of our religion yeah.
26.Teacher	Yeah.

repetition of what Henry has formerly said word by word implies

her careful attention to any new information they provide. In

addition of deliberate recontextualization, her use of rising

tone may also indicate her surprise and her need for

confirmation. In turn 14, after she synthesizes all the

information she has gleaned so far, April would like to confirm

again if the Saudi Arabians have two-day weekend as the majority

of cultures do because, according to Mike, Thursday is the only

one mentioned as the biggest day in Disney in Saudi Arabia. In

turn 15, Henry completes April's sentence and then says "yeah".

From the reaction of the class in turn 16, April has asked a

right and interesting question for the class. Her questions

effectively solicit more information for them and with them.

Encouraged by the previous successful experience, she continues

"interviewing" the Arab students, wondering if the difference

has something to do with their religion in turn 20. But this

time, she does not seem to get the answer she expects. Mike jokes

with his unexpected reply that "because we are unique" in turn

23. The class bursts into laughter since they might also perceive

Mike's naughty answer is quite contrary to April's serious

interview-like attitude. In this excerpt, we may see that April

is so fascinated with the culture of Saudi Arabia that she can

not stop but keep asking relevant questions like a curious child.

Excerpt 4.2. Henry is asked to share with the class the

joke written in his journal. April constructs herself as an

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attentive listener by using the back channel cue "yes" and the

ultimate reward "laughter" to support the joke teller (see Table

8).

Table 8. Excerpt 4.2.

1.Teacher	(laugh) Speaking of jokes. Somebody told a really good joke in the jour:::::nal. Henry.
2.Henry	Yeah.
3.Teacher	Why don't you tell us? It was great. I told them to my family one at a time.
4.Henry	U::m there is a. I saw for one month. I saw a man who stands up and he smoke two cigarettes two cigarettes. He hold two cigarettes and smoke it.
5.April	Yes.
6.Henry	Anda I ask him. Why you smoke two cigarette together. He said I I smoke one for me and one for my friend in the jail. (The class laughed. April's laughter was the loudest.) He he's in the jail. He can't smoke the cigarette. Ok. I said ok. And last week I saw my friend again. He smoke one cigarette just one cigarette. I said to him. Oh your friend go out from the jail? He said no but I quit. (Laura laughed out loud)
7.April	I quit?
8.Henry	Yeah he quit smoking
9.Daphne	A :::::::h (to show she got it and the class laughed out loud)

In this excerpt, we may see that April frequently uses "yes"

and laughter to enhance her solidarity with Henry. In turn 1,

the teacher starts the conversation about jokes and mentions one successful joke written in Henry's journal. In turn 3, Laura asks Henry to share it with the class. In the middle of the joke, in turn 5, April's "yes" demonstrates that she is a faithful and attentive listener. It also signals that she has gotten whatever Henry has just said so far and encourages him to continue. In this speech community, interestingly, "yes" is used by Arab students to show hearers' understanding of the messages speakers have conveyed and bolster up speakers' continuous turn to talk. Compared with the Arab students' "yes", eastern Asian students in this particular classroom context are prone to use interjection and low-key body language, such as smiling and nodding, to serve the same function. In this excerpt, April seemingly takes up this Arab habit at the right tempo. In turn 6, Henry continues his joke. The joke is interrupted by a burst of laughter, and April is the one who laughs most loudly. Laughter is believed to be the best reward for joke tellers. In turn 7, as soon as Henry finishes his joke, the teacher laughs in delight. April's repetition of the last two key words with a rising tone apparently reflects her confusion, missing the joke already. In brief, April's popularity among Level Three students can be that she is willing to pay full attention to the speaker and give timely response to show her involvement.

More importantly, her responses, such as backchannel cues and laughter, are not rigid or monotonous but participant- and situation-oriented in the conversation.

In the following three excerpts, Excerpt 5.1 through 5.3, we may have another picture of April's disposition and her trust in all the speech members by sharing her personal story and even expressing her disagreement with her classmate's opinion. Moreover, according to Kotthoff's (2003) discussion of irony, she concludes that the functions of teasing served in the context of casual conversation among close friends is a strategy to build up the bond and display harmony. In Excerpt 5.3, April's sense of humor, "teasing" more specifically, can be a good example.

Excerpt 5.1. The students are asked to interpret the saying "home is where my heart is." April volunteers to do it based on her personal experience. Her self-disclosure helps the teacher lead the in-class activity into an in-depth discussion and allows her peers to know her better (see Table 9).

April uses simple words and sentence structures to create a vivid picture of her life story and present her private thoughts. Basically, self-revelation-like statements seldom appear in class discussion. The possibility can be that the speakers might have the concern that how they might be perceived or even judged based on their statement as well as that to what

Table 9. Excerpt 5.1.

1.Teacher	Now Henry has a child and now your loyalty is locked here with your wife and child. It cha:nges, doesn't it? Yeah. Kind of interesting. So I this is a lot to do with "Home is where my heart is." And you yet have had this experience. So you can't you can't really say it.
2.April	Before I came Russia. I came Moscow. I live with my grandparents. I live with my grandparents. I have a little brother. But even grandparent grandparents also they are our family members. But I never. But um I haven't um uh I have ever think um there is my my family. My parents they live. um um abroad in at Moscow for a long time. They have lived there for a long time. So always um my heart with um with them. Yeah. So when I moved there there. Um Russia. Um ah starts a little bit xxx I think there is my family. Even Russia even Moscow is not my country but I think there is my family.
3.T	Wow that's a good example. Oh that's so far away from home. But um that's what family is and that's what your heart is. Beautiful. It gives me goosebumps.

extent they would like to disclose their private thoughts may depend on their comfort level in this environment. In other words, there is always a fine line between public talk and private talk for the speakers to come across out of their concern of self protection. But this time, April makes a breakthrough, and it is possibly because she considers the teacher and the peers to be close enough and, the friendly and supportive atmosphere makes her willing to share her story with the class.

Her self-revelation seems to be a way to invite mutual understanding and strengthens her interconnectedness with others. From the teacher's response in turn 3, we know that her frankness greatly moves the teacher, too. Besides, April constructs herself as a language learner by frequently using "um," "uh" or self correction. These strategies indicate that she needs time to organize her thought and search for the proper vocabulary to express her own idea, and this is what the majority of Level Three students tend to do. Her way of speaking English strongly identifies her with this social group.

As what we have known so far, April's language use has constantly constructed her as a non-aggressive but amiable and easygoing member in this speech community. However, it does not mean that April never has moments when she holds counter opinions to her peers'. When China's international image, in particular, is distained, she will stand up and defend her own country in a sagacious way without spoiling her relationship with her peers. In the subsequent excerpt, we are allowed to see how April manages the imminent threat when Mike states that his negative impression of China is hard to be reversed based on what he has heard so far.

Excerpt 5.2. This is the dialogue right after the conflict between the Chinese and the Taiwanese students. As we may see,

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April tries to use her own way of reasoning to assert China's

dignity without fermenting further arguments (see Table 10).

Table 10. Excerpt 5.2.

1.Mike	Laura, if you have time, just want to explain something. Like me know. um the honest. I get the bad information about the China. Like it's very crowded and some people to do something. I hardly changed my mind about the China.
2.Teacher	Well about xxx
3.April	In the world the most of the
4.Henry	Many countries
5.April	Of course we have different kind of people.
6.Henry	Yeah.
7.April	You can see me and Natalie and William. Do you think we are this kind of people?
8.Henry	Yeah. Absolutely xxx.
9.Teacher	Wow:: we see that's interesting.

The Arabic-speaking student, Mike, shares what he has heard

about the Chinese people and requests the teacher to allow

further discussion on this topic so as to help change his

understanding about China if she could arrange some time in

class. Without the context, Mike's request may sound provocative

and inappropriate at this moment of tension. But, based on my

observations that Mike likes having a casual conversation during

class breaks or hanging out on weekends with his classmates, his question may simply reflect his doubt about the reliability of those comments he has heard. Without making any accusatory comments, April shows her disagreement with Mike's proposal in a more reasonable way. Again, she uses her moderate way of reasoning to convince Mike. First of all, she comes up with a universal truth that "in the world (turn 3)…we have different kind of people (turn 5)." It is applicable to all societies, nothing to do with racial, cultural, or political boundaries. In fact, who we encounter in our travel journey affects our impression of that country. Therefore, those negative comments about China Mike has heard simply explain what "some Chinese people" have done does disappoint his friends. However, it is unfair to portray, or even smear, China according to their unsatisfactory experiences.

Secondly, instead of persuading the peers to look at the bright side of China, she urges Mike to reconsider and change his stereotype about China based on his experience of interaction with the Chinese students in IEP. April's statement not only displays her confidence in the benign interaction and relation between her Chinese peers and Mike but also indirectly admits that not all the Chinese people are well-educated and civilized enough to uphold the positive image of her country.

Again, how to reasonably present different viewpoints without offending others is a part of the speech norms formed within this speech community, and this is what makes April's argument tend to be more acceptable and less aggressive. Her moderate way of reasoning indeed plays a key role to reinforce her solidarity with her peers for she is the last one in class to stir any unpleasant argument to occur.

In addition to the former excerpts in which we may see April's cautious way of reasoning mitigating the impact of her subjective comments, April is able to use different method—teasing to reach same effect. She teases about the overpopulation problem in China, which means, firstly, she admits this fact, and secondly, this is not a taboo at all for she takes the initiative in mentioning this issue in front of the class. April is establishing her solidarity with her peers not by demonstrating her sense of humor only, but more importantly, by making it plausible if her peers associate her humor with her flexibility to discuss everything, positive or negative, about China with her.

Excerpt 5.3. The class is discussing what day would be the busiest day if Disneyland were built in their own country. April makes fun of the dense population of China and successfully gains consensus and laughter from her peers (see Table 11).

Table 11. Excerpt 5.3.

