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Simple management in contact situations

What factors determine whether a deviation will be noted or not?

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Empirical research has shown that not all deviations from norms occurring in contact situations are noted and that, in fact, many remain unnoted (Fairbrother, 2004; Kon, 2002). Indeed, Neustupný (1985) has proposed that there are "special circumstances" under which native speakers note deviations, such as when the speakers' metalinguistic attention is drawn to the deviation or when the interlocutor is unfamiliar. Based on our analysis of natural data from a variety of Japanese contact situations, we will examine the factors that determine whether a deviation will be noted or not. In addition to finding evidence of "Neustupný's "special circumstances", we will show how the type of deviation, where the deviation occurs within the interaction, the situational context of the interaction, the relationship between the noted deviation and other previously noted deviations, the ethnicity of the interlocutor, and the psychological characteristics of the noter may each influence the noting process.

Keywords: language management, noting, contact norms, ethnicity, interactional problems

Introduction

Most people are aware that interacting with someone from a different language and cultural background might not go as smoothly as interacting with someone from a very similar background. In these "contact situations" (Neustupný, 1995), there are times when messages are not transmitted effectively or received in the way that they were intended. Through our use of language we might unwittingly project images of ourselves as overly boisterous, rude or unintelligent, and we might come away from the interaction feeling uneasy or even angry. Language Management Theory (LMT) (Jernudd & Neustupný, 1987) has been widely applied

to the analysis of such contact situations because of its focus on the underlying processes involved in the management of language problems; namely the noting of deviations from norms or expectations, the evaluation of those deviations and the planning and implementation of adjustments towards those deviations.

Management processes occurring in discourse at the micro level of interaction have been described by Jernudd and Neustupný (1987) as "simple management" (as opposed to macro level "organized management") and research into this type of management in LMT has shown that a wide range of deviations, relating to what Neustupný (1995) terms linguistic, sociolinguistic and sociocultural behaviour, are noted in contact situations. For example, Asaoka (1987), Marriott (1990) and Fan (2009), among others, have shown that, on the purely linguistic level, deviations relating to the production and reception of the target language may be noted. On the sociolinguistic level, deviations relating to conversation flow, topic choice, the absence of request and thanking tokens and the choice of communication channel may be noted. Furthermore, on the sociocultural level deviations relating to physical appearance, general attitudes and the overall function of interactions may be noted as deviations. However, research has also shown that not all incongruities occurring in contact situations are noted as deviations and that in fact many deviations noted by outside third parties, such as the researcher, remain unnoted by the participants themselves (Fairbrother, 2004; Kon, 2002). Therefore, any credible analysis of noting must address the issue of why participants in intercultural contact situations note some incongruities as deviations but not others.

Neustupný (1985) has argued that there are "special circumstances" under which native speakers of a language note deviations. In addition to the application of contact norms, the four conditions he gives are: 1) when the speaker's metalinguistic attention is drawn to the deviation, 2) when the interlocutor is unfamiliar, 3) when the number of serious deviations is not high, and 4) when a deviation causes a serious substantive problem in interaction. He also suggests that native speakers of certain languages may be more sensitive to certain deviations: such as Australians being sensitive to spelling and etiquette deviations and Japanese being sensitive to grammatical competence.

However, little empirical research has been conducted to verify or refute Neustupný's observations. In this paper, based on data collected in Japan and Australia, we will attempt to validate his claims and provide a more comprehensive list of factors that govern the noting of deviations as part of simple management in contact situations.

The data

In order to gain a broader view of the noting process, the data used in this study comes from a variety of contact situations between Japanese and non-Japanese interactants in Australia and Japan. Although the division of native (NS) and non-native speaker (NNS) has become controversial (Fan, 2009; Pennycook, 2001), particularly when considering interaction in multicultural societies, where many people have full control over more than one language, there are many contact situations where one participant's language level is strikingly less developed than the participant who has been using the language since infancy. In such situations, the NS/NNS distinction can still be useful. The majority of participants in this study fit this description and so the term will be applied here.

The first set of data comes from Fairbrother (1999), where the interactions naturally occurring in two rooms used for international exchange between Japanese and international students were video-recorded. All of the students in both of the rooms had met each other before and some of them were close friends. Follow-up interviews were conducted with 23 of the participants and their general management processes were pinpointed and analysed.

