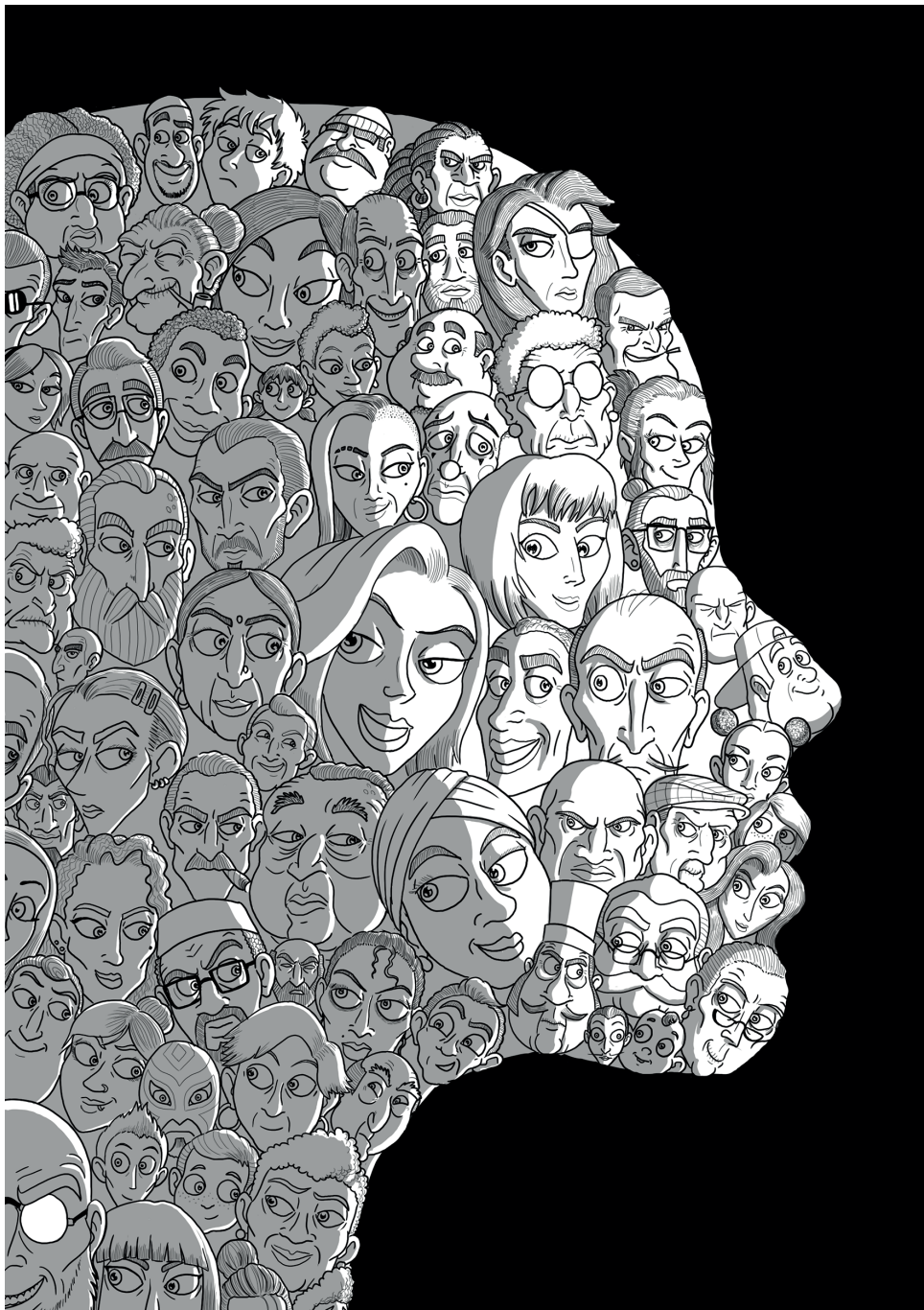Tarmo Ahvenainen

Language Proficiency Facework and Perceptions of Language Proficiency Face in L2 Interaction

Tarmo Ahvenainen

Language Proficiency Facework and Perceptions of Language Proficiency Face in L2 Interaction

JYVÄSKYLÄN YLIOPISTO
UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ

Cover picture by Roope Sorvo.

ABSTRACT

A fundamental feature of human existence is that we are concerned with what others think of us, and we are aware of similar concerns in others. In foreign or second language (L2) communication, this concern may include what others think of us as a skillful user of that language. These concerns have been studied in communication anxiety studies earlier, but face theory has been little deployed to explore this, despite its inherent explanatory potential. Face theory provides a theoretical concept to address both the sensitivity of participants in an interaction to their image as users of L2 and the similar sensitivities that they assume their interlocutors have. This study aims to shed light on how language proficiency face, the vulnerable image of an L2 speaker, is noticeable in interaction as facework. Another aim is to find out how L2 users perceive this language proficiency face. The theoretical framework introduces face theories, the concepts around language self, and language concepts around language self, and language concepts as underpinnings of language proficiency face claims. The data consist of authentic video-recorded interaction material with English-as-a-lingua-franca speakers in study and work settings and audio-recorded interviews with the same participants. In addition, the author used his own introspective autobiographical material. Marked Selected extracts where facework could be detected from the interaction were analyzed using discourse analysis. The findings were triangulated with content analysis of the interviews, which included post-commentary on the interaction. Further triangulation was sought through the author's introspective autobiographical data. The findings show that proficiency facework includes co-construction of turns and non-verbal communication, which enable participants to treat language problems similarly to content negotiations. As for the perception of proficiency face, the findings suggest that participants may view the face relevance of features of language use and interaction differently. Participants had different perceptions of the seriousness of communication problems, the origin of these problems, and the resulting consequences for proficiency face. Features of proficiency faces of participoants are illustrated in facework postures, which are based on individuals' beliefs and attitudes related to language proficiency, and their facework preferences.

Keywords: applied linguistics, pragmatics, interaction, discourse analysis, face theory, facework, language self-concept, L2 self, English as a lingua franca

TIIVISTELMÄ

Yksi ihmisen perusominaisuus on se, että meille on merkityksellistä mitä muut ajattelevat meistä, ja olemme tietoisia tästä ominaisuudesta myös muissa ihmisisissä. Kun viestimme vieraalla kielellä (L2), meille saattaa olla merkityksellistä mitä muut ajattelevat meistä kyseisen kielen käyttäjänä. Näitä tuntemuksia on aiemmin tutkittu viestintäahdituksen viitekehyksessä, mutta kasvoteoriaa on hyödynnetty vähän huolimatta sen selityspotentiaalista. Kasvoteoria tarjoaa teoreettisen viitekehyksen lähestyä sekä vuorovaikutuksen osallistujien haavoittuvaa kuvaa itsestä vieraan kielen käyttäjänä että samaa haavoittuvuutta, jota he kokevat viestintäkumppaniensa tuntevan. Tutkimuksen tavoitteena on valottaa miten kielitaitokasvot, eli viestijän haavoittuva kuva vieraan kielen käyttäjänä, näkyy vuorovaikutuksessa kasvotyönä. Toisena tavoitteena on tutkia, kuinka osallistujat kokevat kielitaitokasvot. Teoreettinen viitekehys esittelee kasvoteorian, kieliminään kytkeytyviä käsitteitä, sekä kielikäsityksiä, joihin viestijän kasvotoiveet perustuvat. Tutkimusmateriaali koostuu autenttisesta videoidusta vuorovaikutusaineistosta, jossa englantia käytetään lingua francana työ- ja opiskelukontekstissa, sekä osallistujien äänitetyistä haastatteluista. Lisäksi on käytetty tutkijan omaa introspektiivistä, omaelämäkerrallista aineistoa. Tunnusmerkilliset katkelmat vuorovaikutus-aineistossa analysoitiin diskurssianalyysin menetelmin ja löydöksiä trianguloitiin haastattelujen sisällönanalyysillä. Toinen triangulointi tapahtui tutkijan introspektiivisen aineiston avulla. Tutkimuksessa havaittiin, että kielitaitokasvojen kasvotyö sisältää mm. puheenvuorojen yhteistä tuottamista ja non-verbaalia viestintää, joiden avulla osanottajien on mahdollista käsitellä kieliongelmia samoin kuin sisältöön liittyviä neuvotteluja. Kielitaitokasvojen kokemisen osalta tulokset osoittavat, että osanottajat voivat kokea kielenkäytön piirteiden merkityksen kielitaitokasvojen kannalta hyvin eri tavoin. Osanottajilla oli eri käsityksiä viestintäongelmien vakavuudesta, niiden syistä, ja siten niistä aiheutuvasta uhasta osallistujien kielitaitokasvoille. Osallistujien kielitaito-kasvoja voidaan kuvata kasvotyöasentoina, jotka perustuvat yksilöiden kielitaitouskomuksiin ja -asenteisiin sekä heidän useimmin käyttämiin kasvotyöstrategioihinsa.

Avainsanat: soveltava kielitiede, pragmatiikka, vuorovaikutus, diskurssianalyysi, kasvoteoria, kasvotyö, kieliminä, englanti lingua francana

Author's address   Tarmo Ahvenainen
Centre for Applied Language Studies
University of Jyväskylä, Finland
tarmo.a.ahvenainen@gmail.com

Supervisors   Prof. Tarja Nikula-Jäntti
Centre for Applied Language Studies
University of Jyväskylä, Finland

Mia Halonen, Deputy Head of Dept., Researcher, Ph.D.
Centre for Applied Language Studies
University of Jyväskylä, Finland

Reviewers   Prof. Helen Spencer-Oatey
Centre for Applied Linguistics
University of Warwick

Prof. Salla Kurhila
Faculty of Arts
University of Helsinki

Opponent   Prof. Helen Spencer-Oatey
Centre for Applied Linguistics
University of Warwick

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

FIGURES

TABLES

CONTENTS

ABSTRACT
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS
FIGURES AND TABLES
CONTENTS

1 INTRODUCTION: LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY AS A FACE ISSUE

What other people seem to think of us and what we show we think of other people are fundamental features of human interaction. What we think that other people think of us is based partly on our interpretation of their behavior, partly on our own ways of thought. Part of what others think about us and we think about others depends on the skills and competencies we display, such as playing football, doing one's job well (or not so well), or the way we use a second or a foreign language. At the same time, we are aware that other people have similar needs to ours to have their skills and competencies acknowledged, and unless we positively wish to insult the other person, we tend to behave in such a way that we do not insult our interlocutor's image as a competent person. One theoretical framework that can be used to explore the above-mentioned phenomena is face theory.

Although - and partly because - I am a language professional, there have been numerous situations in my life when I have been worried about what other people think about my language skills. As a teacher of foreign languages, I avoid showing my shortcomings in the target language if I have the feeling that "I should know this" or if I consider that others assume that I know something that I do not know. I even very carefully double-check Facebook postings if I write them in any other except my strongest language, Finnish. I also often consider in what way I would give feedback to students, not only to maximize the impact on learning but to treat them in an encouraging way without compromising the content of the feedback. Similarly, as part of my job is to proofread course materials of such colleagues who are not language professionals, I often find myself thinking about how I should formulate the feedback not to insult the other author. In writing, we have time to consider how to go about these situations, but in spoken interaction, we ofen must decide immediately how to go about these situations. One evident but in earlier research rarely deployed theoretical framework to approach these issues, i.e. our own image as language user in others' eyes, and the sensitive treatment of others' image as a language user, is the face theory.

Face, a key concept in linguistic pragmatics and in other disciplines, can be defined as a potentially vulnerable image of self that one wants others to acknowledge (cf. Spencer-Oatey (2007: 644). Despite the influential *Politeness* monograph by Brown and Levinson (1978), which linked politeness and face tightly together, the two topics have been studied separately in the last two decades. Not all features of face can be traced to politeness (see e.g. Kádár & Haugh 2013: 51-52), and the reverse is also true. This separation of face and politeness as subjects of research seems to have been lately widely accepted (see e.g. Garcés-Conejos Blitvich 2013: 1). It has been suggested that the face concept includes such components as competence face (Lim 1994; 210-211) or quality face (Spencer-Oatey 2002: 522), which describe one's image as a competent and resourceful individual. Language proficiency face is thus preliminarily defined as a potentially vulnerable image of self as the user of a foreign or second language (henceforth L2) that the owner wants others to acknowledge. A person also has assumptions about other participants' language proficiency face wants, and acts accordingly to maintain them.