1.Teacher	Yeah. That's very interesting. Nobody would've guessed that. We just assume they are just same as in our own country. We don't know why Monday is their busiest day, but um that's a very interesting mistake. Yeah what would be the biggest day i:::n korea?
2.Daphne	I think is Friday or Saturday yeah
3.Teacher	And Japan?
4.Emily	Same
5.Teacher	Same? And china?
6.April	Everyday (the class burst into laughter, loudly again) because lots of people
7.Teacher	O::h yeah ha ha How about in Russia?
8.A	Saturday and Sunday

As mentioned earlier, in this IEP social context, eastern Asian students use backchannel cue "yes" much less frequently than the Arab students do. Moreover, teasing/ joking appears to a common tactic for Middle Eastern students only to gain solidarity with their peers. But here, this excerpt is a special one since it is about how April is teasing about her own country and amuses the class.

The teacher asks Korean and Japanese students first, one at a time, about what day the biggest day would be if Disneyland were built in their country. Then the teacher asks the Chinese

students same question without specifically naming one to answer. April quickly gives an unexpected answer "everyday" in turn 6, and her move successfully causes a burst of laughter in the classroom. She further explains that her saying so that it is because of the dense population in China. Finally, her explanation earns the teacher's laughter too. In brief, April makes best use of her wit and sense of humor to entertain the class, which further enhances the solidarity with her classmates. More importantly, the subject she teases about is a tangible and objective fact about her own country. Compared with her firm stance to defend against Mike's questioning in Excerpt 5.2, April's responsive attitudes seem to vary and be determined by whether the issues under discussion are based on a prejudiced accusation or a solid truth. Objective facts rather than nationalism can be her main concern.

To sum up, April's way of reasoning, attentive listening and self disclosure seems to easily establish the bond with all the members in Level Three. As for the interactional relations with Laura, it is apparent that April constantly constructs herself as a dedicated student actively participating in in-class discussion. Her willingness and openness to share with the class her thoughts or life experience are exactly what the teacher expects of the students. Specifically, April's

contribution to enrich the class discussion not only benefits the class to broaden or reconstruct their world view but also invites the community's members to know her more and helps the teacher successfully guide and host the in-class activities. As for solidarity with her peers, April's communicative patterns play an important role that enables her to build up her social networking and earn popularity among Level Three students. We may find her language use highly corresponds to the speech norms discussed earlier, which are shaped by the instructor's conversational style and the peers' social needs as well. According to the previous excerpts, April tends to construct herself as a supportive and accommodating audience, taking the hearer's responsibility to understand whatever her peers say and ratify their contributions to heighten their comfort and confidence level in speaking English. Based on my observations, she seldom rephrases for the speakers even when their linguistic output is unclear or confusing. In addition, as a multi-language learner and a student majoring in Russian, she admits in the interview that she has an interest in studying language acquisition process and knows better how a language learner feels and what difficulty a language learner may encounter. It could be her sensitivity to language learners' need that enables her to constantly construct an attentive and responsible

listener to enhance her interlocutors' confidence in speaking English. All these may explain her status and popularity, which serves as an index to show how well April is socialized into the target speech community through her language use.

Participant 2: Brent

Brent is the other focal student in this current study. Before enrolling in IEP, he used to work as a computer program designer in an international computer company. His former experience of interacting with his English-speaking counterparts in the job arena may to some extent influence his current linguistic patterns. As shown in the following excerpts, we may see how his language use differs from April's, which seems to cause direct impact on his social networking and as well distorts his self image.

Excerpt 6. The teacher starts talking about Morse code. Brent used to be an experienced Morse code receiver when he served in the army, while the teacher is the novice in this field. Some of Brent's remarks may be considered inappropriate for they countered the ethics in the Asian culture (see Table 12).

The teacher directly asks Brent what he knows about Morse code. In turns 4, 6, and 10, he shares with the class his experience of radio operation, such as how he uses it and how well he can do. In turn 12, he admits that it is very difficult

Table 12. Excerpt 6.

1. Teacher	I think it is terrific. It's good. How many of you know what Morse code is? (the class remains silent for a while) Morse code.
2. Peter	Yeah. I know that da-da-da-da-da
3. Teacher	Yeah yeah yeah Have you learned it? Ever studied it? What do you know about it, Brent?
4. Brent	Hum in the army. We we um in the army we we learned this.
5. Teacher	Did you learn Morse code in the army? How fast can you how fast you can detect it?
6. Brent	Fifty or sixty a minute. But my friend can listen one hundred or maybe one hundred twenty
7. Teacher	Wow.
8. Brent	Amazing.
9. Teacher	That's incredible Brent has an incredible talent right here. Sixty words a minute?
10. Brent	Yeah. But we we only listen. We can not type. Just listen to Morse code and learn about it.
11. Teacher	It is just like learning a foreign language.
12. Brent	Yeah. It is very difficult.
13. Teacher	Yeah. Very hard. I studied it for to get my radio license. And the test I had to take 10 words a minute.
14. Brent	(Laughter)
15. Teacher	Don't laugh.
16. Brent	There are some is very long da::: da da
17. Teacher	Yeah. No no yeah very long. What am I what am I doing da da da da: da: da: da da da what is that?
18. Brent	I forgot.
19. Class	(Laughters)
20. Teacher	Did you do it in English letters?
21. Brent	I retire from army for two years, so I forgot.
22. Peter	S-O-S
23. Teacher	How did you know? Yes, SOS. If you are ever in trouble, you're

	stuck somewhere and yeah. Three shorts da-da-da is S three long da:-da:-da: is·O.
24.Brent	Too short… too short
25.Teacher	You know what SOS means?
26.Class	(discuss this in low voice in their first languages)
27.Teacher	S-O-S I am in trouble. Help. So you can do this (Knock on the blackboard) then someone knows you are in trouble.

to learn, which well echoes the teacher's comment that "it is just like learning a foreign language." To spur the students' interest in Morse code, the teacher further shares her own experience that she has studied Morse code for her radio license. According to her, sending and receiving at a rate of 10 words per minute is the basic requirement for passing the test. Brent gives no further comments on this but laughs out loud instead in turn 14, which makes the teacher swiftly respond "don't laugh" in turn 15. However, in this multi-cultural classroom context, it may be interpreted as an improper move not only because that there is a huge gap indeed between 10 words per minute and Brent's achievement of 60 words per minute, but also because East Asian students are prone to consider the teacher an authority figure. Authority is not allowed to be trespassed on. A well-known Chinese saying "一日爲師，終身爲父" (Yi Ri Wei Shi Zhong Shen Wei Fu), originating from 史記 (Shi Ji), one of the ancient Chinese

literary canons, may allow us a glimpse of the Chinese social structure. It literally means even if someone teaches you for only one day, s/he should be respected and regarded like your father for the rest of your life. In such a society where filial piety is highly valued, it is not hard to understand how the teacher's social status is defined. This can also be found in East Asian countries, where their culture is to some intent influenced or shaped by Confucianism.

Later on in turn 16, Brent recalls and mentions that there are some signals with pretty long "da" sound. When the teacher tests him with a basic but vital set of signals, to everybody's surprise, in turn 18, Brent fails to figure it out but gives a short quick response "I forgot" instead. This falls short of the class's expectation since, in his earlier turns of talk, Brent sounds quite confident and familiar with the radio system. The class burst into laughter in turn 19. The peer's laughter may result from the unexpectedness that Brent's expert image appears to be too fragile and easily destroyed. To reverse his unfavorable situation, Brent tries to correct the teacher's demonstration by hastily repeating "too short, too short" in turn 24. He appears to be competitive for he would like to maintain his higher status as an expert by correcting the rookie. In brief, we may see how Brent positions himself as an expert

who can challenge the authority of the teacher. His laughter and correction can be considered improper because his competition for the superior status as an expert with the authoritative figure, which can be a taboo if the majority of the Asian students project the classroom manners defined by the Asian culture upon this social setting.

The following two excerpts illustrate Brent's interaction with the Korean female student, Daphne, in dyad discussion. Different from the last excerpt, Brent plays a relatively active role to manage the conversation flow. However, from time to time, his tendency to dominate the conversation and even to determine who his interlocutors should be may to some degree violate the speech norm, to be supportive, of this classroom context. In addition, his tendency to take the speaker's responsibility constructs him as an overconfident rather than humble language learner.

Excerpt 7.1. Brent and Daphne, a Korean female student, are assigned to discuss the meaning of the proverb "Honesty is the best policy" in the dyad. Brent's response "yeah" in each turn not only indicates his agreement with Daphne's contribution but also constructs himself as an attentive listener. Soon after the ratification "yeah," Brent further brings in his supplementary interpretation with a rising tone to invite

Daphne's confirmation. This excerpt well illustrates Brent has

knowledge of how to keep the conversation flow, and as well,

how to play a role as a respectful and collaborative interlocutor

except his careless behavior in the end (see Table 13).

Table 13. Excerpt 7.1.

1.Brent	Honesty is the best policy.
2.Daphne	I think honest is best. It's good. It's good.
3.Brent	Yeah yeah yeah.
4.Daphne	It's good way.
5.Brent	Yeah. You tell truth is the, is best policy.
6.Daphne	Yeah yeah yeah.
7.Brent	Yeah. It's mean. If you tell the truth, you will out of trouble? Matimatically?
8.Daphne	I think I I tooking u::h honest honest xxx it is a best best way yeah
9.Brent	April I told you honest is the best policy. I told you yesterday is true.

Brent is reading out loud the proverb "honesty is the best

policy" to signal that he is ready for the discussion and starts

brainstorming how to interpret it. In turn 2, his partner,

Daphne, comes up with her own version of interpretation first.

Even though Daphne's interpretation sounds like a paraphrase

more than a real contribution to their assigned task, Brent uses

the common short answer— yeah, to show his agreement with Daphne in turn 3. With Brent's support, she continues in turn 4. Once again, Brent uses "yeah" in turn 5 to ratify Daphne's further effort and then he associates honesty with truth. Moreover, in turn 7, Brent explains "best policy" in an uncertain manner for he ends up his sentence with the rising tone. As discussed earlier, it indicates there is still room for further negotiation because the speaker's opinion is not absolute at all. So far, Brent has constructed himself as a cooperative and supportive partner to establish solidarity with Daphne. However, there is an abrupt transition in turn 9. Without noticing Daphne, Brent starts talking to April, and his eye contact with April totally excludes his partner. The switch of interlocutors indirectly ends the conversation between he and Daphne, and in addition, this one-way closure may reflect Brent's assurance that his contributions in turns 5 and 7 are enough to define the assigned proverb. Brent's careless movement to exclude Daphne may easily associate him with a rude interlocutor, unless he can be thoughtful enough to briefly explain to Daphne why he says so to April and make Daphne feel she is respected. In the subsequent excerpt, Brent is found to keep violating the speech norm when he fails to take into consideration Daphne's responses in each turn but focuses on

his own verbal expression instead, which forms a one-way communication.