The second set of data comes from Fairbrother (2002) and Fairbrother (2003), where 39 dyads of Japanese NSs and L1 English, Brazilian Portuguese and Mandarin Chinese NNSs of Japanese, meeting for the first time, were video-recorded. In this study, in principle each Japanese NS interacted with one NNS from each of the three NNS groups to examine whether there were any differences in the management processes that Japanese NSs applied when interacting with different types of NNSs. Follow-up interviews were conducted with all the participants and their general management processes were pinpointed and analysed.

The third set of data is based on the audio-tape recordings of naturally occurring interactions between six pairs of Japanese and Australian or New Zealand students participating in language exchange partnerships (LEPs) (Masuda, 2006). LEPs refer to a pair of language learners or users who meet each other regularly, primarily for the purpose of improving their language skills and sharing knowledge about their respective languages and cultures. The transcribed data was classified according to the two main features specific to LEPs in this study: language use and language assistance. These items were then analysed together with the follow-up interview data as well as general interview data obtained from all participants.

Noted deviations were analysed in accordance with Neustupný's (1995) classification of interaction comprising linguistic (grammatical), sociolinguistic (communicative) and sociocultural behaviour. Linguistic behaviour refers to the basic transmission of language, including vocabulary, grammar and syntax. Sociolinguistic behaviour refers to the rules that govern what, when and how

people communicate with each other. The nine rules that Neustupný outlines are 1) "switch on rules", which govern how much and when participants start to communicate, 2) "setting rules", which determine where and when communication will take place, 3) "participant rules", which deal with who communicates with whom, 4) "variety rules", which govern the choice of linguistic variety, 5) "content rules", which determine what will be communicated, 6) "message form rules", which deal with the order of components within communicative acts, 7) "channel rules", which govern the mode of message transmission, 8) "management rules" which determine how communication will be evaluated and what adjustments will be made, and 9) "performance rules" which govern how each of the above rules will be carried out. Finally, sociocultural behaviour refers to the elements of the interaction that are not directly related to language, such as social values and attitudes, economic concerns, appearance and customs.

The factors

Upon examination of the three sets of data, it was found that the factors determining whether a deviation would be noted or not could be broadly categorized into four main groups: 1) factors relating to the type of deviation; 2) factors relating directly to the ongoing interaction; 3) factors relating to characteristics of the individual participants; and, 4) factors relating to norms.

Factors relating to the type of deviation

An analysis of our data suggests that some deviations will be noted because of the type of deviation they are. Some types of deviation appear to be noted more frequently than others, NSs appear to be sensitive to certain types of deviations and some deviations appear to be noted because they cause particular types of problems.

Types of deviations noted more frequently than others

The results of our study suggest that some deviations are more likely to be noted than others, thus implying that the type of deviation itself may influence whether it will be noted or not. The analysis of the data in Fairbrother (2003) shows a tendency for sociolinguistic deviations to be noted more than linguistic deviations. Of a total of 387 noted deviations, sociolinguistic deviations (188 cases) were noted more frequently than linguistic deviations (125 cases) and sociocultural deviations (74 cases).

The most frequently noted sociolinguistic deviations related to "switch on rules" (Neustupný, 1982). Particularly, the occurrence of silence (20), the NNS's lack of or over-participation in the conversation (13) and sudden topic changes because the NNS had misinterpreted the NS's message (10) were noted most frequently among the 59 noted "switch on" deviations. Thus, the NSs seemed to be most sensitive to deviations that disrupted the flow of the discourse. The next most frequently noted type of sociolinguistic deviations related to "content rules" (53 deviations). In particular, the topic of conversation (29 cases) and the ambiguous context of the NNS's utterance (17) were noted most frequently. The Japanese NSs in this study were all undergraduate students and appeared to be particularly sensitive to topics relating to the future.

With regard to linguistic deviations, deviations relating to message transmission (69), i.e. whether the participants could understand each other's utterances or not, were noted more frequently than those relating to only message form (57), such as phonetic, grammatical and lexical accuracy.

These results suggest that, in first time meetings at least, deviations relating to message transmission and the general flow of the discourse (including switch on and content rules) are more likely to be noted than other types of deviation. This makes sense because participants are likely to be aware when there is a break or illogical sequence in communication, even if they cannot locate its cause. Similarly, in general conversational situations participants are likely to be focusing on the content of the interaction and thus giving more attention to the meaning rather than the form of the message.