I am aware of the conceptual dangers of naming someone an *L2 speaker*, i.e., a user of a foreign language or second language. L2 speaker, foreign language user and second language user are all are labels and identities whose uniform nature and value as an attribute can be rightly contested, or whose boundaries, at least, are blurred (see e.g. Davies 1991; Lee 2005). Furthermore, it can be even claimed that in an ELF (English as a lingua franca) users' community of practice, which is one of the contexts of this study, native speakers of English would be sociolinguistically or pragmatically no more "native" in the context than experienced ELF speakers (cf. Dewey 2009: 74–78). Despite this, it is assumed that for many people and in many contexts, using some other language than one's strongest, may raise concerns of one's image as the user of the language in a different way than when communicating in one's strongest language. In this study, an L2 speaker refers to all participants' using a language other than their strongest, in contexts where the user is not primarily identified as a member of that language community although s/he may secondarily or momentarily be identified as a member of an ELF community of practice. These contexts can be divided into lingua-franca situations, where the language used is no-one's strongest language, and into situations, where one uses not-their-strongest language in an environment predominantly operating in that language, often referred to as a situation with a non-native speaker (NNS) of a language in a native-speaker (NS) environment.

Whenever we communicate with others, at least three different goals can be identified (Domenici & Littlejohn 2006: 68). The first is the content goal, or accomplishing our objective. The second the relational goal, which is the goal of enhancing, maintaining, neglecting, or challenging one's relations to other participants in the interaction (cf. Spencer-Oatey 2008: 32). Finally, the third is the face goal, managing the impression of ourselves we give to others, that is self-directed facework, but also managing what we show we think about others, that is, other-directed facework. In addition, people may want to maintain or improve

the image of groups they belong to, which can be referred to as the collective face.

Thus, interaction is underpinned by a complex system of various goals and needs, which may partly be in harmony with each other and partly in conflict. Depending on the situation and the individual participant, some goals and needs are more prominent than others. The ranking order of different goals for one participant or a group of participants varies from one interaction scene to another, but may also vary dynamically within one scene. For example, face needs may be backgrounded when a participant is intensely oriented to discussing a topic, until something happens in the interaction, for example, mutual disagreement. This may foreground a face goal. Then, for a moment, the face goal may override all other goals, and the participants engage in facework to save face; one's own face, the face of the other, the face of the collective group, or a combination of all of these.

A person's image of themselves as a language user may be very important to them, and they may assume that their interlocutors have similar needs to their own. A person's image as a language user, their language proficiency face, a concept I wish to introduce in this study, may then become a significant constituent of L2 interaction and a meaningful element of face overall in international or multilingual settings. Henceforth in this study, for brevity, *language proficiency* is referred to as simply *proficiency*, and *language proficiency face* as *proficiency face*. Whenever a proficiency other than language proficiency is referred to, a term other than proficiency will be used.

This thesis is about a very specific aspect of face and facework. This aspect derives from a person's vulnerable image as a proficient speaker of a foreign or a second language, be it the participant's own vulnerable image, or the interlocutor's assumedly vulnerable image. Many people who use an L2 have experienced language-related negative emotions, for example, due to the perception of being evaluated, or due to a feeling of insufficiency about their resources when problems of understanding arise. Similarly, some people may think that they have perceived these emotions in their interlocutors, and probably have adjusted their speech for that reason. This is particularly the case in situations where the participants are not experienced users of L2 or, even when they are, when they perceive that their L2 use is going to be evaluated. These emotions, perceptions and accommodations have not been extensively studied under the concept of face, although face and facework have inherent explanatory power because they allow us to address the question of how one participant treats another. When these phenomena have been studied under the terms communication apprehension or foreign language anxiety (see Dewaele 2007; Dewaele & Dewaele 2017; Horwitz, Horwitz & Cope 1986; Yan & Horwitz 2008), the other side of the coin, taking the other's image or apprehension into account, has not been possible. The same limitation applies to the study of language self-beliefs (Mercer 2011) or L2 self (Dörnyei 2009), which study language learners' beliefs about themselves as language learners and users. Face theory, which

allows the focus to fall on both the speaker and the interlocutor, enables a more comprehensive study of L2 proficiency related self issues in interaction.

In facework studies, facework has been defined as any action a participant undertakes, consciously or unconsciously, to manage the image of themselves or of their interlocutor(s), in cases when the action-taker considers this image to be sensitive (Spencer-Oatey 2007: 644). Facework for proficiency face can therefore be defined as any action a participant undertakes to manage the impression of themselves and their interlocutor(s) as language users in cases when the action-taker considers this image to be sensitive or vulnerable. Facework can enhance one's own face, promote others' faces, defend one's own face against face loss, or protect, enhance or save the other's face, or several of these simultaneously. Facework may take take place at the turn level, or over a longer time span. It has been found (e.g., Domenici and Littlejohn 2006: 11) that in interaction, unless there is open conflict, participants follow integrative facework strategies, which means that they pay attention to and balance between their own and their interlocutors' face needs. One of the aims of this thesis is to study how participants engage in this integration of facework with language proficiency face.

Naturally, participants in an interaction do not balance only between the face goals of themselves and their interlocutors, but also between content goals, relational goals and face goals. Face goals may include maintaining or improving one's image as a friend, colleague, woman/man, or professional (for "the professional face," see Charles 1996) and, in L2 interaction, as a language user. Studies in social psychology (see e.g., Schlenker & Pontari 2000) have indicated that in interaction, one usually aims to give a slightly polished impression of oneself, but one that the person genuinely believes in (Schlenker 2003: 495). One's face want, the image of us that we want others to acknowledge, is partly based on such beliefs. As a user of a L2, this impression of oneself as a language user consists of beliefs that can be called language self-beliefs (Mercer 2011) or aspects of L2 self (Dörnyei 2009). These beliefs may be more permanent and long-term beliefs we have of ourselves as users of L2 or more situation-specific self-efficacy beliefs (Bandura 1997), that is, what we believe we can do in L2 in a particular situation. These beliefs, as well as our actions in interaction, are partly guided by our language concepts, what we believe the language proficiency is, and what are "good" language skills. When English is used as a lingua franca, at least two kinds of beliefs of language proficiency can be separated from the researcher's point of view; beliefs based on a native speaker ideal and beliefs that lingua franca interaction has its own ideals (e.g., Seidlhofer 2009).

Although a description of the entire complex system of L2 interaction is beyond the scope of the present study, this thesis aims to shed light on this system from the viewpoint of one of its constituents, language proficiency face. It also provides some glimpses of proficiency face in other aspects than strictly as a constituent of interaction; these include the language self-beliefs and concepts of language and language skills that underpin the proficiency face wants of interaction participants.

In a larger ontological frame, this study falls into social constructivist research (Andrews 2012), where social reality is seen as an inter-subjective construction and as being created in interaction. Epistemologically, this study can be considered subjectivistic, as the language proficiency face is mainly sought from the individual's point of view (Burrell & Morgan 1979). This study can also be considered to have an ethnographic touch, as it shares several major features of ethnographic research, such as observation, interpretive approach (cf. Titscher et. al. 2000b) and thick description of the contexts were the data sets were collected (cf. Geetz 1973). The main concept, language proficiency face as the image of self as an L2 user, is based in this study largely on what can be called Western understanding of the self (see Cross & Gore 2003: 542-543), which is based on the belief that a person has acknowledged rights that are separate from the benefit to society. If one is to protect one's image as a capable individual, one must consider the self important and separate from the community. Consequently, this study cannot claim to find features of any universal language proficiency face, but those only in the European context. This is done with an understanding that 'European' is an abstract concept with elusive boundaries.

More specifically, the theoretical framework of this study is in the sphere of linguistic pragmatics, utilizing the methods of discourse analysis and content analysis. As this study mostly focuses on lingua franca interaction, particularly in English as a lingua franca (henceforth ELF) situations, ELF research is one of the principle theoretical bases of the study. The concept of self is discussed from the point of view of social psychology to the extent necessary for this study.

The concept of language proficiency face aims to shed light on the question of what different forms one's own vulnerable image as an L2 user or the interlocutor's assumedly vulnerable image as an L2 user may take, and how this vulnerability affects the interaction, i.e., the kind of facework that is done. The theoretical underpinnings of this concept lie mainly in face theory but also partly in the theory of L2 self. The study aims to elaborate on the concept of language proficiency face by attempting to find answers to two research questions:

RQ1: How is language proficiency facework visible in L2 interaction?

RQ2: How do participants perceive L2 language proficiency face?

The *visibility of facework* (RQ1) is concerned with any signs of conscious or unconscious goal-oriented action that affects the image of any of the interlocutors as language user(s). Despite acknowledging the above notion that facework is ubiquitous and not restricted to specific settings, scenes, or turns, facework in this study is of particular interest in situations that are marked in terms of language proficiency face. These may include situations in which the language proficiency of one or several participants is foregrounded due to e.g., production problems, lack of mutual understanding, or metalinguistic comments. The visibility of face(work) will be studied by analyzing interaction using discourse

analysis, and complementing this analysis with a content analysis of the comments the participants made on the interaction in follow-up interviews.

The *perception of language proficiency face* (RQ2) encompasses the various concepts, beliefs, thoughts, feelings, and experiences of which participants report their awareness with regard to their own and other participants' vulnerable image as a language user, both in the interaction and beyond it. In addition, it includes various underpinnings behind proficiency face, such as one's conception of what language proficiency is in general terms and one's L2 self. The research question will be answered by content analysis of the interviews with participants as well as of my own autobiographical notes.

The interaction data in this study is from lingua franca settings in which most of the participants are not very experienced users of English. This choice allowed the assumption that their proficiency face concerns would emerge, and that the participants might themselves be aware of these concerns. Furthermore, the two interaction data sets were from situations where English was used as a means of communication; they were not language learning situations. Both settings can be characterized as institutional talk (Drew & Heritage 1992: 22), which means that they involve some goals that derive from the institution, which may impose some particular constraints. Given the goal-oriented nature of the interaction, it is likely that the participants will focus more on the content goals than on language. The data could therefore give a realistic indication of the potential significance of proficiency face in real-life interaction. The two interaction data sets differ in that in one of them the participants are professionally novices (students in a workshop), while in the other they are established social services professionals in a situation in which there are also participants present who do not speak English, with whom mediation is needed. A further difference is that in the student workshop data, the participants collaborated on a joint project for several days and had a clear objective, while the meeting of social services professionals was a one-off, one-hour event.

Because proficiency face is not always visible in interaction, introspective data was also required. This data includes material from interviews with participants in the interaction data. The aim of the interviews was, in part, to gain post-commentary on video clips in which language proficiency face was thought to be prominent. Also, participants' other views concerning L2 use were discussed in the interviews. In addition to interviews, my own autobiographical data was used to shed light on the emotional and cognitive underpinnings of face. In sum, this study has three kinds of data:

1. Authentic face-to-face L2 interaction.
2. Interviews with participants of the interaction data employing the stimulated recall method.
3. Introspective data, i.e. my own autobiographical data.

The first research question (RQ1), about how language proficiency face is visible in L2 interaction, was first addressed through discourse analysis of the naturally occurring interaction data. Extracts from the interaction data that were marked for language proficiency face were looked at more closely. They are passages in

which there were problems of understanding, meaning negotiations, unsmooth production or passages that contain overt commentary on language or language skills. These extracts were analyzed using discourse analysis. This analysis was enriched by the content analysis of the interviews with participants involved in the interaction data. In these interviews, participants commented on the extracts, the communication event, and their language-use history on a more general level. The second research question (RQ2), on how participants perceive L2 language proficiency face, was addressed through content analysis of the same data from the interviews with the participants in the interaction and of my own introspective data.