Excerpt 7.2. After agreeing on the definition of the assigned proverb, the students working in dyad have to think of a proverb in their own culture and share it with their partners. In this excerpt, it is quite apparent that, compared with Daphne's struggle of meaning negotiation, Brent appears to be less communicative for he fails to negotiate the meaning with Daphne at the moment when her utterance is unclear and confusing. Furthermore, he keeps rephrasing his ideas without realizing that Daphne has captured them already (see Table 14).

After Brent's conversation with April finishes, he talks to Daphne again. He shares with Daphne one Chinese idiom. This time, they are supposed to move on to the second task to exchange proverbs in their cultures since there is not much time left for them. Therefore, in turn 2, Daphne asks Brent if this idiom he currently refers to has the same meaning as the one assigned by the teacher. She is trying to figure out where they are. In turn 3, Brent says no and explains it is the one he used to tease April yesterday. Later, he explains the proverb to Daphne in turn 3 and 5. Basically, in Brent's explanation, he replaces the verb "eat" with "know" and names some school subjects to give examples. In turn 6, Daphne uses an interjection "U:::m"

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Table 14. Excerpt 7.2.

1.Brent	I have my idiom from my country "you want to eat everything but everything you just eat a little."
2.Daphne	The same the same meaning?
3.Brent	No no no. The same I talk talk to April. You want to eat everything. But everything you just eat a little. It it also can can mean you you know about maybe you know history, you know computer, you know business.
4.Daphne	Yeah yeah yeah.
5.Brent	But everything you just know a little.
6.Daphne	U::m it's your your country:::?
7.Brent	Yeah yeah yesterday I just told April I I I feel.
8.Daphne	(laugh)
9.Brent	He know about four language, but not not one language he she maybe maybe focus.
10.Daphne	Oh oh. For she speak Korean language. All all the same.
11.Brent	Yeah. But yeah. But you know too much. But not not not every
12.Daphne	But not best.
13.Brent	You just know. You you you know you can not know a lot of (laugh again)
14.Daphne	So she she was angry (burst into laughter).
	...

to show her confusion and hesitation. Moreover, her full statement "U::m it's your your country" reflects that she tries to associate this Chinese proverb with the one that Brent is supposed to exchange to fulfill their second task, a way to confirm if she is on the right track. In turn 7 and 9, Brent tells Daphne what he told April yesterday. Daphne's response

in turn 10 is obviously unclear for her interlocutor to figure out her meaning. However, in turn 11, without asking Daphne to clarify her previous speech content or making sure if Daphne has already gotten his idea, Brent restates the proverb's meaning, searching for the right words to complete his sentence. Daphne's "Not the best" in turn 12, perfectly fitting Brent's idiom, reveals her comprehension of Brent's contribution. However, in turn 13, Brent fails to ratify Daphne's comment but finishes the proverb's definition in his own words. By further associating Brent's application of this Chinese proverb with April's anger in turn 14, Daphne not only shows her support and agreement with Brent about the proverb he has referred to but also manifests she has absolutely no difficulty understanding its meaning.

From this excerpt, it may reflect Brent's lack of socialization because he interacts with his classmates in English indeed, but it seems that Brent rarely uses the English language to establish rapport with others or maintain solidarity more than to convey his ideas. As we can see, Brent dominates the conversation in this excerpt with all attempts to clarify his idea for Daphne, but obviously, he seemingly keeps missing right timing to response based on his interlocutor's replies. Firstly, after Daphne tries to confirm if the ongoing

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conversation is relevant to the assigned task in turns 2 and 4, Brent fails to make topic shift and re-directs the discussion back on track to fulfill their assignment to show his solidarity with Daphne. Secondly, he fails to do meaning negotiation (turns 3 and 11) to construct himself as an attentive interlocutor, showing his interest in Daphne's feedback and invites her to clarify. Thirdly, he fails to realize Daphne has already figured out his point in turn 12 or even earlier but keeps rephrasing in turn 13. This makes Brent lose an opportunity to ratify his interlocutor's contribution to enhance Daphne's confidence in speaking English and maintain solidarity. Compared with Daphne's efforts of doing meaning negotiation (turns 2 and 6), completing Brent's sentence with the exactly right words to show her comprehension (turn 12), and ratifying Brent's talk with association of his teasing with April's anger (turn 14), Brent focuses on expressing his own idea so exceedingly that he becomes less sensitive to his interlocutor's social need to be ratified (turn 10) and even stifles the possibility of topic shift. His over paraphrase is likely to be misinterpreted and constructs him an overconfident rather than humble language learner since the disproportionate amount of talk may display the asymmetry of power relationship. More importantly, this excerpt may indicate that Brent is less communicatively competent than

Daphne for his role as a speaker overweighs his role as a listener, which can be the key factor that leads to his involuntary violation of the speech norms and remains at periphery in this speech community.

Compared with Brent's identity construction, Daphne's is worth mentioning here for it not only clarifies but also provides us a better understanding of the close connection with identity construction and language socialization process. It can be doubtful if we conclude that the one who abides by the speech norm is communicatively competent enough to negotiate status in conversations when we further closely examine the Excerpts 7.1 through 7.2. As described earlier, Brent's preference of taking the initiative in conversation and taking the speaker's responsibility make Daphne passively designated as a listener only. Her listener's responsibility and her compliance with the speech norm seem to further enfeeble her to negotiate the status with Brent. Specifically speaking, despite her popularity or the fact that she is better regarded by her classmates, Daphne plays the subordinate role in her conversation with Brent, i.e. she is not the one who controls topic shift and interlocutors or initiates the conversation. Thus, I would like to conclude that the concurrent status in relation among interlocutors formed in the ongoing conversation may not correspond to one's

popularity or to what degree one's socialized into the speech. norm in this particular speech community! It is likely that Daphne's primary concern is seeking solidarity or maintaining harmonious relation with others; as a result, she is more flexible to the status she is positioned with fewer attempts to reverse her inferior situation. On the other hand, she might take her social identity as a novice in this ESL context since her accented English is incomprehensible sometimes, so she tends to be the one who adapts herself more actively to language use of her interlocutors, which further incrementally benefits her LS process.

In the next two excerpts, Brent's ways of using adjacency pair and of raising questions in class may also influence how he constructs his self image.

Excerpt 8.1. Before the class starts, Brent shares his good news with the class since he has just passed his behind-the-wheel test and gotten his driving license. When the teacher walks inside the classroom, Brent starts the conversation with the teacher by asking her questions about the driving examiner's written comment (see Table 15).

Brent uses declarative sentences without rising tone to ask.for the teacher's favor. His way of expression sounds less polite because it is not the way the majority of students do

Table 15. Excerpt 8.1.

1.Brent	I have a question about she she write down. I don't know it's good or bad.
2.Daphne	Xxx what is it?
3.Emily	What is it? What what what do you like x?
4.Brent	It's my fail (file). It's it's good.
5.Daphne	Really?
6.Brent	It's good. The mostly. it's good.
7.Daphne	Driver's test.
8.April	Oh he can does.
9.Teacher	The way the way she writes. Um she's saying brake smoothly. She's telling you to brake smoothly, will you? So I don't know use mirror, check rear often, that might be advice.
10.Brent	Yeah I know.
11.Teacher	Yeah.
	...

in class, especially when the subject they request for help is their teacher. In addition, when two of the female students ask him about his score sheet, which he has handed in to the teacher, Brent answers "it's my fail (file) it's it's good" in turn 4. Daphne's "Really" with a rising tone in the next turn shows her surprise in response to Brent's good news. Apparently, Brent may misinterpret Daphne's "Really" as a question, so he answers to make an adjacency pair, repeating "it's good. The mostly. It's good" in turn 6. However, it is barely proper or considerate for Brent to brag how well he has done on the driving test since

there are still some other male students struggling with it. From the East Asians' perspective, Brent's repetition of his achievement should be avoided; otherwise, he is likely to be perceived as an immodest person. In Chinese culture, modesty is one of the values that are highly emphasized. For instance, "滿招損, 謙受益" (man zhao sun, cian shou yi), which means one will benefit from his modesty but suffer from overconfidence.

In turn 9, the teacher uses the tag question and hedge "that might be advice" to interpret the examiner's comment for him. Instead of saying "Thank you" as an adjacency pair in reply to Laura's assistance, Brent says "yeah I know" in turn 10, and this makes him sound impolite. There could be two possibilities to explain this. One is that "yeah I know" can be a chunk only, Brent's personalized language use. The other can be simply a translation problem. It can be an unintentional mistake made by language learners, especially in face-to-face conversations, since they may fail to preclude the influence of their first language as well as monitor their use of the target language at the same time. As a Chinese speaker, Brent's "yeah I know" in its Chinese equivalents may not mean to be rude for the Chinese phrase "我知道" (wo zhi dao) has dual meanings, "I know" and "I see", but Chinese speakers can distinguish its meanings by the tones that are used. In turn 10, "I see" can be the real

answer that Brent wants to say. He may hope the teacher to understand that he has had a better understanding because of the teacher's explanation, without any intention of offense. In this excerpt, Brent's way of using adjacency pairs may mistakenly constructs him as a rude and arrogant person.

Excerpt 8.2. Brent raises a question in class, but he fails to realize the teacher's use of hedge has had his question answered and shows her uncertainty; as a result, his repeated question afterwards not only reveals the weakness of his listening comprehension but also influences how his self image may be perceived (see Table 16).