It needs to be noted, however, that these results could in part be due to the limitations of the follow-up interview methodology. Some deviations may be more difficult to report than others, and some deviations, such as syntactic errors, may be difficult to pinpoint individually but can leave the listener with a negative impression of the interaction or their interlocutor's general language proficiency. However, based on the methodology currently available it appears that deviations relating to message transmission and the flow of discourse appear to be more easily noted than others. Thus, the type of deviation itself seems to affect whether it will be noted or not.

Native speaker sensitivity to particular types of deviations

Neustupný (1985) argues that NSs of different backgrounds are sensitive to different types of deviations. He claims that Australian NSs are particularly sensitive to spelling and etiquette whereas Japanese NSs are particularly sensitive to grammatical competence. This suggests that NSs will be more likely to note certain deviations above others. One way to measure this sensitivity is to look at the

negative evaluations made towards noted deviations. The results of Fairbrother (2003) show that Japanese NSs most frequently negatively evaluated deviations relating to basic message transmission (66 cases), switch on rules (49 cases), content rules (42 cases), the form of the linguistic message (16 cases) and variety rules (15 cases). A closer examination of the deviations that received particularly strong negative evaluations in Fairbrother's data (1999, 2003) shows that some Japanese NSs were particularly sensitive to deviations relating to intonation, style shift (polite to informal) and to the use of Chinese when it excluded the NSs from the interaction. Although there is some overlap with Neustupný's findings that Japanese NSs are sensitive to linguistic form, our results suggest that some Japanese NSs may be more sensitive to deviations relating to downwards style shift, variety and intonation. Although these results need to be verified by cross-referencing with other sets of data, they do suggest that certain types of deviations may be more readily noted than others.

When the deviation causes a serious substantive problem

Neustupný (1985) argues that some deviations will be noted because they cause a serious substantive problem, in other words, a problem that causes a significant obstacle to the central purpose of the interaction. One such case of noting (Fairbrother, 2002, 2011) occurred during the breakdown of the relationship between a Japanese NS and a Chinese NNS (as perceived by the NS) because of the topic brought up by the NNS regarding the Japanese constitution being designed by the Americans after WWII. In this case, because of the sensitive nature of the subject, the NNS's laughter gave the NS the impression that he was being mocked. Because it was produced in conjunction with comments about Japan's constitution having been written by the Americans, the NNS's laughter can be interpreted as the cause of the substantive problem, i.e. the mocking of the Japanese constitution. Hence it was noted as a deviation and strongly negatively evaluated by the NS, although in other contexts laughter probably would have gone unnoted.

Factors relating to the ongoing interaction

Neustupný (1985) has argued that during the interaction deviations may be noted when the overall number of deviations is not high or when the speaker's metalinguistic attention is overtly drawn to the deviation. The analysis of our data suggests that deviations are also noted in relation to the place the deviation occurs within the interaction, the goals of the interaction and the relationship between the noted deviation and other previously noted deviations.

When the number of serious deviations is not high

Neustupný (1985) has argued that some deviations are noted because the NNS generally does not make many deviations and thus when deviations are made they are highlighted. This type of noting was also found in our data. For example, in Fairbrother (2003) an Australian female with advanced level Japanese talking about university courses slightly mispronounced "コミュニケーションとか、ジャーナリズム"/"komyunikēshon toka jānarizumu" (communication or journalism or something) and this was noted as a deviation and evaluated negatively by her female Japanese interlocutor. In contrast, when an intermediate level American NNS pronounced her hometown, "Portland, Oregon" completely in American English rather than the Japanese "ポートランド、オレゴン"/pōtorando, Oregon" her Japanese interlocutor did not note it at all. A closer examination of the two interactions shows that in the Australian's whole interaction only three other incongruities were noted and her mispronunciation was the only deviation noted directly relating to her language use (the others related to the sociocultural content of her utterances). Conversely, seven deviations were noted in the American's interaction, six of which were related to her language use and three of which resulted in adjustment sequences. Thus, when a NNS's speech generally has very few deviations, any deviations that do occur may be more obvious and easier to note.

When the speaker's metalinguistic attention is overtly drawn to the deviation

Another factor relating to deviations being noted as a result of the ongoing interaction is whether the participants explicitly show that a deviation has occurred or not. Neustupný (1985) has argued that deviations will be noted when the speaker's metalinguistic attention is overtly drawn to the deviation. In other words, if the speaker's attention were not alerted the speaker might never realise that a deviation had occurred and it would be left unnoted. In the following example, the difficulty an Australian encountered in understanding a Japanese NS's utterance in Japanese can be observed.