In Chapter 2, I discuss the theoretical framework of the study. Sections 2.1 and 2.2 introduce two of the three main concepts in the title of the study, face (2.1) and facework (2.2), and Section 2.3 the third one, language proficiency. These three topics are brought together in Section 2.4, in which language self-concept, language users' image of themselves as a language user, is discussed as an underpinning of face. After that, Section 2.5 discusses methods in face studies, Section 2.6 reviews earlier research on face issues in relation to language proficiency, and Section 2.7 introduces the research questions. Chapter 3 introduces the data and methods. Chapter 4 discusses how language proficiency facework emerges in the data, and Chapter 5 how the participants perceive proficiency face. Chapter 6 combines some of the key findings presented in Chapters 4 and 5 by introducing the concept of proficiency facework posture. Finally, in Chapter 7, the findings are discussed from the point of view of each research question, the study is evaluated, and suggestions for research are given.

2 FACE AND LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY IN INTERACTION

2.1 Face as an image of self that others (should) acknowledge

As an image of self, face as a social or socio-psychological concept is widely thought to have originated in East Asia, mainly deriving from the Chinese concepts *mian zi* and *lian*. For the Chinese, *mian zi* and *lian* are synonymous in some contexts but they also have differences. *Mian zi* is considered less serious and can be enhanced, while *lian* is more fundamental, and its loss is associated with dishonor and disgrace. Many scholars consider that *lian* cannot be positively influenced (Gao 2009; Haugh & Hinze 2003: 1588-1599). Gao (2009: 180-182) studied the difference between *mian zi* and *lian* as perceived by the Chinese and found four fundamental differences. First, *mian zi* covers a broader selection of events and, second, its loss is less severe than loss of *lian*. Third, *mian zi* is associated with more trivial events, such as not having enough money to buy a present for a girlfriend, whereas *lian* is concerned with more serious matters, such as being sent to jail for corruption. Finally, loss of *lian* is interconnected with morality and is the result of the person's own action, while loss of *mian zi* does not have the moral dimension, and can be provoked by either the self or the other.

The first traces of the concept of *face* in the English language in the figurative meaning are from the late 19th century (OED 2013). In the western hemisphere, the concept of face was made famous by Goffman (1967). *Face*, the name for part of the physical body, has the meaning 'face' as the figurative image of self also in many other languages, for example 'kasvot' in Finnish, 'das Gesicht' cin German, 'лицо' [litso] in Russian, and 'la face' in French. The most common English-language word combination with 'face' is 'to lose face', the expression of which can also be easily found in the European Union translation database en.linguee.com with literal counterparts of the English words in many languages, such as 'menettää kasvot' in Finnish, 'Gesicht verlieren' in German, 'потерять лицо' [poterjat' litso] in Russian, and 'perdre la face' in French. Face can

nowadays be considered a key concept in sociology, anthropology, communication studies, sociolinguistics, and linguistic pragmatics.

Face has been defined as an "image of self" (Goffman 1967:5), "public self-image" (Brown and Levinson 1987:61), "a claimed sense of favorable social self-worth that a person wants others to have of her or him" (Ting-Toomey and Kurogi (1998: 187), and "public identity – the 'you' presented to others" (Domenici and Littlejohn 2006: 7-9). Goffman described face as "positive social value" (1967: 5), a sacred value that a person claims to themselves. Acknowledgment by others is central to the concept of face, but scholars have differing views on whether the owner's claim or expectation is relevant (see a more detailed discussion of this in Section 2.2.3). More clearly than other self-related concepts, such as identity, self-belief, self-concept or self-esteem, face cannot be gained in the holder's mind independently of other people, but can only be seen as something that others have given one as "a loan" (Goffman 1967:5).

Along with face as an image of self, there is a gamut of self-related concepts in various disciplines, such as philosophy, social psychology, cognitive science, psycholinguistics, and second language acquisition. These include *self, person, self-concept, self-esteem, self-efficacy, identity, agency* and *subject*. These concepts, which have a range of different scholarly definitions, form "a confusing and frustrating tangle of interrelated terms and constructs", as Mercer (2011: 336) puts it. Many of the concepts lack a universally accepted definition, and the use and suggested definitions of these concepts partly overlap (Kostoulas and Mercer 2016: 128). Consequently, it is difficult to position *face* unequivocally in relation to these other concepts.

Before the millennium, in linguistic pragmatics, the concept of face was primarily studied in connection with politeness, mainly as a consequence of Brown and Levinson's (1978/1987) seminal theory of politeness, which put equation marks between politeness and facework (see e.g. Kádár and Haugh 2013: 18-26). Brown and Levinson's (1978/1987) theory of politeness divided face into two parts. Positive face is the desire for approval and admiration, while negative face is the desire for autonomy in action and freedom from imposition (Brown & Levinson 1987: 60-61). They saw the two faces as existing independently of any interaction. Politeness for Brown and Levinson, in turn, meant deviating from Grice's (1975) four maxims of communication - relevance, quantity, quality, and manner - for the sake of positive or negative face. The facework/politeness required in any situation depends on the seriousness of the face threat, which in turn depends on three factors: the degree of imposition of the act, the degree of social (horizontal) distance between the interlocutors, and the power balance between the speaker and the hearer. The face-threatening act could be performed off record (e.g. by hinting), doing it directly (bald on record), or with a redressive action. For Brown and Levinson, this redressive action was identical to politeness. Negative politeness aimed to soften the imposition on negative face, i.e., a person's autonomy. In contrast, positive politeness highlighted the hearer's positive face (e.g., by praising or by highlighting a close

relationship between the speaker and the hearer). In Brown and Levinson's theory, face threat was thus something one participant caused to themselves or, more often, to their interlocutor, which emphasized the other's face.

Although groundbreaking in its time and immensely influential during the following decades, Brown and Levinson's model has also been the target of criticism, and not only because of the conceptual merger of facework and politeness. Their theory has been criticized, e.g., for its unwarranted claim for cultural universalism, particularly concerning the claim for individualism and rationality behind face claims and the resulting "western" idea of negative face (Haugh 2009; Lim 2009: 253; Bargiela-Chiappini 2003: 1460–1463; Arundale 2009: 38), for the excessive focus on other's face (Arundale 2009: 38); for the claim that certain speech acts are inherently polite or impolite (Gu 1990, Spencer-Oatey 2000b, 2002: 533); for the idea that only one of the face types, positive or negative, can be threatened at any one time (Lim and Bowers 1991: 418); and for seeing indirectness as synonymous with face-saving (Blum-Kulka 1987; Holtgraves and Yang 1990).

In this millennium, there has been a growing body of research in which face and politeness have been studied separately, each in its own right, as the connection between the two concepts is increasingly seen as being only partial (for discussion of the relationship between the concepts of face and politeness, see e.g. Bargiela-Chiappini 2003, Haugh & Bargiela-Chiappini 2010: 2073; Arundale 2013a: 108; Domenici and Littlejohn 2006: 10; Penman 1994). Face is seen as a wider and more fundamental concept than politeness (Haugh 2009:3; Kádár and Haugh 2013: 19, 51-52).

2.2 Dichotomies in face research

Scholars have different conceptualizations of face with different theoretical underpinnings. This leads to fundamental differences in how face is defined. This kind of inter-paradigmatic dichotomies include face as universal vs. culture-specific (discussed in section 2.2.1), how face should be divided into different parts (section 2.2.2), face as something that is wanted and gained, or something that is only gained (section 2.2.3), face an individual property vs. face as a feature of a relationship (section 2.2.4). Also, although most face researchers acknowledge the existence of both the situation-specific and permanent face, the emphasis these two aspect gain, varies (ection 2.2.5). As for methods, face researchers have different views on how face should be studied in interaction (section 2.2.6). Face theories are introduced and discussed in these terms in the following sections, and the stance taken in this study is summarized in Section 2.8.

2.2.1 The face as universal vs. culture-specific

A fundamental dichotomy in face discussion has been that between etic and emic[1] concepts of face; those defined by researchers and those as folk concepts. Related to this discussion is the question of whether it is possible to define face as a universal concept (as was claimed by e.g., Brown and Levinson, and Lim and Bowers), or if face is inherently culture-specific. When seeking culture-specific conceptualizations of face, Haugh (2009:5; also Haugh & Bargiela-Chiappini 2010: 2073) warned about accepting emic folk notions of face as functional categories without ascertaining their existence in interaction.

Much of the discussion and research on culture and its influence on face, as many of the studies quoted below show, has been based on a rather unproblematized concept of culture as quite homogenous and quite essentialistic, and primarily based on the idea of national cultures (for a more detailed discussion, see Bargiela-Chiappini 2009: 312–315). They have tended to ignore that "cultural systems overlap and coexist within geographical boundaries but do not correspond neatly to what we know as 'nations' and 'societies' and often cross them" (ibid, 313). The fluid and variable concept of culture needs to be kept in any discussion of the relationship between face and culture, particularly in international contexts, where people's identities are elaborately negotiated. Culture as "a system of symbols with a real but thin coherence that is continually put at risk in practice and therefore subject to transformation" (Sewell 1999: 53) should not be rigidly claimed to be the sole explanation for individuals' behavior, let alone to be a way of predicting it. This is particularly true in the context of multicultural communication. Culture is difficult to grasp, and its influence on an individual's behavior in one specific international context is even more elusive. Nevertheless, culture does affect how an individual and the individual's relationship to their community are perceived, and therefore a brief summary of some of the findings is justified.

Much of the discussion on the universality versus culture-specificity of face has focused on the difference between European/North American and East Asian conceptualizations of face (see e.g., Lim 2009; Kádár and Pan 2012; Matsumoto 1998; Gao 2009; Haugh & Hinze 2003). In this discussion, one argument presented against the universal conceptualization of face as an image of self is that *the self* is understood differently in different cultures. "The strong boundary of self" (Hsu 1985 quoted in Scollon and Scollon 1994: 151-2) can be drawn in different places. For example, in Chinese thinking, spouses, intimate friends, and children are within the strong boundary of self, whereas in western thinking, they are outside of it. Thus, unlike in European culture, the behavior of a sibling, for example, can cause a severe face gain or loss in Chinese culture.

Another major point of criticism of the idea of the universality of face is the individual's different position in collectivistic cultures, i.e., in cultures where the benefit of the group more often overrides the benefit of an individual than vice

---

[1] For various interpretations of the concepts emic and etic, see Spencer-Oatey and Kadar 2016: 4-6.

versa (see e.g., Ting-Toomey and Kurogi 1998: 180). For example, Chinese and many other East Asian cultures are considered collectivistic, holistic, and relativistic (Lim 2009: 251). In those cultures, people tend not to analyze others as a set of isolated attributes, as in western analytical cultures, but instead base their judgment on a holistic impression. Furthermore, individuals are primarily seen as parts of larger social groupings (e.g., companies, organizations, families) rather than independent actors. In that kind of social framework, relations are not seen to exist primarily between individuals, but as individuals' "co-orientation towards the whole" (ibid: 252). This collectivistic thinking is seen in the Japanese idea of a place behind face (Haugh & Watanabe 2009: 79). The place consists of both "group-based relationships of belonging" and "social standing as distinct from others". Thus, for a Japanese person, the main question is not one of territory (as e.g. in Brown and Levinson's negative face), but "position in relation to others in the group and his/her acceptance by others" (Matsumoto 1988: 405).

Despite the fluidity of culture, it has been argued that in some contexts, bi-cultural people tend to choose between one and the other cultural schema rather than form a new, merged one. For example, Cross & Gore (2003: 555) found that bi-cultural people use only one system of self at a given time and would rather change cultural frames than use merged ones. In addition, the cultural beliefs that respondents have displayed in research have been dependent on the language used in the questionnaire, so that bilingual and bi–cultural people's answers have varied according to the language of the questionnaire. (For a more profound discussion of cultural models of the self, see Cross and Gore 2003).

Another cultural dimension of face that Ting-Toomey and Kurogi (1998: 188) have discussed is the difference or similarity between the *social* self and the *private* self. In some cultures, one is expected to act according to the community's role-specific expectations, regardless of one's feelings or perception of face loss at the moment of interaction. In Goffman's terms, in those cultures, individuals are expected to display *poise* in situations where they perceive that they have lost face. In collectivistic cultures, too, people's behavior differs strongly depending on whether they are interacting with in-group or out-group members, and whether the situation is private or public.