In turn 6, Brent uses "I have a question" to draw the teacher and the class's attention. Then he uses the sentence pattern as "declarative sentence + or not" to raise his question. In turn 7, the teacher gives him a straight answer "I don't know," admitting that she does not have any information about the current running of these two overseas amusement parks. Her straight answer is clear enough to show the teacher's stance. In case her opinion may mislead her students, the teacher uses a lot of hedges to show her uncertainty, such as "I would imagine," "that would be," and "my guess." She frankly shares her assumptions with the class since Brent's question is highly related to the theme under discussion in the current chapter

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Table 16. Excerpt 8.2.

1. Teacher	Ok. Did everyone read the Disney um problems yesterday?
2. Girls	Yes yes.
3. Teacher	Very interesting, isn't it?
4. Class	Yes.
5. Teacher	You didn't think Brent would think so.
6. Brent	Yeah I have a question. When Disney to the Tokyo, have the same problem or not?
7. Teacher	I don't know. U::h I'm wondering the same thing. U::m I would imagine. Yes. That would be my guess, if that's it is, but I don't know, it would be very interesting to find out.
8. Brent	Tokyo has a Disney, hong kong has a Disney, Paris has a Disney, I think have the same problem or not.
9. Teacher	I would think that no. Didn't wasn't Tokyo built before Paris?
10. Brent	Yes.
11. Teacher	So they would have, I think, they must have had a problem in Tokyo or they didn't. They could be that. Because Japanese people are so accommodating. They're so kind, so nice that maybe whatever problems might have been there, and the Japanese people say it is ok it's ok because they do that very polite, whereas in France they are more u::m this is our way. So did you see what I mean? So maybe there weren't any problems in Tokyo, and so, they didn't expect any problems in France, because Tokyo was so nice to them. What do you think?
12. Emily	U::m I think it it Japanese people a::re polite polite.
13. Teacher	Yeah.

that cultural differences should be taken into consideration in order to successfully run an international business. The teacher repeats that she does not have any idea and all she said

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is merely based on her assumption. But in turn 8, without recognizing the teacher's purpose of using hedges, Brent asks the same question again.

This awkward situation may reflect Brent's limited comprehension of the teacher's reply. What makes it worse is that, as mentioned earlier in Chapter Two, meaning negation seems to rarely occur in this social context, and this may result in Brent's low frequency or failure to ask clarification questions at the right time. Instead of negotiating meaning with his teacher, Brent's repeated question is likely to have a direct impact on how his self image is constructed. He may not mean to be pushy but he acts pushy. More importantly, not knowing how and when to ask for clarification and frankly admit his confusion may obstruct Brent himself from opportunities to establish solidarity with his peers by constructing himself as a novice to learn humbly.

To sum up, Brent's violation of the speech norms, to be respectful and to request for meaning negotiation as a humble novice student, probably ends up with the stagnation of his language socialization process for Brent's violation may suggest his failure to observe the experts' linguistic patterns, such as Laura's, or the social practices of the speech community, and also his failure to associate the impact of language use

with his popularity among the peers. It is likely that, without the direct corrective feedback from the teacher or his peers, Brent may have difficulty making efforts in the way that the speech community appreciates and accepts to fit in.

What follows are two excerpts showing Brent's way of commenting on cultural issues can be problematic for his utterance does not make his viewpoints ratified and even breeds conflicts sometimes, positioning him in a difficult situation. Excerpt 9. The teacher is asking the class about their dietary habits in their country. Brent's extreme case formulation turns out to be an offensive comment since his statement is not only counter to a well-accepted fact, but it also devaluates 青岛 (Qingdao) Beer, the specialty of the hometown which Brent's Chinese classmates come from (see Table 17).

When the teacher asks the class what they mostly drink in daily life, the male Chinese student, William, answers quickly "beer". His unexpected but witty answer makes some of his classmates laugh. However, in turn 2, Brent does not appear to be affected by William's amusing reply. Instead, he simply says "tea" in reply to the teacher's question. Apparently, the teacher is seemingly more interested in William's response, asking "Beer? Who says beer? William?" In turn 5, Brent changes his focus and shows his solidarity with the teacher by expressing

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Table 17. Excerpt 9.

1.Teacher	What do you what is the drink in your country that everybody mostly drinks?
2.William	Beer.
3.Brent	Tea.
4.Teacher	Beer? Who says beer? William?
5.Brent	Wow (the classroom erupted laughter)
6.William	Yeah. In my home town.
7.Peter	Yah because because
8.Brent	Very very cheap
9.Peter	Very very famous
10.Brent	Very very cheap. Cheaper than water
11.Daphne	Not cheap not cheap.
12.William	It's NOT. It's NOT CHEAP. It's very famous.
13.Peter & Daphne	Famous … (52:44)
14.Teacher	Brent just said beer is cheaper than water.
15.William	No no no.
16.Brent	Because I I I to the 廣州(Guang Zhou), I to the 廣州(Guagn Zhou), anda:: and Macho. Because Macho maybe one gallon water, maybe three three us dollar. But when you buy the beer, maybe one One dollar.
17.Teacher	One dollar?
18.Natalie	You're joking hum?
19.Brent	So we drink beer.
20.Teacher	Really. Drink beer?
21.Brent	Yeah. Because wa-water is too too expensive. Beer is cheap.

how surprised he also feels, shouting "wow." Laughter erupts

in the classroom. The beer William refers to is named after the

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city, 青島(Qingdao), where William and Natalie are from, and which is reputed worldwide for its beer, but obviously, it is unlikely that the residents there live on beer. In turn 6, William assures the teacher that he is serious about the popularity of beer, saying "yeah, in my home town" with pride. In turn 7, Peter tries to explain to the teacher why William says so. But in turn 8, Brent takes over Peter's turn and completes Peter's sentence, saying "very very cheap." But next, Peter corrects him with recontextualization, saying "very very famous." Peter's comment is based on the fact that the selling of Qingdao beer is successful overseas, and some of the students point out later in class the beer is of availability even in some American supermarkets. But in turn 10, Brent tries to compete with Peter, repeating "very very cheap," and emphasizes his points by adding "cheaper than water." In turn 12, we can see that William seriously objects to what Brent has said, emphasizing "it's NOT. It's NOT CHEAP. It's very famous." William's disagreement is supported and endorsed by Peter and Daphne.

After the anecdote, the teacher shares with the class that she is from the place that is well known for its apple cider. Later in turn 14, she brings back the beer issue to figure out the truth. William responds "no no no" to show his strong denial

of Brent's comment. In turn 16, Brent does not compromise, even though his comment is rejected earlier by a few of his classmates. To strengthen his credibility, Brent shares his personal experience in two southern cities in China to support his comment on the low price of the beer. The teacher repeats "one dollar" with a rising tone. In turn 18, Natalie uses an ironic tone to show her disagreement and unpleasant mood, saying "you're joking hum," the interjection "hum" coming with a falling tone. However, neither William's nor Natalie's objection changes Brent's mind, and he continues on. Based on what he has said previously "beer is cheaper than water," he explains "so we drink beer" in turn 18. In turn 20, the teacher also shows her doubt and concern how possible it can be for a human being to replace water with beer to maintain daily vitality. But still, Brent insists on his points. This time, he rephrases by emphasizing the expense of the water there with double adverbials "too too" rather than focusing on the cheapness of the beer.

In Excerpt 9, we may see that Brent fights to the end regardless of losing allies to bolster his very first astonishing judgmental comment that Qingdao beer is very cheap and it is cheaper than water. Here Brent appears to trespass against the speech norms of this speech community, Be Respectful

and Moderate Opinions on Cultural Issues, despite the fact that Brent manages to persuade the class and reverse his abashing and difficult situation afterwards by using his personal experience in Guang Zhou. However, his efforts seem futile. For customers in general tend to associate "being cheap" with "low quality." If we apply this concept to analyze Brent's comment, we may find Brent's blunder lies in his challenge of what people from Qingdao are most proud of and his non-factual accusation of Qingdao Beer's low quality. Inevitably, Brent's comment hurts William and Natalie's pride and provokes them to defend in return because both of them are from Qingdao. This explains why Brent's comment is considered disrespectful. Moreover, that Qingdao Beer has its worldwide reputation is a solid truth, which not only endorses its fine quality but also counters Brent's biased and localized remark. Therefore, in this excerpt, we may see how Brent is isolated due to his violation of the speech norm of giving moderate comments on cultural issues and identity construction as a rude commentator.

In brief, Brent's personal experience can be true; however, the timing for him to bring it up in class is definitely inappropriate, and he may not realize that his comment can be interpreted as an insult or attack and further complicate his building up social relationship with others. From this excerpt,

we know that Brent is seeking his classmates' approval of his perspective indeed, but ironically, his underestimation of language power seems to make his socialization process way more difficult.

In brief, the speaker's word choice, deliberately or carelessly, may result in misunderstanding, conveying the wrong information, and constructing a wrongly-perceived or false self image. Brent's violation of the speech norm may to some extent directly affect his interpersonal relationship. Predictably, conflicts do occur eventually between Brent and his classmates in the following excerpt.

Excerpt 10. Brent's conclusive comment "China is terrible" ferments trouble in this multi-cultural social context. His inappropriate speech induces William's pungent confrontation (see Table 18).

In turn one, Brent murmurs to Peter that China is terrible and later these two Taiwanese students' giggle draws the teacher's attention. Then the teacher repeats what she has heard "Chinese is terrible?" in turn 3. Brent says "yes" without any further explanation. In turn 6, William's anger is ignited and he questions Brent "are you Chinese" in a serious manner. Then the fight breaks out. In the following conversation, we can see that the teacher does not make any comment and lets the students

Table 18. Excerpt 10.