Extract (1)

1 Yoko: 日本はだいたいね 自分で開けるか= あとは= 耳鼻科に行って=

Usually in Japan you pierce your ears by yourself or you go to the ear-nose specialist

2 Emma: 耳鼻科って何?

What's jibika (ear-nose specialist)?

3 Y: 耳鼻科 耳鼻科とかがんっかとか

Ear-nose specialist, ear-nose specialist, like eye specialist you know

The Australian could not understand the word "耳鼻科"/ "jibika" (ear-nose special-ist) and so alerted the NS to the deviation concerning her comprehension by saying "耳鼻科って何?"/ "jibikatte nani?" (What's ear-nose specialist?). Thus, the NNS showed that she could not understand what "耳鼻科"/ "jibika" meant by explicitly asking the NS its meaning (Masuda, 2006). This metalinguistic question drew the NS's attention to the deviation caused by this particular Japanese lexical item and so then she could start to explain the meaning of "耳鼻科" / "jibika". Similar cases were observed in the conversations of other pairs, for example, in the form of confirma-tion checks made by one NS to draw the NNSs' attention to the deviations made.

In contrast, there was a case where the difficulty a NNS encountered in trying to understand an English NS's utterances was *not* noted as a deviation by the NS. The following extract comes from a stretch of English conversation between an Australian NS and a Japanese NNS about some people who work at a shopping centre in Japan called メルカート (Merukaato) that both participants are familiar with.

Extract (2)

1	Emma:	mm I probably met them
2	Yoko:	Yeah and they work in メルカート
3	E:	Oh really
4	Y:	うん
		Yeah
5	E:	So they probably served me
6	Y:	へ
		Hmm
7	E:	Probably I I went into メルカート all the time to buy snacks so probably they served me and they always get my photos developed
8	Y:	Yeah
9	E:	In メルカート
10	Y:	Oh really
11	E:	Yeah You should ask them when you go back
12	Y:	Yeah

It seems from the above interaction that the Japanese NNS understood the Australian NS as shown by her responses (i.e. "oh really" or "yeah"). However, according to her follow-up interview, the Japanese did not follow the Australian. She commented that she had had difficulty in following the development of the talk by the Australian but had not stepped in to confirm, saying she thought the topic was not very important. On the other hand, the follow-up interview with the Australian revealed that she had thought her partner followed her. This example suggests that the NS's attention was not drawn to the problem encountered by

the NNS because the interaction continued smoothly. Thus, this case shows that without explicit metalinguistic signalling from the NNS, some deviations may be left unnoted by the other party.

Where the deviation occurs within the interaction

The place where the deviation occurs within the interaction may also affect whether it will be noted or not. In some cases, deviations that occur at the beginning of a first time meeting may be noted but not if they occur later. For example, one American female NNS referred to herself using the very formal "わたくし"/"watakushi" (I) rather than the more common "わたし"/"watashi" or "あたし"/"atashi" (Fairbrother, 2003). Her Japanese interlocutor noted this as a deviation the first time she said it but when the deviation was repeated twice later in the interaction the Japanese NS reported that he did not note it. This suggests that speakers may be more sensitive to some deviations at the beginning of first-time meetings when they are trying to gather information about their interlocutor but not when they are repeated later in the interaction when they have already developed a picture of their personality and language ability.

In addition, some deviations will only be noted when they occur at a crucial point within the conversation, when the NS's attention is drawn specifically to the deviation. One such crucial point is the introduction of a new topic and in particular the choice of vocabulary used to do that. For example, in an LEP interaction between a Japanese female and an Australian male participant a deviation caused by the Australian in selecting the wrong lexical item was noted by both participants (Masuda, 2006). When the Australian started a new topic, he said "議論"/ "giron" (argument) instead of "小説"/"shosetsu" (novel), which consequently confused his Japanese partner. He looked up this lexical item in his dictionary and confirmed it together with the assistance provided by his partner. Since the lexical item sought was a key word for the new topic, it can be argued that this deviation was noted because it occurred in a crucial place within the interaction.

The relationship between the deviation and the goals of the interaction

A comparison of the management processes occurring in LEPs (Masuda, 2006) and other types of contact situations (Fairbrother, 1999; 2003) suggests that different noting behaviour may occur in different types of contact situations, particularly when the specific goals of the interaction are different. The general interviews with the participants in LEPs revealed that their common goal was to develop their L2 skills. The following examples demonstrate that the goals of the interaction can affect whether deviations will be noted or not.