Discussions on the universality and culture specificity of face have included discussion not only of culturally different conceptualizations of face and common perceptions of it, but also the different significance of face in communication and social relations across cultures. For example, in Leung and Cohen's (2011) cultural model, cultures are divided into three different types: honor cultures, dignity cultures, and face cultures (see also Bargiela-Chiappini 2003: 1463 and Earley 1997). Broadly speaking, the difference between the three types of cultures can be expressed as follows. In honor cultures, which include many cultures in the Middle East, Latin America, and North Africa, as well as certain macho communities within western culture, such as military or sports sub-cultures, one loses face if one does not defend one's reputation by all necessary means, and repay favors and insults. In contrast, in face cultures,

typically in East Asia, face loss derives from failure to fulfill one's place in the hierarchy, as well as from causing others shame. Finally, in dignity cultures, typical of Europe and North America, the face overall seems to be less relevant than one's inner self-worth, and facework in dignity cultures, it is argued, is motivated by a sense of individual responsibility, i.e., conscience. That is why personal values and one's own self-concepts become significant factors behind facework in dignity cultures (Earley 1997: 95-96, 137; Spencer-Oatey 2007: 649-653). Thus, face seems to be a more meaningful factor in social life and interaction in honor and face cultures, while in dignity cultures it takes a smaller role (Bargiela-Chiappini 2003: 1463; Gao 2009: 175).

There have been a number of articles in which face is discussed from the point of view of a national culture, based on different theoretical frameworks. These include, for example, Koutlaki (2009) on the collectivistic, two-part Persian face, Labben (2016) on Tunisian face, and Ukosakul (2009) on Thai face.

In sum, despite the fluidity of the concepts of *culture* and *community*, the above discussion on the place of the strong limits of self, the individual's role as a free agent as opposed to a dutiful occupant of their place in the social order, and the perceived importance of the situation-specific as opposed to the permanent aspects of face, serves to cast doubt on whether a universal definition of face is at all possible.

2.2.2   Divisions of face

After the above-summarized Brown and Levinson's face theory, several other frameworks have been suggested in which face has been divided into some (usually two or three) complementary components, different faces. Some of them have been extensions or modifications of Brown and Levinson's positive/negative face model. A system of three face types, autonomy face, fellowship face, and competence face, was suggested by Lim (1994: 210-211) and Lim and Bowers (1991: 420). In their model, autonomy face is the person's image as independent, mature, self-sufficient, and free from the interference of others, resembling Brown and Levinson's negative face. With regard to Brown and Levinson's positive face, Lim and Bower's model offers two counterparts: fellowship face is the person's image as a likeable, co-operative and agreeable companion, and competence face is the image of the person as intelligent, capable and influential, in both the past and the future. The face wants corresponding to the three face types are the want not to be imposed upon (autonomy), the want to be included (fellowship), and the want to have one's abilities respected (competence). As regards protection, autonomy face is protected by facework to maximize freedom and minimize being imposed upon by others, fellowship face by, for example, minimizing differences and emphasizing shared interests and common ground, and competence face by ignoring or understating any negative aspects (Lim 1994: 212). Domenici and Littlejohn (2006:10) point out that competence face overlaps with both fellowship and autonomy faces: competence makes one valuable and desirable, and gives one the resources to be autonomous.

O'Driscoll (1996: 4) expanded Brown and Levinson's idea of two faces, which he argued was based on universal needs, with a third type, culture-specific face, a desire for good face which would be culturally determined. As discussed above with regard to the idea of the universality of face, one problem of this model is that the assumption of the universality of positive and negative faces is likely to be unfounded; they are culture-specific. It has been argued by, e.g., Lim (2009: 253), Bargiela-Chiappini (2003: 1460–1463) and Arundale (2009: 38) that particularly the idea of autonomy, which is a crucial aspect of negative face, is far from universal.

A different division was made by Spencer-Oatey (2002: 540), who divided face into quality face and social identity face. Quality face is based on our fundamental desire for people to evaluate us positively; it includes features such as competence, abilities, and appearance, and thus is closely associated with the sense of personal self-esteem. The second aspect is social identity face, the fundamental desire "to acknowledge and uphold our social identities or roles" (ibid.), which is thus closely associated with our sense of public worth. Spencer-Oatey's quality face therefore resembles Lim and Bowers' competence face, while her social identity face seems to overlap both with Lim and Bowers' fellowship face and with their competence face.

Some other face models have also been suggested, and they will be discussed below in connection to the "ownership" of face (2.2.4) and face as a permanent as opposed to a situation-specific phenomenon (2.2.5).

2.2.3   Face as want vs. gain

There is no consensus among scholars as to whether face is the image that the face-owner wants or claims to have or the one they are given. For example, Goffman (1967: 5) described face as (all emphases added) the "positive social value *a person effectively claims* for himself," Lim (1994: 210) as "what *one thinks* others should think of one's worth" and Spencer-Oatey (2009: 141) as "positively-evaluated attributes that *the claimant wants* others to acknowledge (explicitly or implicitly)." These views represent the idea that face is based on the owner's desire, i.e., what they want others to think about them. Often this want remains unconscious until someone acts against it. The opposite view is that the face-owner's own wants are not relevant; face is the image others ascribe to them, i.e., what the face-owner gains, as suggested by e.g. Haugh and Hinze (2003) and Ruhi (2010: 2134). In terms of acknowledgment of face, the question is if the face is mainly something the claimant wants to be acknowledged or if it is something that is actually only acknowledged by others. In the former sense, the promotion, maintenance, gain, and loss of face resides in the similarity or difference between face wants, claims or expectations, and the face gained. In other words, if face wants/expectations are fulfilled in others' behavior, face is maintained. If they are exceeded, face is gained, while if they are not fulfilled, face is lost. Also, the face owner can promote their image actively to ensure that their face wants become acknowledged. In the latter sense, face would be considered through the

signs of face acknowledgment, without comparing them to the face owner's expectations.

In this study, the former stance is adopted. Face wants, or claims, are seen as a fundamental starting point of the consideration of face, and how interlocutors acknowledge these wants is the other side of the coin. One treats the other's face on the basis of wants one assumes the other to have. Often one becomes aware of one's face wants only when one finds that one's interlocutor either does not acknowledge them or exceeds them. Face wants or face claims are considered the basis of face.

2.2.4   Face as a property of an individual vs. relationship

During the last two decades, there have been alternative views of face, where face is not seen as the image of an individual but rather an attribute of a relationship, or even a concept close to the relationship itself. These theories include the one put forward by O'Driscoll (2007) of face as connection/belonging as opposed to separation/individuation, Terkourafi's (2007) proposal of face as approach and withdrawal, and Arundale's (2010, 2009) Face Constituting Theory, in which face is conceptualized in terms of relations, in more concrete terms, the connectedness/separateness of conversation partners. Arundale (2010: 2078) defines face as ''the relationship two or more persons create with one another in interaction" and "the interactional achieving and conjoint co-constituting of connectedness with others, in dialectical tension with separateness from them'' (ibid: 2103). However, elsewhere Arundale has made a further notion that he does not see relationship and face as identical: "FCT [Arundale's Face Constituting Theory] conceptualizes face in terms of relating, but that does not imply conceptualizing relating in terms of face" (Arundale 2013b: 139). Thus, despite the definition of face quoted above, Arundale acknowledges that his face concept does not cover all aspects of relationships.

The connected/separateness as face resembles Lim and Bower's autonomy face and fellowship face, but in Face Constituting Theory, they are seen from the point of view of a dyad, not of an individual. Although Face Constituting Theory provides an appealingly meticulous analytical tool for studying interpersonal relationships in interaction and makes it possible to study face issues by taking a dialogical stance to interaction, it seems to have narrowed the concept of face to little more than the dynamism of connectedness and separateness. It inherently leaves little space for person-centered, attributive dimensions of face such as respectfulness, reputation, dignity, and competence, and so it has come further from emic notions of face. Therefore, in this study, I have adopted a conceptualization of face based on image-of-self, which can better grasp perceptions of such competence-related aspects of face as language proficiency than the relationship-based face constituting theory.

The interpersonal or relational aspect of face, however, has also been discussed by scholars who have adopted an individual-based view of face. Domenici and Littlejohn (2006: 13) suggest three facework types divided in line with three identities: personal identity, relational identity, and group identity

(ibid: 9). Different kinds of facework are thus directed toward a person, a relationship, or a system/community. This kind of broadening of the facework concept extends the idea of facework into the area that Spencer-Oatey calls rapport management. According to Spencer-Oatey (2008:32), participants can be involved in an interaction with different orientations, to enhancing, maintaining, challenging, or neglecting the rapport. Nevertheless, in her view, these emotional dynamics of relations, as well as other aspects of relations, i.e., "traditional pragmatic descriptors," such as distance/closeness, or role rights and obligations, are not a matter of facework. Instead, for Spencer-Oatey:

> … face is always a personal, interpretive phenomenon, even though it can be experienced with respect to a relationship, a group and/or individual attributes, and even though it can be influenced by social opinion/evaluations/ judgements" (Spencer-Oatey 2013: 150).

An example of the kind of empirical study in which face is seen as a personal phenomenon but experienced with respect to a relationship is Santamaría-García's (2014) study, based on Brown and Levinson's face concept, on how strategies directed to positive face are used for relational work.

In the face theories based on Goffman's (1967) idea of face as "image of self", discussed above, such as those by Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987), Ting-Toomey (1994, 1998), Lim and Bowers (1991), and Spencer-Oatey (2005, 2007, 2009), it makes sense to discuss one's *own face* and the *other's face*, and similarly, facework as directed to one's own face, the other's face, or both. Some scholars in the tradition based on image-of-self have argued that one can have similar face concern for the group to which one belongs as one has for oneself (Haugh 2007; Ho 1976; Nwoye 1992). One may feel pride in one's group or community (e.g. family, company, nation) when the community is particularly successful, or shame when the opposite is the case. This pride or shame can be considered an instance of collective face. Magistro (2011) discusses the idea of national face in Europe, which is based on esteem for and pride in one's nation. In addition to self-related and collective face, another aspect of face can be pinpointed, that of mutual face, which is the image of the relationship itself, "who we are" within this relationship (Ting-Toomey and Kurogi 1998; Ting-Toomey & Oetzel 2001: 37; Domenici and Littlejohn 2006; 9).

In this study, face is treated as a vulnerable image of self, and thus a person's property, rather than a property of a dual relationship. The primary focus is on one's own and the other's face; mutual face and collective face are also discussed, but rather briefly.

2.2.5   Face as permanent vs. situation-specific

One of the theoretical debates in face theories is the permanent versus situation-specific nature of face. At least two different aspects can be distinguished in this discussion. As for the essence of *face*, there is the idea that some elements of face have a more permanent nature than others. As for *facework*, there have been claims that facework should be studied over a more extended period of action

than just one utterance or speech act. The first aspect is briefly summarized here, and the second will be discussed below, in Section 2.4, where facework is discussed in more detail.

Partly in line with the Chinese division into two faces *mian zi* and *lian*, which were discussed above, some scholars have suggested that face should be divided into two, a more permanent face and a more situation-specific face, but these divisions do not necessarily have similar differences in terms of morality. Spencer-Oatey (2005: 102, 2007: 653) calls the more permanent side respectability face and the other, more situation-specific side, identity face, although she later (Spencer-Oatey 2007: 653) came to the conclusion that this division is blurred. Ho (1976: 883) named the two aspects of face as pan-situational and situation-specific.

Lim (2009: 253) argues that the relative weight of each of the two sides of face is culture-dependent. In relativistic societies, the permanent aspect of face is more important than the situation-specific. According to Lim (2009), in Korean culture, face is understood very broadly and goes beyond social contacts, encompassing what one owns, where one lives, or how much one donates to charity. The concept of face thus comes close to the English-language folk notion of reputation.

A majority of face studies, including the present study for the most part, have focused on the more fluid and situation-specific side of face which emerges in fairly short interactions. This approach has been criticized by e.g. Wang and Spencer-Oatey (2015: 63), who claim that the endurance of face "across incidents" should be a major concern of face studies instead of situation-specific short-term face fluctuations.

In line with face, one's language self-concept or L2 self, which functions as an underpinning of language proficiency face wants, may have both short-term and long-term qualities. These are discussed in more detail in the next section (2.3) with regard to overall self-concept, and in Section 2.6 with regard to language self-concept.