1.Brent	China is terrible.
2.Peter	(laughed loud)
3.Teacher	Chinese is terrible?
4.Brent	Yes.
5.Natalie	Um (attempt to speak up)?
6.William	Are you Chinese?
7.Brent	But I, when I to the china, like they tell me. You need useless in your pack. Don't put
8.Natalie	No, I don't think so.
9.William	No no no.
10.Brent	In xxx
11.Mary	No no no no no. Every city you must carry you bag like this.
12.William	You Chinese? Are you Chinese?
13.Teacher	Ok.
14.Natalie	No. Some said I am not.
15.Brent	Because I Ever been the 廣州(Guang Zhou).
16.Mary	No no no. You take a uh subway subway subway. You must.
17.William	I have stay in China 17 years.
18.Brent	Different area.
19.Mary	Like a, like a, when I was in the San Francisco I put the my backpack. I know someone put the hand in my backpack, but I am scare. I can not. I know he touch I backpack.
20.Emily	O:::h my god.
21.Natalie	San Francisco?
22.Teacher	That's what your elbow is for.

handle the controversy by themselves. Brent tries to use his personal experience in China to explain, the same strategy as he deals with the "beer" event. He points out that this is what

he was advised before traveling in China in turn 7. In other words, his statement indicates that there are still "others" out there who have been the victims of theft and this is why he concludes that Chinese is terrible. The experience of these sufferers is the best endorsement. But obviously, his explanation is not enough to persuade or alleviate the Chinese student's anger. In turns 8 and 9, these two Chinese students express their strong disagreement. In turn 10, Mary interrupts Brent. (Mary, a Taiwanese girl, told me after class that she thought Brent's way of making comments is inappropriate.) Mary makes a general statement that pickpocket takes place not only in the Chinese cities but also in all other cities in the world and the better way to protect personal belongings is to carry backpacks as the way Brent has previously illustrated. However, Mary's effort fails to avert the class's focus on this pungent issue that Brent has started. In turn 12, William repeatedly challenges Brent "you Chinese? Are you Chinese?" (William's purpose was later confirmed since he thought Brent was not born or brought up in China, so he was the last person who had the right to criticize the Chinese people.) In turn 13, the teacher's "OK" tries to retrieve her turn at talk, but it seems hard for the Chinese students to let go. Natalie tries to say something in turn 14 but her output appears unidentifiable. Brent, in turn

15, continues his defense with his travel experience in southern China. In turn 17, with an manifest intention to argue against Brent's comment, William says that he used to live in China for 17 years (so he knows Chinese people much better than Brent does) and it is much longer than Brent's short stay in China. Brent responds "different area" in turn 18. The conflict seems to be successfully suppressed at last in turn 19 when Mary starts sharing with the class her unpleasant travel experience in San Francisco in details.

If we may compare Brent's and Mary's ways of reasoning to examine why Mary's description of her bad experience in San Francisco does not irritate the teacher, an American, but instead, earns her empathy and support, stating "[t]hat is what is your elbow is for." In the very beginning, Mary suggests that it would be safer for travelers to carry their backpacks in the front wherever they go since there is always possibility for theft and pickpockets to occur in every city, not merely in Guang Zhou but any other places if you can name it. This introduction prepares the audience for her subsequent story, minimizing its negative impact ahead of time on the audience's impression on San Francisco and maximizing its acceptability by the class. In addition, she takes a role as a backpacker and member of Level 3 class to share her experience and advise the class how to take

care of their belongings on their journey. This is Mary's way to help Brent get out of trouble and gain solidarity with the class. Unlike Mary's reasoning, Brent criticizes China first and further responds with an affirmative answer to the teacher's confirmation check. His accusation-like statement constructs him as a rude commentator again and makes his further efforts doomed to failure. Without taking the audience into concern, or without realizing his identity as a member of Level 3 class, Brent's inappropriate comment infuriates his peers, which not only reflects his lack of socialization but also predicts impediment of his future LS process because his utterance may possibly undermine the established rapport with his peers.

From the incidents illustrated above in Excerpts 9 and 10, in this multi-cultural social context, each community member should be highly cautious with their diction as well as topic selection, and "mutual respect" for individuals or cultures should be always prioritized in order to keep harmony and establish solidarity. In addition, when one violates the speech norm like Brent (his judgmental statement that "Chinese is terrible"), he might risk losing his peers' approval or affinity.

To sum up, Brent unconsciously constructs his image as a difficult and less sensitive interlocutor in dyad or in-class

conversation. Based on the former discussion, there are several manifest factors contributing to his unpleasant conversational experience. Firstly, Brent seemingly tends to take the speaker's responsibility more than the hearer's responsibility in conversation. Consequently, he may have fewer opportunities to establish solidarity with his interlocutors at turns of talk as April does because his domination of turns of talk makes the conversation one-way communication and scarcely allows him to really interact with his interlocutors to gain a better mutual understanding. Secondly, Brent's violation of the speech norms, Be Respectful and Moderate Opinions on Cultural Issues, not only constructs him as a rude commentator but also offends some of the audience in this multi-cultural classroom, which may expectedly and to some extent, undermine his interpersonal relationships with his peers. Finally, Brent can be perceived as an impolite and less attentive interlocutor at the moments when he uses the adjacency pairs wrong or fails to ask for clarification but repeats the same question even after the answer has been already given. In brief, April and Brent are active participants in in-class activities but their linguistic patterns differ from each other. Their different ways of using language are responsible for the self images they have constructed and determine their status among the peers as well.

It appears that April is better socialized than Brent for her discourse is more similar to Laura's, that of a full participant, and approximates more to the speech norms with interactive features. On the contrary, Brent's violation of speech norms may reflect his lack of socialization, which can make it difficult for Brent to gain and maintain solidarity with his peers·in this speech community.

Discussion

Prior to the respective discussion on how these two focal participants, April and Brent, are tuning their language use to the speech norm to become socialized into the target speech community, the subsequent table summarizing Data Analysis may offer us a better picture of the self images they have constructed so far based on their language use (see Table 19).

This current study fails to give us a panorama of how language learners being engaged in the process of language socialization into the speech norm since all the data was collected within two months only. However, by comparison and contrast of the language use in class of these two focal students, this study may help us to figure out which participant is better socialized into the speech norm at a certain point of time, and more importantly, how this determines their self-images and further affects their status among the peers.

Table 19. Summary of the Focal Students' Discourse Moves.

Speech Norm	April	Brent
Respect	Based on my observation, she often shows her interest and curiosity about different cultures and never judgmentally comments the one she is unfamiliar with.	1. When working in pairs, most of the time he dominates the talk and tends to be the one who determines the topic shift and interlocutors in the conversation (Excerpts 7.1 & 7.2). 2. His judgmental statement that Qingdao Beer is "cheaper than water" seemingly hurts two Chinese students' pride for Oingdao is the city which they come from (Excerpt 9). 3. Commenting "Chinese is terrible" in class (Excerpt 10)
Support	1. Agreeing her classmates' comments without further explanation even though their meaning is unclear (Excerpts 3.1 & 3.2) 2. Showing her interest in the Arab cultures by using inquiry and repetition the key word (Excerpt 4.1) 3. Laughing at the joke told by her classmate even if she failed to see the point (Excerpt 4.2)	1. Taking the speaker's responsibility more often, which makes him easily become the one who dominates the conversation and fails to interact with his interlocutors in response to their contributions (Excerpts 7.1 & 7.2)

	4. Entertaining the class to gain solidarity by teasing dense population in China (Excerpt 5.3)	
Moderate opinions on cultural issues.	1. Using adverbials "sometimes" and quantifier "most of" to explain women's thinking place (Excerpt 1) 2. Aligning herself with illegal Chinese immigrants (Excerpt 2) to explain her judgment on the corruption of the Russian police 3. Arguing that overgeneralization is unfair to them, Chinese students, and urging her classmates to know the Chinese people through interaction with the Chinese students in IEP (Excerpt 5.2)	1. Emphasizing the beer's low price in Southern China with the expression "cheaper than water" (Excerpt 9) 2. Commenting "Chinese is terrible" in class (Excerpt 10)
Sharing personal experience	1. Her work as an interpreter in Russia (Excerpt 2) 2. Her definition of "home" and her feeling of being apart from her parents (Excerpt 5.1)	1. Sharing less life experience in the army but more about his knowledge about Morse code by constructing himself as an expert-like image (Excerpt 6) 2. Sharing his experience in a southern city to compensate his judgmental comment on

		the Chinese people but in vain (Excerpt 10)
Social Identify of Level Three student	1. Prolonged syllable "um/uh" and self-correction to show that she is trying her best to organize her ideas while speaking (Excerpt 5.1)	1. Asking the teacher questions but his misapplication of adjacency pair makes him felt rude (Excerpt 8.1) 2. Not admitting he has difficulty understanding the teacher's reply, so his repetition of same question portrays him as a rude person (Excerpt 8.2)

Based on Table 19, it seems persuasive if we conclude that April is socialized into the speech norm better than Brent since, through her language use, we can see how she excels in being more sensitive to interlocutors' needs and establishing solidarity in her turns of talk. If we take into consideration William F. Hanks's introduction to Lave and Wenger's book, "[r]ather than asking what kind of cognitive processes and conceptual structures are involved, [Lave and Wenger] ask what kinds of social engagements provide the proper context for learning to take place" (Lave and Wenger, 1991, p.14), April's way of speaking or reasoning is indeed more congruent with the linguistic patterns of the instructor, a full participant in

this community of practice. This may explain April's popularity among the peers and easier access of resources, i.e. more opportunities of interaction with the community members so as to avail her language socialization process, while Brent is excluded by some of his peers and positioned at the periphery for his language use is to some extent considered inappropriate in this speech community. What follows is a brief discussion exploring the reasons why April is more successful in adapting herself to the speech norm, but Brent isn't. In general, the discrepancy in the degree to which they are socialized into the norm could be attributed to their different social experience, access to speaking English in larger speech communities, and different conception of establishing solidarity.

Firstly, their former social experience may affect their flexibility in taking the social identity as a Level Three student. April, aged 21, is a student currently enrolled in the University of Moscow, whose major is foreign languages. Brent, aged 28, used to work as a computer engineer before he quit his job and enrolled in IEP this May. Both of them are highly-motivated and aggressive students in class. They take an active role in class discussion and always pay attention to the teacher. According to my findings, April asks questions for clarification and uses backchannel cues in group discussion more

frequently than Brent; however, this does not lead to the conclusion that Brent has better listening comprehension than April since Brent occasionally gives the wrong answer to the teacher's question. Instead, it may indicate that Brent's not asking for clarification can be his strategy to save his face. As an engineer, it is a must to construct oneself as a professional, a know-all, to survive in the competitive environment. On the contrary, a student, based on the Chinese definition, is supposed to admit what s/he can not understand and learn from imperfection. However, Brent seems to forget that his social roles have changed since he seldom constructs himself as a novice by asking confused questions or giving answers with hesitation to show uncertainty like his peers do. Unlike Brent, it seems to be easier for April to identify herself as an "imperfect" language learner since, in Moscow, she is struggling with the Russian language (according to her, the most difficult language in the world). In her journal, she wrote, "[I feel comfortable to talk with] my American friends because they know that my English skill how it is…I don't afraid of making mistakes." She is not afraid to lose her face since, as a Level Three student, she has the rights to admit her weakness, make mistakes, and "lose her face" (the "face" discussed in Liu's article, 2002).