The first example concerns a deviation that was noted relating to the amount of English and Japanese used in an LEP session. Among the six pairs investigated in Masuda (2006), two pairs had a rule in which they divided their meeting time into half in English and the other half in Japanese. The establishment of such a rule is representative of what Neustupný (2004) refers to as pre-management because it aims to ensure that both participants have equal opportunities to use and practise their L2. The other four pairs, on the contrary, reported that they had had no rule concerning language use. In the interaction of one of those four pairs, English was used far more than Japanese, so more opportunities were given to the Japanese female who wished to use and practise English with the Australian. Both participants noted this unbalance as a deviation and in her follow-up interview the Japanese female felt that she should have limited the amount of English questions she had for her Australian partner. Even though both participants had never set a rule governing their language use it is interesting that they both had expectations that the use of the two languages should be balanced. In the other data sets no similar deviations were noted concerning the balanced use of languages so obviously the explicit goals of LEPs were the factor that prompted this type of deviation to be noted.

In the LEPs, particular expectations concerning the provision of language assistance also prompted the noting of some deviations. The first example concerns the corrective feedback provided to a Japanese male by his Australian male partner when they talked about the location of a particular prefecture in Japan. The Japanese male made a mistake in English by uttering "do you know Aichi prefecture where is it", failing to phrase "do you know where Aichi prefecture is" appropriately. This linguistic deviation was noted by the Australian and immediately corrected with explanation as to why the original utterance was problematic. The Australian commented in his follow-up interview that they had decided to correct each other when one of them made a mistake, emphasising his view that receiving corrections is the best way to improve one's language proficiency. In other words, his attention appears to have been actively directed towards mistakes. There were no examples of unsolicited direct other correction in any of the other data sets so this suggests that the explicit goals of LEPs, i.e. improving language skills, influence whether participants' attention will be focused on accuracy and hence whether such deviations will be noted or not.

In contrast to the above example of correction provided to the partner, there was a case where a lack of language assistance by the NS was noted as a deviation by the NNS (Masuda, 2006). In the general interview, the NNS emphasised that he wanted more corrections from his language exchange partner so that his English would improve, pointing out the difference between language exchange partners and friends in general, whom he cannot expect to correct his errors in English.

Thus, it is clear that the Japanese participant's expectation of the goals of the LEP in this case was the factor that caused this deviation to be noted.

The relationship between the noted deviation and other previously noted deviations

Another contextual factor that governs whether a deviation will be noted or not is its relationship with other previously noted deviations. As was previously mentioned, when certain deviations have been noted once, they might not be noted if they occur again. Conversely, however, the repetition of a deviation, or the repetition of deviations creating a negative impression, can increase the chances of further deviations being noted. Firstly, the repetition of a particular deviation within a single interaction can cause it to be noted on subsequent occasions. For example, an Australian NNS's repeated reversion to the topic of "Australia" was noted as a deviation by his Japanese NS interlocutor (Fairbrother, 2003). In this first time meeting, the participants reported that they did not seem to be able to find much common ground and both found it difficult to keep the conversation going. Each time the Australian felt the topic was coming to an end he would try to keep it going by talking about something related to Australia. The NS, on the other hand, noted this as a deviation each time it was repeated because he knew nothing about Australia and felt that it was impossible for him to maintain the conversation with this topic.

Deviations are noted not only when a negatively evaluated deviation is repeated in a single interaction, but also in some cases when a negative evaluation occurred in a previous interaction. For example, a Japanese NS noted a deviation when a Korean NNS did not greet him upon leaving the international exchange room (Fairbrother, 1999). In his follow-up interview, the NS noted and negatively evaluated the Korean student's lack of greeting as a deviation and further commented that the NNS "was *always* unfriendly". It can be argued that this type of deviation might have been overlooked the first time it happened because the NS had not yet formed an impression of the NNS; however the repetition of the deviation on subsequent occasions caused it to be noted and evaluated negatively and left the NS with a general negative impression of the NNS's personality.