2.2.6 Methods in face research including vs. excluding participant interviews

Despite the discussion above about face having underpinnings beyond interaction and social contacts (Lim 2009), it is widely agreed that face issues should mainly be studied in interaction, as face both presupposes evaluation of others and is co-constituted in interaction (Haugh 2009: 6). Often in face studies, chunks of interaction that are considered marked for face are analyzed. On the other hand, if we assume, as has been suggested, that all communication includes facework, the claim for markedness becomes less warranted. Nevertheless, from the research point of view, it is more useful to tackle questions of face in passages of interaction in which face issues seem to be more prominent than elsewhere, in other words, at points where face threat seems more imminent than elsewhere.

Accepting the view that a stretch of interaction can be marked for face, identifying this markedness involves making a judgment, i.e., a decision as to whether an utterance, an act, a scene in an episode or the overall communication

style is marked from the point of view of face (see Haugh 2009:7; McMartin, Wood & Kroger 2001). Researchers vary in their opinion as to whose judgment should be trusted. Arundale (2010: 2095) argues that participants are not necessarily conscious of their own interpretation of face-relevant features, because much of this interpretation takes place sub-consciously. Therefore the researcher is not supposed to interview participants about face issues, but to trust simply their own observation and analysis. This is the opposite view to that of Spencer-Oatey (2007:648), who considers that participant commentary is essential in order to detect "cognitive underpinnings that influence (but do not determine) how face unfolds in interaction [...] considering these will inform and enrich an interactional analysis." Similarly, O'Driscoll (2007: 258-260) emphasizes participant perception in the analysis of face, especially the addressee's point of view. Also for Haugh (2009: 7-8) the triangulation of the analyst's perspectives with those of the participant is fundamental to making sure that the researcher's views are "analogous – although not necessarily synonymous" with those of the participant. Otherwise, there is a risk of ontological circularity, where talk is used as evidence of a psychological state and is later explained as a function or reflection of this psychological state.

To shed more light on the necessity of participant interpretation, I wish to present a short example from my field notes to illustrate how only one participant's view or an outside analyst's view would fail to find the essential angle in the description of proficiency face threats and facework.

> I was at an international education fair venue in Russia the day before the fair was opened, helping my Russian colleague who was arranging the stand of my institution. After getting the job done, I circulated and I popped over to a stand of another Finnish university, where I saw a Russian woman arranging the stand. I greeted her in Russian, and the woman returned my greeting. After that, I remember asking some fairly simple question about the stand or the fair in Russian. The woman seemed to avoid my gaze and said in Russian that she didn't understand my question. I repeated the question, pronouncing it as clearly and correctly as possible, and she repeated that she couldn't understand. Now that I was sure my pronunciation had been clear enough, I began wondering if there was something unusual about my word choice, although there should not have been as the question was something quite simple. I remember feeling frustrated and assumed that it was something about my Russian skills. Somewhat annoyed, I asked her in Russian which part of my question was impossible to understand. She shook her head and answered to me in English that she was from Finland and speaks only very little Russian. We continued the conversation in our native Finnish.

Let us consider the above incident in terms of the proficiency faces of the two participants. My immediate - false - perception was that I had failed to ask a simple question in such a way that the native interlocutor could understand it, and that this derived from some inadequacy in my Russian skills. Of course, we now know that this problem of understanding did not undermine my image as a Russian speaker in the eyes of my interlocutor, who knew very little Russian, but had I given up the attempts at clarification earlier, I could have remained under this false impression and could have perceived that I had lost proficiency face. Admittedly, the social relevance of the face loss in the eyes of a stranger would have been minor, but it would still have existed, based on "what I think

she thinks of me", and it would probably have affected my L2 self, at least in some limited manner.

My interlocutor's proficiency face was not in danger in my eyes as I falsely assumed that she had native speaker status, and that false assumption persisted over a few turns. I have no idea whether my interlocutor found her proficiency face threatened during the interaction; in other words, whether her non-understanding was in harmony with her L2 self, or whether she felt that her face was threatened in front of me because of her non-understanding. When our shared Finnish-speaker status was acknowledged, the code-switch was done for convenience rather than as facework, but it made the whole proficiency face issue void for me.

As can be seen, perceptions of the relevance of proficiency face and the realization of facework may differ for different participants in an interaction. The contextual features that affect face claims and the interpretation of facework, such as the falsely assumed native speaker status in the above example, are not necessarily shared, but perceived and interpreted differently by each participant. Neither are the assumptions that are made necessarily visible in the interaction to an outside observer who, in my example, might not have shared my assumption of the interlocutor's native-speaker status or observed the threat to my proficiency face that I felt. An outside observer would have seen only one apparently fluent person trying to start a conversation in Russian and another person who seemed reluctant to participate until she ended the Russian-language exchange with an English metalinguistic comment.

Reflective interviews to find out participants' perceptions may make use of a stimulated recall method, which aims to elicit thoughts and feelings of the participant in interviews. This method includes showing them a video or audio clip from the interaction. The stimulated recall method should be used as soon after the interaction event as possible, preferably within 48 hours (Dörnyei 2007: 149; Gass & Mackey 2000). In addition to giving a commentary on the interaction, the interview enables participants to comment on matters related to their face outside of the interaction situation, including factors such as language self-concepts and language attitudes, which underpin face.

Admittedly, the stimulated recall method is far from unproblematic. There are problems recalling what has happened, despite the attempt to stay within the 48-hour limit. In addition, participants' comments in the interviews are co-constructed by the researcher and the participant (see Spencer-Oatey 2013; Haugh 2010), and the interview situation is another enactment of face, as Spencer-Oatey (2007: 654) pointed out. With regard to language proficiency face, the interviewees can do facework for two reasons: first, they may do facework concerning their earlier interaction, just viewed on the video clips. For example, they can explain or justify an action to give a better image of themselves as a language user. Second, they may do facework to protect their proficiency face concerning what is going on in the current interview situation, for example, to avoid displaying deficiencies in their language skills. Another problem with the stimulated recall method is that the participant's perception in the actual

situation may have been unmarked for proficiency and passed without further notice; the face markedness may only come to mind afterwards, when viewing the video. In this case, the interviewee might find explanations for their behavior whose relevance in the actual interaction would be questionable. Nevertheless, stimulated recall can reveal sides of the facework and perceptions of face concept in the interaction that mere analysis of the interaction would not disclose, like the proficiency face threat I felt in the example I gave above. In addition, as in Haugh's summary (above), it may even be considered an ontological necessity.

In addition to allowing analysis of the interaction data and participant post-commentary, interviews can also encourage introspection: interviews can include questions that are not about the interaction, but lead to participant introspections on their views, opinions and earlier experience. In addition, the use of autobiographical memoirs in the study of face is uncommon but not unknown. Face researchers have used their own life experience and the recollection and interpretation of their own feelings in argumentation (see e.g. Spencer-Oatey 2007: 645). Pavlenko (2007: 164–165) points out that autobiographical narratives enable us to gain "insights into people's private worlds." In this sense, autobiographical narratives may reveal a person's face considerations that are not visible in the interaction, as my own example above indicated. Ellis (1998) conducted an autoethnographic study on a self-related topic with an evident face element, i.e., a mild bodily stigma. One's perception of not having sufficient L2 resources for the situation at hand is, as a potential source of one's own face loss, not as serious as such un uncommon minor speech defect as lisping, but it can give rise to a similar experience of face sensitivity on the part of the face owner. Also, minor bodily stigmas as own-face threats do not differ so much from having perceptibly insufficient language skills in that they

> …rarely become the focus of attention or interrupt social interaction. Nonetheless, […] they produce distress and anxiety regarding how others perceive and attribute meanings to them and how these characteristics influence self-presentation, social location and subsequent action". (Ellis 1998: 517).

Using autobiographical data to triangulate the findings from interaction data is thus justified in the study of face. The three methods, the discourse analysis of interaction data, content analysis of participant interviews that include post-commentary on the interaction, and introspective methods, are thus a combination that offers a wider and richer view of face issues.

2.3 Self-concept and other socio-psychological underpinnings of face

In the context of northern Europe, the loose cultural framework from which some of the participants and almost all the interview respondents of this study come, facework can be seen primarily as motivated by conscience, personal values, and one's own self-concepts (Earley 1997: 95-96, 137; Spencer-Oatey 2007: 649-653). In

this section, face is briefly discussed in relation to self-concept and other socio-psychological underpinnings of face.

While most scholars find face and identity as fairly separated concepts, the North American School of Communication Studies have defined face in terms of identity (see discussion on this development in, e.g., Garcés-Conejos Blitvich 2013: 4; Haugh 2009: 3-4). Garcés-Conejos Blitvich (2013: 15) points out that already in Goffman's conceptualization, face and identity were close. Joseph (2013: 35) described similarities between identity and face: they are both "imagining of the self or of another within the public sphere involving multiple actors". Thus Joseph's conceptualization of identity comes quite close to Goffman's idea of face as image of self. Domenici and Littlejohn (2006: 7-9) divide a person's identity into personal, relational and community identities, which together form a coherent though not always consistent whole. The corresponding images one wants to present to others include dignity, i.e., fulfilling the values of one's communities; honor, which is brought by others who see one's positive role in society; and respect, which comes from others' admiration of one's individual and collective achievements.

A framework of face in which competence, such as language proficiency, and one's own self-concepts, such as language self-concept or L2 self, can be integrated, is Spencer-Oatey's (2013a, 2007, 2005) model of face. She bases her theory of face on Simon's (2004) socio-psychological self-aspect model of identity (for other definitions of identity, see e.g., Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004b: 13; Norton 1997: 410; Kramsch 2009: 25; Maddux & Gosselin 2003: 219; Blommaert 2005: 204; Penuel and Wertsch's 1995: 90-91). Following Simon (2004), Spencer-Oatey (2007: 64) states that identity is" a shorthand expression or placeholder for social psychological processes revolving around self-definition or self-interpretation." According to Simon's (2004) Self-Aspect Model of Identity, a person's self-concept consists of different beliefs about their own attributes, including personality traits, abilities, physical features, behavioral characteristics, ideologies, social roles, group memberships and, importantly for this study, language affiliations. These attributes change in valence (good singer vs. bad singer), centrality to the owner (it is important to me that I am a good singer vs. it is irrelevant to me if I am a good singer), currency (past-present-future), and actuality (actual-ideal) (Spencer-Oatey 2007: 641). Following Brewer and Gardner (1996: 84), and somewhat similarly to Domenici and Littlejohn, above, Spencer-Oatey distinguishes three levels of self-representation: the individual level (e.g., sporty, stubborn, likes basketball, Catholic), the interpersonal level (e.g., wife and mother, Ann's best friend), and the group level (e.g., member of basketball team, Catholic). As can be seen in the examples, depending on the situation, some of these aspects, such as Catholic, can be classified as either individual or group-level, depending on the situation. Consequently, there are identities on three levels, individual, interpersonal and collective, all both cognitive and social (Spencer-Oatey 2007: 642). On the one hand, people have their own cognitive representations of their identity; on the other hand, they construct and negotiate these identities in interaction. This kind of dual nature of identity resonates with

the dual nature of face suggested by Haugh (2009), i.e., with the idea that face both constitutes interaction and is constituted by interaction.

The self-concept (Spencer-Oatey 2007: 640, paraphrasing Campbell, Assenand and Di Paula 2000: 67) can be defined as "a multi-faceted, dynamic construal that contains beliefs about one's attributes as well as episodic and semantic memories about the self. The self-concept operates as a schema, controlling the processing of self-relevant information." Under the broader concept of self-beliefs, Pajares and Schunk (2005: 105) defined self-concept as "a self-description judgment that includes an evaluation of competence and the feelings of self-worth associated with the judgment in question". According to Marsh and Shavelson (1985), self-concept is organized, multifaceted, hierarchical, stable, developmental, evaluative and differentiable. Following the above definition of Pajares and Schunk, self-concept can be seen as a concept having both cognitive and affective dimensions. However, it should be noted that while for some scholars, such as Pajares and Schunk (2005: 105), feelings attached to one's self-beliefs are an integral part of self-concept, for others, such as Maddux and Gosselin (2003: 23*)*, feelings associated with self-beliefs form self-esteem, which is seen as different from self-concept (for discussion, see also Pajares & Schunk 2001: 244).