In addition, the more chances language learners have to speak English in different social contexts with different interlocutors, it seems more likely that the more fully or carefully they may express their ideas. In fact, April's opportunities to speak English are much more than Brent's. According to the interview data, April lives with a middle-aged, single American lady and one of her Japanese classmates. English is the only medium for them to communicate. On weekends, April goes to a church where the majority of the congregation is Chinese Americans. They tend to have a conversation with April code-switching between English and Mandarin. Supposedly, speaking English in various social contexts with different social groups of interlocutors suggests versatile topics for conversation. Different topics may effectively activate her vocabulary schemata and improve spontaneity. The more frequently she is in need to communicate her ideas, the more awareness of the impact of language use she may have. She mentions it once in her journal, "I am not cautious, careful, good at speaking with unknown people…I am a careless person. So sometime I make different kind of problems. In other words, I get trubble easylly (trouble easily)." April's heightened awareness of language's power can be responsible for her careful word choices and her supportive conversational strategies.

Compared with April, Brent has fewer chances to expose himself to an English-speaking environment. He lives with his aunt. Moreover, his girlfriend's visit in August minimizes his chances to hang out with IEP friends in his leisure time. Therefore, the IEP is the only place that provides him with more chances to practice his English. However, as mentioned earlier, the IEP teachers' accommodated speech is one of the reasons contributing to IEP's distinctive culture that meaning negotiation is not as frequent as expected in the real-life world, same as Foster and Ohta's arguments in 2005. In order to encourage their students to speak English, the faculty tends to plays the role of meaning facilitator, actively figuring out the students' points to fill the communication gap and lessen the students' anxiety level so that the students' self-confidence of speaking English in public may be boosted. With the understanding of the international students' limited linguistic competence, they seldom take it personally when the students have said something improper. They consider it language barrier and try not to correct the students' inappropriate use as often as possible. However, problems occur when the students continues their way of speaking English, such as wrong adjacency pair (see Excerpt 8.1) or strong claims on cultural issues (see Excerpts 9 and 10), with their peers or even people outside this

speech community. Brent's rudeness in dyad or in class discussion may result from his insensitivity, probably when the foreign language is in use only, of the impact of language power, which may influence how he is perceived by his interlocutors,. Without the teachers' help to mirror these fatal but non-intentional mistakes, these students may easily turn out to be victims, suffering from isolation or exclusion from the peers.

Finally, April and Brent seemingly have different tactics to fortify solidarity with others; however, it appears to prove that April's strategies are more accepted than Brent's. I am wondering if age and personal traits have something to do with April's success in socializing herself into the speech norm and Brent's frustration from the unexpected conflict. It is obvious that their contributions to class discussion differ, but their ultimate goal can be identical—to establish solidarity with all the members in this speech community. April is gifted sharing personal experience to enrich the class discussion, while Brent achieves it by sharing with the class some information he has already had (e.g. how to buy admissions to Universal Studio) or by consulting the teacher about new information in class (e.g. if tap water is drinkable in the US). However, since his language use to some degree contradicts the speech norm, it is not easy

for him to manage his interpersonal relationship in this social context. Moreover, April can move or amuse the audience and even criticize through sharing her experience. Personal experience is a local opinion indeed, but it implies that there are still other possibilities to explain one particular phenomenon since everyone's perspective can differ based on what they have encountered in their life journey. This is April's way to limit the forcefulness of her claims by indicating that they are tied to just her personal experience. Contrary to April's style, Brent's sharing information accidentally constructs himself as a consultant-like image (e.g. his Morse code experience) or as a prejudiced commentator (e.g. his criticism of the China-related issues). This may explain why his viewpoints are often rejected and even causes fierce quarrels in class.

Self-Perceived Personality Shift

In the beginning of the study, all the student participants are told to keep journals in their mother tongue about special communicative experiences in English and their reflections upon how they feel when communication breakdown occurs and how they react to or handle that situation. Also, they are requested to write down what they would do instead when their first languages were used and explain the difference in their reactions. The

student participants do not exactly know what the research focuses on until the second interview in the end of the quarter when they are asked if they perceive their personality shift when English is used. Based on the interviews and the journals April and Brent have kept, we may find the fluctuation of language learners' comfort and confidence level (CCL), an index of SPPS occurrence, may have a close relation with their social identity (SI) investment and cultural ideology negotiation.

Participant One: April

The following citations from April's journals are arranged based on three main groups of interlocutors: American friends (Specifically, it refers to April's non-Asian American friends.), IEP friends, and Asian American friends. According to April, she feels most confident when speaking English with the first social group but least with the last one.

1.   I feel most comfortable when I speak with my American friends. Because they know that my English skill how it is. Also if we are friends, they know that did I use English or not before I came to US. In addition, they are America, I don't afraid of making mistakes (08/31/06)

我不怕在老師面前講英文,即使我不曉得怎麼講,也會努力說幾個單詞,雖然沒辦法構成句子…最有信心講英文,是在有讚揚我的人面前.

當別人鼓勵我時,對我的英文有一定的認可時,自然而然,不會怕在那些人面前講,也不怕錯.(08/21/06)

[Translation] I am not afraid of speaking English in front of the teacher(s). When I have difficulty expressing my ideas, I still try my best to search for some words to get my point across regardless of the sentence structures…I speak English with most confidence when the interlocutors are those who have praised and believe that my English serves communicative function. With their encouragement and assurance, I have no fear or anxiety of making grammatical errors.

April points out that her highest CCL of using English exists when the interlocutors are her American friends, the faculty in IEP included. It is very likely that she invests in SI as a Level Three student and foreign tourist when interacting with them, which maintains her high CCL and deter SPPS from taking place. Either as a language school student or as a foreign tourist, having a conversation with NES can not be interpreted as an inspiring moment to improve one's conversational ability in English more than an excellent opportunity for him to testify the comprehensibility of his oral English so as to fortify his confidence in using the target language, especially when NES

interlocutors interact with amiable attitude. Accordingly, when English is the only medium for communication, making herself understood can be the main task April manages to achieve in conversation. Grammatical correctness can be scarcely her main concern. Accepting how her current English communicative ability is may contribute to high CCL. In addition, for April, regarding these NES as her friends implies that she firmly believes they are considerate and thoughtful interlocutors without any purpose to threaten her face, the concept in the Chinese ideology. Therefore, with the assumption kept in mind that they can understand her imperfect or inappropriate language use especially when taking into consideration her history of English learning, April's high CCL can be reinforced. Furthermore, NES's friendly responses, such as praise or belief in her English competence, further boost her confidence in further investing in speaking the language. In brief, April's constant investment in SIs, a language school student and a foreign tourist, and her American friends' positive feedback not merely promise her high CCL but also benefit April's language acquisition since they invite her to make best use of every opportunity to speak English with them, which is without doubt a crucial factor to facilitate her process of language socialization.

2.　…在跟自己語言水平差不多的人面前，我完全不會考慮出醜的問題，會很放得開的講英文. (08/02/06)

[Translation] When speaking English to someone whose English competence is similar to mine, I speak English free from any concern.

April's CCL remains high as well when speaking English in front of the international students who do not outperform her in English communicative ability or threaten her face. This explains why her CCL stabilizes in the IEP classroom context since the placement test manifests that the students assigned in the same level have similar English capacity. Her investment in SI as a Level 3 student is embodied by her verbally active participation in class. In addition, April's success in tuning her way of speaking into the speech norm and constructing a Level 3 student identity favors her status in this speech community, which further nourishes her high CCL. In brief, these two social groups mentioned so far strengthen April's self-assurance of speaking English by helping her understand and accept her current English competence and recognize there is still room for her improvement. In other words, when having conversations with these two particular groups, April's social identity as a language school student is invested and reinforced in return, and this also frees her from associating her present English

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competence with the sense of inferiority. However, when her interlocutors are Asian Americans, the sense of inferiority is irrationally magnified and deters her from trying to communicate her ideas in English again. What follows are April's afterthoughts about her interaction with this particular group.

3. "...if they are Chinese or Korean, and their English is better than me, I won't use English. Maybe because of shy" (08/31/06)

但是在英文比我好的朋友面前, 本來自己可以用英文講的, (會) 用中文說出來. 我認為1) 怕出醜 2) 好勝心 3) 因為是朋友 (如果是 stranger或不會很熟的, 不怕出醜)" (08/02/06)

[Translation]But, in front of those whose English competence is better than mine, I would rather use Mandarin even though I know exactly how to express the same idea in English. In my opinion, the possible reasons can be 1) I don't want to make some stupid mistakes which may embarrass myself; 2) I don't want to be labeled as being inferior; 3) we are friends (if the interlocutors are strangers or the ones I am not familiar with, I don't have this kind of worry.)

"星期天我跟從小在這邊長大的人出去玩, 一路上她大部分都有 用英文…但一路上我都沒有用過英文, 只是用中文表達自己的想法… 我的英文太差, 總結: 害怕, 不夠自信" (08/08/06)

[Translation] On Sunday, I hung out with a girl who grew up in the US. On our way there, she spoke English much more often than Mandarin…but I avoided using English and I used Mandarin simply to express my own opinion…My English ability was too poor and my conclusion was I failed to conquer my own fear and easily lost my confidence in front of them if I speak English.