In addition, deviations may be more likely to be noted after a strong negative evaluation even if they are completely different types of deviations from the one originally noted. For example, one Japanese male NS strongly negatively evaluated a Chinese male NNS who pointed his finger at him while talking (Fairbrother, 2002). In his follow-up interview he made his disapproval very clear saying that it was "bad" to point one's finger at someone because it gave a very bad impression. He further commented that at this point he "had to some extent already formed an impression of *the type of person*" his interlocutor was. When the NNS next asked

a question using an informal verb form rather than the formal desu/masu form this deviation was noted and evaluated very negatively, as were a subsequent 19 incongruities, including his expression of surprise, his return to a previous topic about purchasing tickets, his intonation, his mention of his majoring in Japanese, his lack of facial expression and his pronunciation. In other words, it appears that an accumulative process may be at work after a strong negative evaluation and this may make the noter more sensitive to subsequent deviations, whatever their type. Particularly in this example, the NS had developed a strong negative image of the NNS from the beginning of the interaction and in effect any subsequent deviations were used as fuel to reinforce this negative image, resulting in a negative evaluation of the entire interaction.

Factors relating directly to the participants

In addition to factors relating to the type of deviation and the ongoing interaction, factors relating to the individual participants themselves may influence whether deviations will be noted or not. Factors such as whether the interlocutor is familiar or not, individual attitudes towards particular ethnic groups, and the characteristics of particular noters may all affect whether a deviation will be noted or not.

When the interlocutor is unfamiliar

Neustupný (1985) argued that norms are likely to be overt and deviations are likely to be noted when the interlocutor is unfamiliar to them. The types of deviations noted in the first time meetings in Fairbrother (2003) appear to corroborate this hypothesis. For example, there were many cases of deviations relating to names being noted. In particular, many deviations were noted in the interactions with Chinese NNSs because some Japanese NSs could not work out whether the name given was a full name or just the surname or first name and this led to a number of adjustments. Similarly in the interactions with the Japanese Brazilians the presence of Japanese names was noted as a deviation on a number of occasions because the NSs were expecting their interlocutors to have foreign names. It is highly unlikely that these kinds of deviations would be noted if the NSs had been familiar with their interlocutors, or other interlocutors of a similar background, so unfamiliarity with one's interlocutor appears to be one factor that governs whether a deviation will be noted or not.

When the interlocutor is familiar

Although as argued above some deviations are noted because the participants are unfamiliar with each other, there are other cases where deviations are only noted because the participants are familiar with each other. For example, one participant noted her partner's fatigue as a deviation during their LEP meeting (Masuda, 2006). This was the participants' fourth meeting and so they were relatively familiar with each other. The Australian participant struggled when explaining a particular expression in English to his Japanese partner and so the Japanese partner changed the topic. The Japanese participant noted that her partner seemed tired compared to usual and the Australian participant confirmed in his follow-up interview that he had been tired and could not think of good examples to explain particular expressions in English. It can be argued that if this had been a first time meeting, this deviation concerning the fatigue of one of the participants might not have been noted due to the lack of familiarity between the participants. However in this case, because the Japanese speaker was familiar with her partner she could notice a difference from his regular behaviour and because of the noting of this deviation she could make an adjustment accordingly.

When the noter has expectations of a particular ethnic group

It has been argued (Fairbrother, 2003) that some deviations may be noted because of the particular ethnicity of the NNS and that the same deviations might be overlooked if they were to occur in interactions with NNSs of a different ethnicity. In particular, this appears to be the case with Brazilians of Japanese descent. For example, it was found that some NSs were more sensitive to deviations relating to the intonation of the Brazilians when speaking Japanese. Even though similar intonation incongruities could be observed in the interactions with English-speaking NNSs, these were less likely to be noted as deviations by the Japanese NSs. Comments from the follow-up interviews suggest that Japanese NSs had higher expectations of the Brazilians because of their Japanese heritage, especially if their parents were Japanese nationals. One NS even went as far to say that she couldn't believe how someone with Japanese blood could not speak Japanese properly.

These kinds of raised expectations of the Brazilians could also be seen with regard to their use of English lexical items in the Japanese conversations. Again even though the English-speaking NNSs used more English words than the Brazilians, when the Brazilians used English this was more likely to be noted as a deviation. It is likely that underlying this phenomenon is the idea that people perceived as being ethnically Japanese should know more Japanese than English. However, as speakers of another European language (Portuguese) some Brazilians of Japanese

descent find English an easier language to use. In these cases it can be said that deviations were noted because the Japanese NSs were regarding the Brazilians as part of the Japanese in-group and applying Japanese norms in their interaction management. It is also interesting to note that all of the four particularly strong negative evaluations reported in Fairbrother (2003), occurred during interactions with the Brazilians.