Some researchers see that *self-belief* is the umbrella term consisting of both more permanent *self-concept* and more context-specific *self-efficacy beliefs*, while for others the umbrella term is *self-concept* covering both more permanent self-concepts and self efficacy beliefs (see Pajares & Schunk 2001: 244). In this study, I refer to *self-concept* in the latter, broader meaning. The more permanent self concept consists of beliefs, perceptions and judgments one has about oneself. *Self-efficacy beliefs* are beliefs about one's ability to "organize and execute the course of action required to produce given attainments" (Bandura 1997: 3). According to Maddux and Gosselin (2003: 23), our self-efficacy beliefs are based on information from five sources. The first is from one's experience of one's own performance, the second from vicarious experience, i.e., what we learn when observing others. Third, we have beliefs based on imaginal experience, i.e., what we imagine we could do, those based, fourth, on verbal persuasion, i.e., what others say about our abilities, and finally, fifth, we get information from our own psychological and emotional states, meaning that when we feel tired or sad, we will probably have less belief in our success in performing an action than when we feel happy and energetic. In interaction, face wants based on self-efficacy beliefs may also vary, depending on transient emotional states, others' actions, or what we conclude about their opinions about our abilities.

In addition to self-concept, which seems to inform one's face wants, face can also be compared with another psychological concept, self-presentation, as suggested by Spencer-Oatey (2007: 642). In psychology, self-presentation is part of impression management, one's attempt to control impressions of oneself (Schlenker 2003: 492-494). Schlenker has, further, noted that "self-presentation […] can also involve attempts to convey to the audiences an 'accurate' portrait of oneself […] Usually this portrait reflects a slightly polished and glorified

conception of self, but one that is genuinely believed by the actor to be true." (Schlenker 2003: 493)

Self-presentation varies in the extent to which it involves automatic or controlled processes, as it can operate in the foreground or the background but is never totally dysfunctional (Spencer-Oatey 2007: 642). People have been found to be less automatic and more conscious in their self-presentation management, in other words, they pay more attention to their own face when they are in a novel situation, they are in a structured situation, they are with unknown people, or they are doing a task that they consider important (Schlenker 2003: 495).

Spencer-Oatey (2007: 644) distinguishes face from self-presentation, suggesting that it is associated only with such aspects of self-presentation as are "affectively sensitive" to the claimant. For Spencer-Oatey, emotional sensitivity is the difference between identity and face, and many other scholars also see identity as an emotionally related phenomenon (see e.g. Joseph 2013: 37). This sensitiveness of an attribute is not permanent but varies in interaction. Face threat, loss, and gain thus result from a perceived mismatch between the claimed degree of sensitivity and attributes that others seem to ascribe to one.

When focusing on competence-related components of face, such as language proficiency, including the idea of sensitivity makes sense, but is not unproblematic. It requires judgment to decide whether the attribute is affectively sensitivity to the claimant. This raises a methodological question: whose judgment is to be relied on when the researcher classifies an attribute as sensitive and relevant to face? This methodological question was discussed in more detail in Section 2.2.6.

The overall concept of face in this study is defined as a sensitive image of self, consisting of attributes that one wants others to acknowledge, or that others assume one wants to be acknowledged. The concept of self-concept is further narrowed down in Section 2.6, where it is discussed from the language proficiency point of view, as a language self-concept or as the L2 self.

2.4 Facework

Almost everything we do can be facework because "there is always some image of self explicitly or implicitly embedded in what we say and how we say it" (Goffman, 1959), but in addition to verbal interaction, facework can also be done through our non-verbal actions. Face fluctuations can take place not only in utterances or turns but also across more extended periods of interaction. Facework is any action one undertakes, consciously or unconsciously, to manage the impression one gives of oneself, i.e., one's own face, or what one wishes to show that s/he thinks about the interlocutors, i.e., the other's/others' face(s). In addition, facework can be done to manage the impression of a dyad of speakers (mutual face), or of the group to which one belongs (collective face). Domenici and Littlejohn (2006: 7) have defined facework as "a set of coordinated practices in which communicators build, maintain, protect, or threaten personal dignity,

honor, and respect." Most often, facework is considered something with positive goals but, as can be seen in Domenici and Littlejohn's definition, it can also include facework for harmful purposes, that is, to threaten others' face. Sometimes facework may be aimed to enhance others' face and diminish one's own if there is a reason for that, for example, when a speaker wants to atone for a recently expressed insult. In the broadest interpretation, as I discussed above in connection with Korean culture, facework can go beyond the here and now of the interaction and involve non-verbal acts that do not directly involve face-givers immediately, such as buying and wearing new clothes.

Most of our engagement in interaction is facework in the sense that we tend to try to present ourselves in a positive light (see Lim 2009: 265). Facework is often backgrounded rather than foregrounded in our attention in everyday activities, i.e., we do not consciously engage in facework but rather operate it with our consciousness's "weaker hand." Most of the time, although people aim to present themselves in a positive light in a situation, the context will largely define how much they are aware of or consciously pay attention to self-presentation (Domenici and Littlejohn 2006: 10; Schlenker 2003: 495). There may be periods in interaction when face issues become more salient, all or some of the participants orient to face, and their facework becomes conscious. As a result of facework done by oneself or others, one's face can be saved from loss, maintained, lost partly or totally, or gained.

 The short-term fluctuations of face that take place at the level of turns or a sequence of a few turns were described by Goffman (1967: 8-9) as stages of face loss and maintenance. Goffman divided the state of one's face into three: one can be "in face", i.e. one's face claims are maintained; "in the wrong face", when "information is brought forth in such a way that face cannot be sustained, even with effort" (ibid.); and "out of face", that is, unable to take the line that would be expected, where one may become "out of touch with the situation" (ibid.). Further on, being "shamefaced" is a more permanent result of either being in the wrong face or being out of face.

Let us consider for a moment what Goffman's concepts, being "in face", being "in the wrong face", being "out of face" and being "shamefaced" may mean for the topic of this study, language proficiency face. For example, let us imagine an L2 discussion between two participants that moves fairly smoothly, as both are orienting to the topic of the discussion. Both participants' language-proficiency-related claims are being implicitly acknowledged, as the participants seem to treat each other as sufficiently competent speakers. Both are in face. One can be in the wrong face, on the other hand, when one has to display poorer language skills than one wishes to display. This happens, for example, when participants, despite their best efforts and probably despite requests for clarification and the ensuing clarifications, cannot understand each other in the L2. What may be face-threatening in this case is, depending on how each participant perceives and interprets the situation, one participant's inability to understand the other, or one participant's inability to explain their meaning clearly, or the two participants' inability to reach mutual understanding. If a

participant interprets from the situation that something like this is happening and supposes that (1) this understanding problem derives from a deficiency in the interlocutor's L2 resources, (2) this lack of resources may not be in line with what the interlocutor believes about their own L2 resources, and (3) the interlocutor is emotionally sensitive about their image as an L2 user, then the participant perceives that this understanding problem is causing a threat to the interlocutor's language proficiency face, and engages in the necessary facework. Another example of a threat of being in the wrong language proficiency face would be when a participant finds that they are mispronouncing something that they had taken for granted they could pronounce correctly, or unexpectedly finds themselves at a loss for words. The third concept, being out of face, means the inability to take the line that would be expected when one has been uncomprehendingly participating in a multi-party discussion and has feigned understanding for so long that one reaches the point that one has no idea what the topic is and cannot possibly make a meaningful contribution. Shamefacing, the more permanent loss of face, happens if one is in the wrong face or out of face for a long period, and the participants cannot mend it, or do not even attempt to mend it, with facework. With regard to language proficiency face, one could feel shamefaced if, for example, there is a series of situations in a conversation where one's L2 resources fall short of what is required to manage the situation, for example if, contrary to one's own expectations, one repeatedly fails to understand questions that one is asked.

A person who has a good capacity to resist being shamefaced is said to have poise. When we say that someone wants to save face, we mean that they aim to sustain the impression to others that they have not lost face. Not having poise, that is, the inability to sustain the impression that one has maintained all the time, particularly for a trivial reason, may cause what Ellis (1998: 526) calls metashame, the shame of being ashamed about something trivial, in other words, shame at not having good poise. Going back to the earlier assumption that face is relevant only with attributes that are sensitive to the claimant, a participant in an interaction may find that they lose face if the competence they display is not up to their own expectations, and if this shortcoming is affectively sensitive for them and they assume that others will evaluate them similarly. They will conclude that their performance puts them in the wrong face on the strength of their own self-assessment, as well as on the strength of how they perceive what others seem to think about them (cf. Haugh and Hinze 2003: 1584).

Different facework strategies are needed when face is in danger, but facework can also be done to boost one's own face or to give face to another, even when there is no danger in sight. This would be rather strengthening the foundations of face than protecting collapsed or collapsing structures. It is argued that allowed or socially acceptable facework practices are culture-dependent (Goffman 1967: 13; Lim 1990). For example, it has been claimed that the socially acceptable amount and intensity of explicit self-praise is very different in California and Japan.

Defensive facework is carried out to save one's own face, whereas protective facework is carried out to save the other's face. Both targets may be accompanied by avoidance, which means avoidance of topics and activities that could cause face threat, either before or during the appearance of face threat. This includes using indirectness when raising face-threatening facts for discussion, giving explanations for one's behavior that makes it seem less face-threatening, or avoiding actions and topics that could cause face threat. One facework strategy, resembling avoidance, is that of prevention (Domenici & Littlejohn: 2006). In prevention, one might prevent someone who might cause face threat from entering the scene.

A corrective facework process takes place after face threat has been detected, and it consists of several phases, the first of which is drawing attention to the face threat (Goffman 1967). This can be followed by the person offended making the threat meaningless, taking it jokingly, or failing to show some expected capacities, claiming that this incapacity is part of their self. The offender, in turn, can offer compensation or self-punishment. If all of the participants take this phase as a satisfactory correction, the face problem is solved. Of course, the offender may continue offending, or the offended may refuse to accept the correction. This results in a more serious disequilibrium. Another strategy is not to draw attention to the face threat, for example by showing poise, which means acting as if one's face was not threatened, or by tactful blindness, when others continue the conversation as if no face loss has taken place. Alternatively, when a person is out of face as a result of unexpected involvement in the interaction, the others can protectively turn away to give the interlocutor time to adapt to the situation. When these attempts are made by the person who has caused the other face threat, even when not entirely successful, they can "polish" the face of the offender, as this person has shown good will towards the other's face (Goffman 1967: 21).

While Goffman's face is based on the idea of the socially approved attributes rather than the emotionally vulnerable attributes of a person's competences, his facework concepts such as poise or tactful blindness seem fully adequate to describe facework dynamics, despite the different social and psychological underpinnings of the concept of face.

Domenici and Littlejohn (2006: 15-16), drawing from Pearce and Cronen (1980), suggested that facework should also be considered over different durations, i.e., also over longer stretches of speech than just a single speech act. They suggested that facework can be done as a series of acts that cover the whole conversation; over an episode, i.e., a series of connected events, or even on the scale of an entire life script. They underline the importance of larger communication units in facework by arguing that "the most important identity work occurs across time in conversations, episodes, and the life script" (ibid: 90). Consequently, we need to see face as involving, on one hand, both fairly permanent and more variable characteristics and, on the other, face threats and facework that extend from single turns or a part of a turn to entire conversations or even longer stretches of communication.

As discussed above, recent theorists have underlined the importance of face over a longer period than just one short stretch of conversation. A more sophisticated facework strategy that stretches over a longer chunk of interaction than one turn or sequence of turns is *integrating facework* (Oetzel, Ting-Toomey, Yokochi, Masumoto & Takai 2000; Domenici and Littlejohn 2006: 11). It is defined as a complex form of interaction in which the participant balances in paying attention to both one's own and the other's face "through good listening and exploration of a problem of mutual concern" (Domenici and Littlejohn 2006:11). This kind of facework is implicit; it does not depend on the propositional content of speech, but is inferable from how the participants orient to each other's needs. Integrating facework, in Domenici and Littlejohn's (ibid: 10) view, is based on the idea that it is inherent in a conversation that the partners need to protect both their own and the others' face(s). Thus an attack on an interlocutor, at least an overtly deliberate one, would damage the attacker's face.[2] An attack on another's image to enhance one's own position is, in Domenici's and Littlejohn's terms, *dominating facework* (ibid.). Goffman (1967) gave the name *aggressive facework* to trying to improve one's own face at the cost of the other's face when one has a deliberate wish to show others that one is able to manage one's face better than others can.