"整個三天週末都跟在LA生活很久的人在一起. 在我的看法, 他們的英文都很強, 所以(我)在講英文單詞時都有點怕怕的感覺, 發音也沒有平時在學校時那麼好了" (08/13/06)

[Translation] I spent the 3-day weekend with some of my friends who moved to LA long time ago. Personally, they all have good command of English. So, I noticed myself sound unsure and less comprehensible when saying some English vocabulary. I think, my speech in English is much more articulate at school.

In the interview, April acknowledges that there are discrepancies in her personalities when the target language instead of her native languages is in use. Although she does not clearly describe what traits she is supposed to have when either Mandarin or Korean is used, her journal at least records how she feels at the moment when she speaks English with her

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Asian American friends, or her Chinese and Korean friends who can fully express themselves in English. According to her, the feelings of fear, shyness, and diffidence are stubbornly haunting her, which affects her CCL so greatly that she can hardly pronounce the English words well. I assume that this uncomfortable moment of low CCL may indicate the transition of her social identity negotiation and SPPS, i.e. April is struggling with which social identity she should invest in so as to take the ground to abridge the power gap. The strategy she uses to protect herself from frustration is to code-switch to the language she is most familiar with. This highlights that she is more communicative in Mandarin and Korean but taciturn in English in this context-specific situation.

Moreover, April analyzes she has a complex about being inferior in front of her Asian American friends when she speaks English. According to her journals, her main concern is her poor English oral ability may embarrass her, and this is believed to be greatly influenced by the engrained Chinese ideology of lian discussed in Liu's (2002) study. As friends, April believes that the power hierarchy is not supposed to exist. If not, all of them should be placed in the same rank or position, and there should be no differentiation of superiority or inferiority. However, her reaction to this social group, whose command of

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English is better than hers, contradicts her belief. From her word choice of Chinese expression "好勝心" (its literal meaning is "preference for winning/ superiority") in her journal, it suggests that there is still an implicit sense of competition involved between her and her Asian American friends. The Chinese ideology of face (lian) seems to complicate her definition of friendship. When she speaks English in front of this social group, the last thing she wants is to lose her face. Her defensive attitudes may explain why she perceives the shift in her personality, from outgoing and confident to shy and diffident. She expects herself to speak English as well as them to eliminate the power differential, but she can't, and this is how and why the code-switching occurs. April's silence in English is not only the result of cultural identity negotiation but also an investment in SI as a multi-lingual intellectual. She retrieves her power by showing her interlocutors that she has competent knowledge to understand English conversation but she prefers the language that she feels most comfortable with to respond. Instead of investing in "the right to speak," she invests in silence to negotiate power and save her face in public. In brief, the Chinese ideology of face leads to April's wrong self-expectation, which further induces her low CCL and results in the occurrence of SPPS. However, it is code-switching, that

empowers April to reverse her inferior situation and procure her balance.

Participant Two: Brent

Compared with April, whose experiences of low CCL and SI/ cultural negotiation are tied to a specific group of interlocutors, Brent's CCL appears to be relatively higher and more stable, despite the fact that Brent is not the one who is better socialized into the target speech community. Brent's journal entries listed as follows may provide us some clues to figure out the answers.

1.   "I can talk baseball game with him (one of the IEP faculty). When I talk to Peter (his classmate), same. I feel I have more word can use and he can fix my wrong word in right time."

"I try use english to talk with Emily (his classmate). I know she has good English skill but can't talk well. I have total difference with her. I have bad skill but I just can try talk. I feel talk to her don't give me pressure"

In Brent's journal, it is apparent that his choices of interlocutors are not as many as April's. Specifically, his interlocutors are restrictedly limited to the members of the IEP speech community only. As discussed earlier, IEP provides

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language learners with a secure and non-power-involved environment for them to cultivate their English ability. Since explicit corrective feedback or opportunities for meaning negotiation seldom occurs when he interacts with IEP faculty or his peers, Brent's face is rarely threatened. In addition, Brent's little experience of exposing himself to real conversation with NES also precludes the stimulus from social contacts in the outside world. That is to say, Brent's face is saved not because his linguistic competence is good enough to protect him from any face-threatening factors, but because he constantly lives in a language-learner-friendly environment. As a result, Brent may have less anxiety and pressure from expecting himself to speak NES-like English, let alone the occurrence of SPPS.

2.   "just want to train myself to talk"

"I don't think I (my personality) will change. I can talk with English even have more mistake, but I don't scare to make mistake. I know every time I make mistake I can be better next time."

"在組織中很勇敢表達自己的想法 也可以接受別人的 反駁來修正自己"

[Translation] When working in group, I am brave to express my own opinions and flexible enough to correct

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my thoughts or stance in response to others' different

perspectives.

Brent's determination to improve his oral ability well

explains his insatiable drive to aggressively participate in

classroom discussion, i.e. constant investment in SI as an IEP

student. He firmly believes "learning English by frequently

using it" and "improving his English skills from mistakes." For

Brent, he knows exactly that grammatical errors are inevitable

in his English currently, but he is quite confident that his

future English ability will definitely become better since his

active participation in dyad or group discussion intensively

engages him in the process of language acquisition.

Additionally, Brent can take his current blemished English for

granted based on his belief that it is normal before he gains

the mastery of the English language, and this is another factor

leading to his higher CCL. Moreover, he mentions that he has

flexibility to accept blame and learn from different

perspectives, but honestly, it may not be enough to facilitate

his language socialization process if he underestimates the

power of language use as illustrated earlier. In my opinion,

it may be beneficial for him if he would further examine some

conflicts in retrospect so as to figure out what exactly provokes

others' "反駁" (its literal meaning is rebuttal or refutation,

which has stronger meaning of negation than my translation as "different voices").

　　　3.　　　　"...I just try to expressive my feel use simple word"

　　　　　　　"可用字太少也困擾著我, 但這東西就急不來, 要多用來增加字彙…有時候我會找不到適合的英文自來表達情感, 只能找我已知的字來用, 有時候可能只表達70% 甚至更少我的情緒"

　　　　　　　[Translation] The limited vocabulary bothers me. But I know that it takes time to expand my English vocabulary, and one of the ways of achieving it is through frequently using (new words)... from time to time, I can not find a right word to precisely express my feelings. All I can do is pick a word that I am familiar with and is much closer to my feelings to describe it, but predictably, the word can convey no more than 70% of how I really feel.

Once in class, Brent asserts that he has little difficulty expressing his idea in English since it is simply a matter of translation, and as a result, the time lag for translating his thoughts from Chinese into English is nothing less than normal. For Brent, it seems reasonable that learning a language equals learning grammar and all the equivalent words of Chinese vocabulary, and that linguistic forms serve the same meanings even if they are de-contextualized. In other words, Brent

attributes his difficulty in fully expressing himself in English to his limited vocabulary, nothing to do with the issues of face-threatening or challenging his communicative competence. Brent admits that how to expand his limited vocabulary is his present task, and he is well aware that it takes time and efforts to achieve his goal. This can be another factor maintaining his high CCL for this kind of difficulty is expected and believed to occur constantly in the English-learning process. At the current phase, Brent learns to make better use of his limited vocabulary and endures his imprecision of language use.

Basically, Brent is the one who constantly invests in SI as an IEP student and seldom struggles with other social identities or the Chinese ideology of lian when he speaks English. To sum up, his high CCL may be upheld by the possible reasons explored above: 1) his limited social groups of interlocutors; 2) his conception of what language learning should be; 3) his positive attitude towards the difficulty he encounters in the process of language learning.

To sum up, the fluctuation of CCL appears to be relative to the moments of one's social identity and cultural ideology negotiation, mainly depending on to what degree language learners can accept their own current competence of the target language when interacting with particular social groups. April

fortunately has more opportunities to have conversations with different social groups of interlocutors, but the haunting sense of inferiority and associating it with stigma make her cringe and fail to take good advantage of the favorable and available resource she has. Her low CCL further yields her code-switching, i.e. investing in SI as a multilingual intellectual and in silence (in English) to negotiate power. Although Brent's English communicative competence is not as good as April's, it is apparent that Brent's investment in SI as an IEP student is of constancy. His belief that language learning takes slow progress and his positive attitude towards his weakness, limited vocabulary, uphold his CCL in speaking English, and this successfully prevents SPPS from occurring.

Discussion

According to the second interviews with April and Brent, the following table, Table 20, summarizes their perceptions about SPPS occurrence in different social contexts, which seemingly well corresponds to the fluctuation of CCL in their journal entries.

Non-SPPS can be attributed to the unique culture of IEP's social context that has been fully explored in the former chapter. Briefly speaking, the IEP faculty's elaborate efforts to create and maintain a language learner-friendly environment

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Table 20. Self-Perceived Personality Shift Occurrence in
Different Social Contexts.

	April	Brent
IEP Classroom Context	No SPPS occurs.	No SPPS occurs.
Larger Community Context	SPPS occurs. According to her journal entries, it occurs only when she interacts with Asian Americans.	No SPPS occurs.

to warmly embrace the students from all over the world as well
as the peers' social need to seek solidarity are both key
elements effectively making the students' affective filter
remain low. In addition, if we relate this to Norton Peirce's
(1995) notion of social identity, we may find April's and Brent's
investments in their Level 3 student identity lead to their
relatively high frequency of verbally participating in in-class
activities. Fully aware of their rights to talk, they take
advantage of every opportunity for interacting with all the
other speech members, trying to improve their English
conversational ability by frequently using it in class.
Accordingly, both external (social environment) and internal
(right investment in SI) factors well explain April's and

Brent's non-SPPS in class, i.e. they still remain the way they are in this foreign study context.

As for interaction with NES outside the IEP speech community, April's and Brent's responses are totally different. April agrees with the occurrence of SPPS because her active social life sharpens her sensibility and perceptibility of the fluctuation of her CCL when interacting with NES, while Brent denies it probably out of his own assumption only because, as mentioned in the last section, his inactive social life may exclude him from interacting or making friends with NES, let alone to perceive if SPPS occurs outside the IEP social context. Drawing on their self-reflection, we can learn that the occurrence of SPPS is irrelevant to whether or not they have been socialized into the speech norm of IEP. If we take April's response into account, we may find it justifiable that, for IEP students, socializing themselves into the communicative norms in this particular academic environment does not guarantee their ability to negotiate power differentials, and even SI and cultural ideology, when interacting with NES in different social contexts outside IEP. Speech norms are believed to form and vary among different social groups and contexts, and this can be the reason why SPPS occurs at times in larger community context rather than in IEP.