However, it is also important to mention that not all the deviations of the Brazilians were noted in this way. Even though some deviations were noted because some NSs had higher expectations of NNSs of Japanese heritage, there were cases where deviations were noted because the Brazilians were not being perceived as Japanese but as "foreigners". These cases generally came at the beginning of the interaction and were concerned with either the Brazilians' Japanese names or their family background. In these cases, the NSs presumed that their interlocutors would not be of Japanese descent so the identification of such background elements themselves were often noted as deviations from their expectations.

Individual characteristics of the noter

The results of our study suggest that certain characteristics of particular NSs may also be a factor determining whether a deviation will be noted or not. Just by looking at the simple totals of deviations noted per NS it can be seen that some note deviations much more frequently than others. For example, in Fairbrother (2003), NSs on average noted 37 deviations each, however one noted 46 deviations while another noted only 24. Thus, there can be substantial differences in the noting behaviour of individual participants. Our findings suggest that the personality of the noter, particularly in relation to the goal of the interaction and the psychological circumstances of the noter at the time of noting, can influence the noting of particular deviations.

As has been shown earlier in this paper, an unbalanced use of the two languages has been found to be a deviation that was commonly noted in the LEPs in the present study. In addition, our analysis found that particular characteristics of the noter affected the noting of deviations regarding the rule of language use. For example, one Japanese male and Australian female had divided their meeting time into half conducted in English and the other half in Japanese. The data, however, revealed that both participants would occasionally use English during the time allocated to Japanese, usually followed by a quick shift back to Japanese, while the reverse (the use of Japanese during the time allocated to English) was hardly observed. The follow-up interviews revealed that many deviations regarding language use were noted by the Japanese male who showed a critical view of his own "wrong" choice of language (switch to English) compared to the Australian female.

He noted many deviations concerning his own switches to English and appeared to be particularly sensitive to the rule regarding language use and making sure that he provided enough opportunities for his partner's L2 learning. It can thus be said that the Japanese male took the rule of language use more seriously than the other LEP participants and this affected his noting behaviour. Therefore, the way that individual participants perceive the rules of the interaction can affect whether deviations will be noted or not. Hence the characteristics of particular participants can affect their noting behaviour.

Our data also suggest that the psychological circumstances of the noter at the time of the interaction can affect whether a deviation will be noted or not. For example in Fairbrother (2003), one NS felt very uncomfortable when her American interlocutor started to ask about her plans after finishing university. At this time the Japanese NS did not know what she wanted to do after graduation and was feeling anxious about it so this was a topic that she wanted to avoid. As a result she noted a deviation concerning the NNS's choice of topic and evaluated it negatively. It can be argued that this topic might not have been noted as a deviation had the NS not been in such an anxious state so in effect the actual psychological state of the noter was the factor that caused this topic choice to be noted as a deviation.

These examples show that some deviations will be noted just because of the particular noter. However, it needs to be stressed that the frequency of noting does not necessarily mean that all those deviations will be negatively evaluated and develop into problems, it merely shows that some noters may be more aware than others.

Factors relating to the type of norms applied (contact norms)

Most of the deviations reported in this paper so far, such as not understanding what one's interlocutor said or sudden style shift, can be said to be deviations from the same kind of norms that Japanese NSs would apply to deviations occurring in internal situations with other Japanese NSs. In other words, if the same kind of deviations occurred in similar internal situations they would also probably have been noted. However, some deviations may be noted because of the application of "contact norms" (Neustupný, 1985; Fairbrother, 2009). Some deviations are only noted in contact situations because participants have particular expectations of how contact situation interaction should be and they consequently note deviations that would not be considered deviations in internal interactions between two NSs. For example, one Brazilian NNS's short bow upon first meeting his Japanese interlocutor was noted as a deviation and positively evaluated (Fairbrother, 2003). As it is highly unlikely that the same kind of management process would be seen in an internal situation between two NSs of Japanese we can infer that the Brazilian's

behaviour was noted as a deviation not from Japanese internal norms but from the NS's contact norms, namely that foreigners will not bow, or at least will not bow naturally in their interactions with Japanese NSs.