Face attacks need not be intentional. As Domenici and Littlejohn (ibid: 73) point out, face attack can occur due to carelessness, unawareness, distractedness, and being self-absorbed. However, these unintended threats can be interpreted as purposeful, and even when perceived by others as unintended, can be experienced as face attacks. It is possible that with competence-related face concerns, such as language proficiency, a face-threatening action toward an interlocutor's competence, such as the expression of non-understanding or a code-switch, is seldom a deliberate face-threat. In other words, the speaker is unlikely to be aiming to imply, "I don't think your language skills were up to this", but rather, "Let's do it this way to understand one another better".

The reason for the different amounts of attention that people pay to others, and thus to their face sensitivities, varies across contexts and cultures, but also depends on personal message design logic which, it is argued, shows consistency across contexts (O'Keefe 1988; Domenici & Littlejohn 2006: 66). O'Keefe identifies three message design logics. First, expressive logic guides a participant to say what is in their mind with little concern about the reception of the message. Participants following this logic therefore do not pay attention to others' face, and may easily threaten it accidentally. Second, conventional logic means that participants follow conventional rules of behavior, which make them somewhat more other-face sensitive, although they do not necessarily take the other person into account as an individual. Third, rhetorical logic refers to a person-centered and context-sensitive message design, which makes users of this logic the most face-conscious.

---

[2] However, as was discussed above in connection with honor vs. shame cultures in Section 2.2.1, there are cultural and contextual differences in whether a deliberate attack on an-other's face will enhance or threaten the attacker's own face.

Facework strategies are claimed to vary according to not only the individual but also the culture. For example, it has been argued that in some cultures, harmonious facework strategies are preferred while in others, more aggressive ones are used (see e.g., Merkin 2006). Another example, presented by Pearce and Littlejohn (1997) and Domenici and Littlejohn (2006:11), is that in individualistic cultures, the presence of conflict affects the extent to which participants choose integrating facework (see also Siebold and Busch, 2015 on German and Spanish refusals). Naturally, the whole idea of a facework strategy only makes sense when it tackles face in a way that makes sense in a particular culture. For example, it has been argued that in Taoist cultures, individual desires are considered painful and avoidable, so facework that protects an individual self against the will of a group has little significance.

In this study, facework is seen to take place both at the turn level and over longer stretches of interaction. Facework related to proficiency face is impression management aimed at the image of the participant as a language user.

2.5 Language proficiency

2.5.1 Language proficiency as a combination of knowledge and skills

As the focus of this study is on facework related to language proficiency, it is necessary to define what language proficiency means. Finding a research-based definition of the concept of language proficiency is difficult, as the vast body of research around second or foreign language proficiency is more focused on theorizing and analyzing how language is learned or how language proficiency can be tested and assessed than defining what the proficiency that is learned, tested or assessed *is*. Therefore in the research on psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic aspects of language learning, language pedagogy, language testing and the assessment of language skills, a concise definition of language proficiency, language ability or language skills is hardly ever explicitly verbalized, although some definition could be implicitly deduced.[3]

However, language proficiency has been conceptualized with related concepts. In the last fifty years, two influential frameworks are Canale and Swain's (1980) theory of communicative competence and Bachman and Palmer's (1996) theory of communicative language ability. Canale and Swain (1980) divide communicative competence into grammatical, strategic, and sociocultural competences, and later Canale (1983) added discourse competence (competence in terms of cohesion and coherence). Bachman and Palmer (1996:68), in turn,

---

[3] Some exceptions do exist. The American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages gives guidelines that "are descriptions of what individuals can do with language in terms of speaking, writing, listening, and reading in real-world situations in a spontaneous and non-rehearsed context" (ACTFL 2012).

divide language knowledge into organization knowledge (grammatical and textual) and pragmatic knowledge (functional and sociolinguistic). Saville-Troike (2003) has summarized communicative competence as "what a speaker needs to know to communicate appropriately within a particular language community."

In the European context, the most influential guideline for second language instruction and learning is The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (Council of Europe 2001, 2018). The framework (ibid 2001: 13) divides language competence into three components, drawing on thinking similar to that of Canale and Swain, or Bachman and Palmer: linguistic competence, sociolinguistic competence and pragmatic competence. Each of these components comprises "knowledge, skills and know-how." Linguistic competencies include lexical, phonological, and syntactic knowledge, skills which are independent of the sociolinguistic value of their variations. Sociolinguistic competencies refer to sensitivity to social conventions, for example, rules of politeness. Pragmatic competencies are concerned with the functional use of linguistic resources, such as cohesion and coherence, identifying text types and forms, or irony. The Common European Framework does not give a concise definition of what language proficiency is but, like many other skill descriptions developed for language testing (e.g., IELTS, Cambridge), it gives descriptions of proficiency at different levels. For example, at the level B1, the independent user level, the framework (Council of Europe 2001: 33) gives the following overall description:

> Can understand the main points of clear standard input on familiar matters regularly encountered in work, school, leisure, etc. Can deal with most situations likely to arise whilst travelling in an area where the language is spoken. Can produce simple connected text on topics which are familiar or of personal interest. Can describe experiences and events, dreams, hopes and ambitions and briefly give reasons and explanations for opinions and plans.

The overall description of language proficiency at the B1 level, the lowest independent users' level, seems to include a combination of the skills needed to understand the language used in everyday situations, deal with specified situations, produce text, and describe specified topics. In addition, the European Framework gives much more detailed descriptions of language competence levels in specific skills, for instance, writing or oral interaction, as well as in specific communicative tasks, such as "transactions to obtain goods and services" or "information exchange," and strategic skills such as monitoring and repair. It can be concluded that the sum of the different competencies, skills and knowledge, some of which are general and others very specific, altogether constitutes what the European Framework considers language proficiency.

The new companion to the framework that the Council of Europe published in 2018 (Council of Europe 2018) broadened the scope of language proficiency by updating existing scales and introducing new ones. For example, the new companion includes descriptors of plurilingual and pluricultural repertoires as well as online communication. The new companion also includes full descriptors of proficiency levels in goal-oriented co-operation (Council of Europe 2018; 88),

understanding conversation between other speakers (ibid., 56), taking the floor in interaction (ibid., 100), or collaborating to construct meaning (ibid., 119). Also, the native speaker as a yardstick of proficiency has been discarded.

With these frameworks in mind, language proficiency in this study is seen as a broad concept, including all aspects of language skills, competencies, and knowledge (cf. Council of Europe 2001: 11). However, it should be borne in mind that language users themselves may have a different conception of language proficiency. Their conception of language proficiency may be narrower than those of scholars and exclude some sociolinguistic or pragmatic skills. On the other hand, the language user's view of language proficiency may also be broader in the sense that it is integrated with other skills, for example, work skills, as was found in Kankaanranta and Louhiala-Salminen's (2010: 207) study of business people's concept of language proficiency. When judging whether a particular phenomenon is a language proficiency face issue, what matters is the language user's - rather the researcher's - conception of what makes up language proficiency and thus can function as a source of a language proficiency face issue.

In the discussion above, language proficiency is mainly seen from the viewpoint of one language. In the present discussion on multilingualism, the view is much wider: it is not about mastering the code of one language as one entity, but rather about the discursive practices that a person masters and the truncated repertoires of communication that a multilingual person has for use in different contexts. (See e.g. Blommaert 2005; Kramsch 2009; Räisänen 2013). As mentioned above, the newer edition of the European Framework (Council of Europe 2018: 28) also names plurilingual competences as part of language skills. They include recognizing words in a new guise, using knowledge of a number of languages, experimenting with alternative forms, and exploiting paralinguistics.

In addition, it should be noted that language users have different language self-concepts based on various factors, one of which is their level of proficiency. Thus, a university lecturer who uses L2 in the target country after living there for several years has a quite different language self-concept from a person using L2 on the level B1 who occasionally participates in international co-operation, not to mention a tourist in the target country whose skill in the local language is on level A1. The language face wants of the university lecturer or the rare participant in international co-operation are presumably based on entirely different components of language proficiency (e.g., mastery of stylistic variants for an advanced (C-level) speaker vs. the ability to talk intelligibly about everyday matters for an intermediate (B1) speaker). Furthermore, the tourist, the A1-level user, may be the least likely user to consider their language skills a face issue in the first place. In other words, the tourist probably does not find their image as a user of a language sensitive.

2.5.2 Proficiency in English as a lingua franca (ELF)

One language context in which all of the participants are subject to potential proficiency face concerns is a lingua franca context, i.e., a context where the language used is no-one's native language. Because of the importance of English

as a lingua franca in the context of this study, some specific features of English as a lingua franca (ELF) proficiency are discussed here.

The role of English as a lingua franca, the language often used in situations in which it is the second language for all users, is unprecented (see e.g., Dewey 2007: 333; Seidlhofer et al. 2006: 3-6; Leppänen & Nikula 2007; Kankaanranta 2005: 15). The discussion of this role started with the social turn in English language studies, which can be traced back to Firth and Wagner's writings in 1997. As the role of English for non-native speakers has, globally, become more that for a citizen of the world it is their second language rather than a foreign language, skills and knowledge in English have increasingly been considered a basic skill, comparable to mathematics or literacy in the first language. The significance of a working knowledge of English has been compared to reading and writing in the era of industrialization (Carmichael 2000). For language proficiency face, this development may have dual, opposing consequences. On one hand, as knowledge of English is so widespread, people are increasingly expected to be able to use it. This raises the bar: what is the skill level one feels one ought to know in English now (see a more detailed discussion in Section 2.6 on the "ought-to" language self)? In order not to lose face as a citizen of the world, one probably must know much more English now than was expected 30 years ago. On the other hand, the new role of English has gradually been changing the paradigm of what language proficiency is, as the traditional native-speaker ideal may no longer make sense in international, lingua franca encounters (see e.g., Dewey 2009; Jenkins 2011). This has altered the focus on what is considered good English, particularly in spoken interaction. As mentioned above, this change is also visible in the language skill descriptors when one compares the 2001 and 2018 versions of the European Framework. This changed role of English may have consequences for language-related face wants.

In the late 1990s, among researchers of applied linguistics and language teaching, the study of the English used between non-native speakers emerged in its own right, without any comparison to native speaker use. Even when compared, it was done without an evaluative tone, i.e., not in such a way that the native-speaker version would always equal the correct, desirable model and the non-native version would be inferior. It aimed to "develop an understanding of how ELF users exploit the resources of the language to achieve their communicative outcomes" (Seidlhofer 2009). In this new paradigm, ELF [4] is defined as "any use of English among speakers of different first languages for whom English is the communicative medium of choice, and often the only option" (Seidlhofer 2011: 7). The contexts in which English is used as a lingua franca are not necessarily English-only contexts, but are often inherently plurilingual, as the users code-switch or use resources from other languages in some other way. This means that ELF users are bi- or multilingual (House 2012: 174).

Language users' own concept of what is "good English", an acceptable way of using it, or what they think others think is "good" or acceptable, has a

---

[4] For a summary of ELF studies in the first decace of 2000's, see Mauranen (2009) and Jenkins, Cogo and Dewey (2011).

significant effect on what kind of face claims they have. While ELF research has identified features of efficient and well-functioning ELF communication – whether pragmatic, syntactic, morphological or phonological - the language users' attitudes toward these features may vary from very positive to very negative. It can be expected that one's face sensitivities will be guided by the values of the community, which affect the ought-to L2 self, or in other words, what the language user thinks people expect from their English skills and what they think others consider a good speaker. Also, face sensitivities are guided by values adopted by the face-owner, which affect the ideal L2 self, i.e., what kind of speaker s/he wants to be [come]. Very often the former ought-to L2 self also informs the latter, ideal L2 self, due to a person's willingness and need to conform to the expectations of the community (Kádár & Haugh 2013: 148). Our views of what is good language derive from both our experience of daily use and the ideas we have learned in formal language instruction.