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CHAPTER FOUR

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Conclusions

This current study does not provide a panoramic view of the language socialization process of the focal students, April and Brent, but only manifests that April, whose language use approximates the communicative norms of the Level Three Composition classroom context, benefits her management of interpersonal relationships for she is gradually building up her social networks and gaining solidarity with her interlocutors at every turn of talk. Due to April's easier access to social resources (Compared with Brent, April indeed has a more active social life outside the IEP), she has more opportunities to interact with different social groups to facilitate her English acquisition, which may further sharpen her awareness of the power of language as well as how appropriateness of language use is defined. As for Brent, his English linguistic patterns appear to mistakenly construct his self image as a rude interlocutor from time to time. Without the teacher's corrective feedbacks, it might turn out that he never learns when and how to reconcile the disputes with others or adjust his language use, which is to some degree influenced

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and shaped by his former working experience, to fit in the speech community he is currently participating in as an IEP student!

Moreover, SPPS explored in this current study does not seem necessarily relevant to one's access to forms of talk in the very speech community. Drawing on the earlier analysis, the occurrence of April's SPPS is context specific. Only when her interlocutors are Asian American or Asian old-timers does April experience PPS, from confident to bashful, since April imposes an unreasonable expectation on herself and denies her own current English oral ability, which directly leads to the fluctuation of her CCL and eventuates in her code-switching. Code-switching can be referred as April's investment in silence in the target language. This can be the consequence of her cultural negotiation to gain her face and balance herself in the power-asymmetrical world. Different from April, Brent has more healthy and reasonable attributions to his transitional phase before he will have had good command of English. Thus, his current imperfect English is understandable and bearable, and he knows his continuous endeavors will pay off some day. And this is quite possibly the reason to explain why Brent perceives his personalities not shift. Based on what we have been discussing so far, the main finding of this current study can be as follows.

1. Self-perceived personality shift (SPPS) occurs when language learners are undergoing social identity (SI) and cultural ideology (lian) negotiation, irrelevant to their current English communicative competence.

2. Investment in the right SI enables language learners to produce language output with confidence, which leads to active involvement in language socialization process. According to our findings, April and Brent constantly invests in the SI as a Level 3 student in the IEP classroom context, which makes them active participants in class and their CCL remain high without experiencing SPPS. Non-SPPS indicates, for April and Brent, the possibility of undergoing cultural ideology (lian) negotiation and investment in taciturn can be avoided. This is a significant factor that optimizes their ongoing language socialization process.

3. However, right SI investment does not promise language learners' moving from peripheral to full participation in the community of practice. Only with sensitivity to language power, language learners may be more aware of how their self images are being constructed and perceived through language use.

Tuning one's linguistic patterns to the speech norms of the target speech community is not only part of identity construction but also a facilitator to gain the peer's approval, the ultimate goal of which lies in one's membership procurement. If we take April as an example, we may see how she constructs favorable self images and establishes solidarity and status among her peers through her utterance. Her popularity seemingly further reinforces her high CCL and non-SPPS in this social context.

However, this conclusion may be found unpersuasive when applied to explain ecology of different speech communities since only two student participants' linguistic patterns are focused and analyzed in this existent study based on the short-term in-class observation within this particular IEP class. Additionally, the researcher's subjectivity may easily blind her to attend to every arguable detail and even directly influence how the data is tailored and employed to support her argument. Therefore, how to proportionally present qualified and quantified data to preclude a researcher's bias and preoccupied stance from deforming the truth can be of most importance.

Implications

The Intensive English Program is a buffering zone for English learners to equip themselves with linguistic knowledge to participate in the academic community. In addition, it is supposed to be a place that engages them into the language socialization process. However, drawing on my former analysis, IEP has its own distinct culture, which is quite different from the ones of the university-level classroom settings. Even if the students are socialized into the communicative norms of the Level Three composition class, it does not guarantee the students will not encounter any difficulty participating in their target speech community. Based on what has been discussed earlier, the IEP faculty provides the students with a power-free and supportive social context to learn English so as to increase their comfort level in using English. However, there can be some problems beyond this rosy and harmonic picture they dedicate themselves to maintain in IEP context. For instance, when the IEP students officially end their language program and enroll in university-level classes, the clash between ideality (the IEP context) and reality (the university-level classroom context) may to some extent appall them and shatter their American dream. According to three of the Level Three students who started taking undergraduate classes in Winter 2007, they

find themselves unable to understand their instructors and NES peers, not to mention having any social interaction with them. On one hand, the IEP faculty's accommodative English that they were used to is far more different from how NES speak in rate, word selection, and way of articulation in conversation. On the other hand, NES seemingly show less understanding and supportive attitude in response to communication breakdown than they expected. They even reveal that they feel frustrated and overwhelmed by course content, class activities and the loading of assignment as well. All the factors mentioned above seemingly undermine these former IEP students' legitimate peripheral participation. The propriety of the English learner-friendly environment that the IEP intentionally creates becomes controversial. Therefore, I would like to argue that IEP should also play a role to signal that linguistic and cultural barriers is likely to cause power differentials between NES and NNES and teach the students how to mitigate its impact through their own efforts and right investments. The following are five ways that may help language learners to cross the gap, facilitate their ability of the target language and negotiate the power relations in the social world.

    1.   The topics discussed in this focal writing class appear to be on international cultural phenomena more

than on American culture itself. However, as illustrated in Duff's (2002) study, the topic of the class discussion in the mainstream educational system is very likely to exclude NNES in an ethnically-mixed class. Thus, familiarizing IEP students with American popular culture can be as important as developing their academic ability, which may not only make it possible to help them understand and further participate in in-class discussion in graduate or undergraduate programs so as to facilitate language socialization process but also lower possibilities of SPPS occurrence. IEP may consider offering a course that covers a wide variety of information about sports, books, music, movies, TV programs, daily news, etc. The instructor can introduce the students what is most popular currently but recommend the students some others based on their English level. Besides, the instructor can show the students some useful and informative websites and guide them how to access the latest information about different facets of American culture. This can enable the students to update their knowledge by themselves even if they finish IEP courses. To sum up, a

culture-oriented course not only helps them

understand American mainstream culture a step

further, but it also allows the students to find

topics to start conversation with NES and maximize

their own opportunities for language socialization.

2. As we know, IEP faculty tend to adjust their speaking

rate to facilitate the students' understanding of

course content and enhance their confidence in their

English competence. Besides, their teaching method,

focusing on meaning rather than grammatical forms of

the students' linguistic output, encourages the

students to express their opinions in class and

increases their chances to socialize themselves by

and through language use. However, if we take Brent's

unpleasant experience into consideration, we may find

it equally important to guide the students to inspect

their language use. In other words, language learners

should be aware that language is power. How to well

exercise this power to construct their self-image and

influence others' perception of them is so important

that it may implicitly affect the social networks they

would like to build up. It can be good for NNES to

understand that language is more than a means to

convey or exchange ideas. Therefore, based on Mackey

and Oliver's (2002) argument that language

development and the teacher's corrective feedback are

closely related, IEP teachers should play a role as

a mirror to reflect the students' inappropriate

language use. The faculty can explain how they feel

about their impropriety of language use from a NES's

perspective and further give the students suggestions

of what an alternative can be. If the teachers are

afraid to threaten the students' face, they may do

it privately.

3. Based on Norton Peirce's (1995) theory, language

learners will be more able to negotiate the power

between NES and NNES if they invest in the right social

identity, and then they can resume the power to talk.

Therefore, helping the students to explore their

multiple social identities is believed to boost their

own value and raise their self-awareness even if they

live in the ESL environment. How they evaluate and

position themselves in the power hierarchy can never

simply rely on their social identity as an immigrant.

Even though it is true for the first generation

immigrants to suffer from their lack of linguistic

competence, they still deserve the right to talk in the social interaction with NES as long as they invest in different SI. In addition, they should be guided to re-examine if their ability is undermined when they are taking a certain social roles, such as the parental role discussed in Ullman's (1997) study. This method is not to frustrate language learners but to inspire them to continually invest in speaking the target language. With the understanding of their right to talk and their determination to improve their language ability, it is believed that language learners can engage themselves in the language socialization process more actively.

4. In Liu's (2002) study, we know that Chinese people tend to use silence to deal with face threatening situations. However, silence deters language learners from socializing themselves into the norms of the speech community. To conquer the difficulty deriving from language learners' cultural identity negotiation is never an easy task for sure but of necessity indeed. In the ethnically-mixed class, the IEP teachers may ask the students to pay attention to their silent and retiring behaviors in interaction

with NES and encourage them to analyze what contributes to their reticence and if they are loaded with cultural meanings. For example, the IEP faculty can ask the students to keep journals to sharpen their sensitivity of language use and silence. It must takes time to gradually to get rid of the cultural influence (or it will never be achieved), but the IEP teachers may give them some comments or suggestions how to react or verbally respond if similar discouraging events happen again. Or, the teachers can focus on one particular case and invite the class to discuss what they will do to respond to the power asymmetry in interaction with NES. Compared with the alternative actions that their peers might take, the students may be able to learn from this activity and become aware to what degree culture can influence one's thinking logic and decision making.

5. Based on my observation in class, I have found that the students who have the same first language tend to flock or sit together. The possibility can be that their comfort level in participating in class activities will be heightened by doing this. It is more convenient for them to make sure at any time if

they understand the teachers correctly and gain timely peer assistance when they are expressing their idea in public. However, their chances to practice speaking English are diminished since they are used to confirming their knowledge in their first language. According to McDonough (2004), the frequency of the student's using English with their peers is also important for their improvement of English communicative ability. As a result, the IEP faculty may think about taking good use of the classroom layout, i.e. carefully arranging their seats in class so as to maximize their chances to speak English and learn how to negotiate meaning with their interlocutors. Although meaning negotiation can be face threatening sometimes, it may still help the interlocutors to establish solidarity since it to some degree reflects their attentive attitude and interest in the ongoing conversation.

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