This example ended in a positive evaluation but there are other cases where deviations from contact norms can lead to negative evaluations. In particular, deviations may be noted when NSs feel that the NNS is encroaching on "native-speaker-only territory" (Fairbrother, 2003). Janicki (1985) has argued that NSs often do not want NNSs to achieve perfect mastery of their language and that there is a "limit of correctness" that the non-native is expected *not* to surpass (p. 41). Fairbrother (2003) argues that this limit is placed not only on language but also on sociocultural features of the NNS's discourse. For example, one Chinese student's detailed knowledge of the area around the university that she and the Japanese NS attended was noted as a deviation. In her follow-up interview the NS acknowledged that her way of thinking might be prejudiced but she couldn't help feeling that as a NS she should know more than the NNS and be in a position to teach her about Japan. If her interlocutor had been a Japanese student it is highly unlikely that this kind of knowledge would have been noted as a deviation so the NS must have been applying contact norms in this case.

Similarly, the use of Japanese in the names of the Brazilians or references to their Japanese heritage were noted as deviations by some Japanese NSs. According to their follow-up interviews, because the Japanese NSs had been told they would be meeting NNSs they had assumed that the NNSs would not be of Japanese descent. As it is highly unlikely that a having a Japanese name or having Japanese family members would be noted as a deviation in a Japanese internal situation, again it can be assumed that the norms applied in this case were contact norms. Therefore, NSs' expectations of what constitutes a contact situation were another factor that prompted the noting of some deviations.

Factor overlap

It must also be stressed that more than one factor may be simultaneously at play when a deviation is noted. In other words, two or more factors may overlap at the same time. For example, when the Japanese NSs noted deviations concerning the use of Japanese in the Brazilians' names, they noted them not only because of their application of contact norms but also because such deviations occurred at the beginning of the interaction before gaining information about the NNS's ethnicity and because the interlocutor was unfamiliar. Thus in this case, the type of norm applied, the place within the interaction where the deviation occurred and the fact that the interaction was a first-time meeting may all have contributed to the noting of the deviation.

Likewise, in the example where a Japanese NS noted a deviation when asked about her future plans, in addition to the psychological condition of the noter, i.e. feeling anxiety about the future, the fact that this was a first-time meeting may also have contributed to the noting of the deviation, even though this was not stated explicitly in her follow-up interview. Indeed, as Kato (2010: 111) demonstrates, one's plans for the future can be perceived as private information by some Japanese NSs, and thus not a topic suitable for a first-time meeting.

These examples show that although it is important to pinpoint individual factors that determine whether deviations will be noted, it is also important to bear in mind that not all factors will be applied individually and that there may be considerable overlap between them.

Conclusions and implications for further research

The results of this study show that a variety of factors are at work within the process of noting deviations. Although still not exhaustive, we believe that we have been able to expand upon Neustupný's original list. The factors could be classified into four broad categories relating to 1) the type of deviation, 2) the ongoing interaction, 3) characteristics of the participants and 4) the type of norms applied. However, not all factors are necessarily exclusive and more than one factor can be in play at the same time. For example, a deviation may be noted both because of its type and also because of the unfamiliarity of the participants.

The noting of deviations is thus not a mechanical reflex where all incongruities that occur will automatically be noted as deviations, but a highly complex process incorporating a varied range of contextual and attitudinal factors. Language management takes place within human interaction and as such any attempts to understand the intricacies of such interaction need to address the interplay of linguistic, psychological and social factors that affect how language problems are first perceived. Problems in intercultural contact situations do not just arise from our linguistic, sociolinguistic and sociocultural incompetencies, but also very importantly from how our interlocutors perceive us.

From a pedagogical standpoint, we need to devise ways to deal with deviations that are noted based on uninformed or unrealistic expectations. In our research, some NSs appeared to have different expectations towards members of particular groups which can affect the development of interpersonal relationships. Similarly different expectations about the language use rules of LEPs may affect the success or general satisfaction levels gained from such interactions. Thus, we need to develop ways to practically apply the results of LMT research so that participants can gain more awareness of and hopefully improve their own intercultural interactions.

The list of factors outlined here is by no means complete and to expand it further more research needs to be conducted in a wider variety of contact situations with different contextual variants such as the hierarchical relationship between the participants and the particular goals of the interaction. Also the issue of what factors determine the noting of deviations in macro level "organized management" needs to be addressed. The factors that determine how governments and institutions select particular language problems to manage may be very different from those seen in micro level interactions, so further research should aim to make these results relevant to LMT on every level.

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Appendix

Symbols for discourse transcription based on Du Bois *et al.* (1993)
=   Lengthening
X   Indecipherable syllable

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