ELF research has emphasized the transient nature of language, the flexibility of norms, and the importance of communicative success rather than accuracy according to the native-speaker model. On a larger scale, the ELF paradigm and related World Englishes paradigm can be categorized in Horner and Blommaert's (2017: 3) terms in the family of new, alternative ideologies, where languages are seen as "fluctuating, internally diverse, and intermingling in character […] as the emergent product of ongoing material social practices". Vetchinnikova (2015) points out that there are two different approaches in the present study of ELF: one in which ELF users are seen as truly creative, as exploiting their virtual language in producing, for example, novel multi-word units, and the other in which ELF users are seen as recyclers of already existing patterns.

Table 1 below summarizes the main differences between the approaches to language learning and proficiency in the conventional paradigms, SLA (Second Language Acquisition), EFL (English as a foreign language) or ELT (English language teaching), and those in the newer ELF or EIL (English as an international language) paradigms. The table is a summary Dewey's (2009), Jenkins's (2011), and Jenkins, Cogo and Dewey's (2011) ideas.

As shown in Table 1, according to the EFL/ELT/SLA paradigm, native-like communication is the target, and deviations from that are seen as errors. NS communication is used as a yardstick, and the underlying idea is that a language learner has learned a language in order to use it with native speakers, in the NS community. Many users of English have likely absorbed this kind of attitude to languages from their formal language instruction, from the materials they have used, their teachers, and their classroom assignments, and these attitudes guide their language self. On the right-hand side of the table, the ELF paradigm underlines innovation, accommodation and the context-dependence of norms. It makes communicative success the yardstick and makes no reference to native speaker use of language. The ideas of the ELF/World Englishes paradigm may be unknown not only to learners of English but also to teachers (for references see discussion below).

ELF users' attitudes have been researched from various viewpoints, one of the most importan is accents (e.g. Jenkins 2007: 77). Several studies have shown that ELF users often value communicativeness and language as a flexible resource over correctness. These include studies on university students (Jenkins 2011: 928; Hynninen 2010, 2013; Hülmbauer 2009; Batziakas 2016) and studies on workplace communication (Kankaanranta & Louhiala-Salminen 2010; Virkkula & Nikula 2010; Ehrenreich 2009). Based on these findings, one could expect that there would be little concern about face proficiency concerns from the native speaker convergence point of view. However, as both Hynninen (2010), and Virkkula and Nikula (2010) note, attitudes are far from straightforward as, at the same time, users of ELF also draw on the NS ideal of language. For example, in Hynninen's (2010: 40) study, students expressed a wish for NS correctness, while at the same time admitting that this correctness was irrelevant in ELF situations. L2 English users' ideal self, which functions as a one of the foundations behind language proficiency face wants, does not seem to be dependent merely on what is useful or well-functioning in the situation. The ideal language self seems to be composed of a hybrid including features from both of the paradigms in Table 1. For a summary of research on various features of ELF at different levels of language use (from phonology to discourse), see Jenkins, Cogo and Dewey (2011), and for a summary of recent studies in ELF pragmatics, see Taguchi and Ishihara (2018).

Having chosen the term *English as a lingua franca* as a description of the language that many participants in this study use, I am aware of the ideological choice I have made (cf. Halonen 2012). Also, as described above, I am aware that the participants may not share the ELF approach to the English language but may have their own ideas about the English language they use.

TABLE 1   Contrasting ELF vs. EFL/ELT/SLA paradigms. Based on Jenkins (2011: 928), Dewey (2009: 79); and Jenkins, Cogo and Dewey (2011: 284).

EFL (English as a foreign language), ELT (English language teaching) and SLA (Second language acquisition) paradigms	ELF (English as a lingua franca) and English as an international language (EIL) paradigms
Modern foreign languages paradigm: non-native users of English are seen as *learners* who aim at native competence.	Similar to World Englishes [5] paradigm, i.e. all Englishes are Englishes in their own right.
All non-nativelike forms are errors.	The same final non-standard form may derive from a learner's error or an innovation of a proficient ELF user.
The level of nativeness equals the level of competence.	Expertise in language is context dependent, locally determined, and interactionally relevant.
Success depends on adherence to centralized, standardized norms.	Success depends on ability to accommodate speech in order to communicate effectively.
Variation seen as linguistic deficiency.	Variation is inevitable and necessary.
Native norms as target; "authentic" NS learning materials.	Norms, learning materials, and methods of local relevance.
Underpinned by theories of interference and fossilization.	Underpinned by theories of language contact.
Code-switching is evidence of gap in knowledge.	Code-switching is a crucial bilingual pragmatic resource.

---

[5] For differences between ELF paradigm and World Englishes paradigm, see Jenkins, Cogo and Dewey 2011: 284.

2.6 Vulnerability of language self-concept behind L2 user's proficiency face claims

2.6.1 Slightly polished language self-concept as a face claim

Above, I discussed the main concepts of this study: (1) face and facework, (2) self-concept as a socio-psychological underpinning of face, and (3) language proficiency. In this section, these three topics are integrated, with the help of the concept of language self-concept.

A language learner's self-concept has been defined as a complex, multi-layered, multidimensional network of interrelated self-beliefs (Mercer 2011a: 335). These beliefs affect not only how language learners manage their learning, but also how they manage their behavior (Wenden 1998; Mercer 2011a: 336). In this sense, language self-concept affects not only the learning of the language but also language use. In addition, language learning and language use can be understood as partly merging because a lot of learning takes place informally in everyday situations (see e.g. van Lier 2004: 56). According to Mercer (2011: 336; see also Barcelos 2003: 26), self-concepts need to be understood in relation to their context. They are not stable across contexts and time, and they form complex systems. This means that self-concepts display context-dependent variation while retaining some permanent elements (cf. Kalaja, Barcelos, Aro and Ruohotie-Lyhty 2015: 208). Self-beliefs, which constitute one's self-concept, can be even contradictory; they are influenced by reflection and related to action in complex ways (Barcelos & Kalaja 2011: 285-286). This view of self-concept with both more stable and variable components resonates with the above discussion on the nature of face.

Above, language learner self-concept was defined as a network of self-beliefs. Like other self-beliefs, language-related self-beliefs can be more general or they can be context-dependent self-efficacy beliefs, in other words, beliefs about one's ability to use one's language skills to succeed in a specific task (cf. Mercer 2011: 340; Bong and Skaalvik, 2003: 11). In other words, language self-concept can be considered to include both more precise, task-specific self-efficacy beliefs, e.g. "I am able to give a presentation in German in this conference", and more holistic or global beliefs about one's language skills, going beyond the situation or task at hand, e.g., "My German pronunciation is fairly good" (cf. Mercer 2011: 336). In addition, the self-concept may involve implicit beliefs, that is, those of which the holder is unaware (Dörnyei & Ryan 2015: 189). This way, one's language self-concept works as a basis for language-proficiency-related face claims, although it is possible to make face claims above our language self-concept, so to speak, i.e. we may try to show an image of ourselves as language users that we ourselves do not believe to be true. However, as discussed above, it has been found that people usually aim to give an impression that they believe to be accurate, and which is only slightly polished (Schlenker 2003: 492-494).

As discussed above, we form self-efficacy beliefs in different ways, partly based on our own experience and by observing how well others are doing. One function of self-efficacy formation has been extensively studied, in a setting in which one learner's academic skills are higher than those of others in the same group. The existing body of research on this Big Fish in a Small Pond Effect (BFLPE) suggests that being among others with lower skills generally improves one's self-efficacy beliefs (see Marsh 1984; Fang et al. 2018; Roiha 2019: 73). This phenomenon has been found to be universal across cultures.

Another view of the language self-concept is Dörnyei's (2009) L2 self, which was proposed as a way of describing language learners' motivational framework. It is based on Markus and Nurius's (1986: 954) three main types of possible selves. The first type is "ideal selves that we would very much like to become", the second is "selves that we could become", i.e., expected or likely selves (Carver, Reynolds, and Scheier 1994), and the third is "selves we are afraid of becoming". Dörnyei also refers to another self, the ought-to self (Higgins 1987; Markus & Nurius 1986: 958), which is the representation of attributes that one believes one is expected to possess, where the attributes are someone else's sense of duties and obligations, not one's own wishes or desires. The ought-to L2 self is concerned with attributes that one believes one ought to possess to meet expectations and to avoid possible negative outcomes. The ideal self and the feared selves are the ones that particularly guide an individual's actions (Dörnyei 2009: 13). Since humans are social creatures with a tendency to internalize their group's ideals, the ideal self can be seen to contain both elements of one's ought-to self and of one's own genuine desires. The ought-to self, that is, what one thinks others expect from one's language skills in a certain role and context, affects one's L2 selves, not only the ought-to self, but through the ought-to self also one's ideal and feared L2 selves. The ought-to L2 self can be seen as a part of the moral order of the community in a certain context (cf. Kádár & Haugh 2013: 269), determining what kind of language skills one should possess in a certain role or in general as a member of the community.

One's own proficiency face wants as an L2 user are therefore based on one's language self-concept. Like with one's own skills, in interaction one makes a working assumption about one's interlocutors' language proficiency face wants. In addition, the face owner makes assumptions on face gain in the interaction, in other words, "What might they think about my skills when I communicate like this?", based on the interlocutors' actions, i.e., "what I think they show that they think about my language skills". On the other hand, every participant in an interaction knows that the others will be attempting to acknowledge everyone's face wants in the spirit of integrating facework unless there is a specific reason not to do so, e.g., deliberate unfriendliness or an aggressive display of someone's own greater competence. Consequently, participants know that some of the potential criticism will stay hidden.

The face want or claim may not be foregrounded, may not be explicitly given much attention by the face owner, but it always exists (Spencer-Oatey 2007:642). One may become aware of and orient to one's face want only when

face is threatened, or unexpectedly boosted. Threat to face may come from the action of another party in the dialogue (e.g. the other party fails to understand one's speech) or from the face owner's own action (e.g. one encounters an unexpected inability to express one's ideas in the L2) which the face-owner assumes others will criticize.

It could be claimed that just like for L2 users, there can be understanding problems or disfluencies also in native-speaker communication. For this reason, the above-mentioned problems would not need to threaten L2 speakers' face any more than they threaten proficiency face in native speaker interaction. While this is possible, the perception of communication problems and the reasons for them differ in the two contexts. The status of an L2 user often inherently generates overall language incompetence as a potential explanation for these features of communication in participants' perceptions, as Kurhila (2006: 149) pointed out. When L2 users themselves perceive this interpretation as a potential explanation for their grammar errors, hesitations, and problems of mutual understanding, the seed has been sown for proficiency face threat, no matter how justified this interpretation is.

L2 users' vulnerable image has been studied from a different perspective in Second Language Acquisition (SLA) research, as a factor in foreign language anxiety, communication anxiety, and communication apprehension. There is a rich tradition of exploring foreign language anxiety as a special case of social anxiety (Buss 1980: 204). It has been defined as a "feeling of tension and apprehension specifically associated with second language contexts" (MacIntyre & Gardner 1994: 284; see also Dewaele & MacIntyre 2014, McIntyre 2017). Horwitz et al. (1986) identified three components of L2 anxiety: communication apprehension, test anxiety, and fear of negative evaluation. Fear of negative evaluation involves "apprehension about others' evaluations, avoidance of evaluative situations, and the expectation that others would evaluate oneself negatively" (Watson & Friend 1969, as cited in Horwitz et al. 1986: 128). Of the three components, particularly the fear of negative evaluation is similar to the fear of threats to or attacks on one's language proficiency face. Foreign language anxiety has been found to be partly related to an individual's personality, partly related to situational factors (the formality of the situation, and the number, sex, and identity of the interlocutors) and partly related to more general socio-educational and political factors (Dörnyei 2005; Young 1991).

L2 user's vulnerable image has been studied from a different point of view in Second Language Acquisition (SLA) research as an underpinning of foreign language anxiety, communication anxiety, and communication apprehension. There is a rich tradition of exploring foreign language anxiety, as a special case of social anxiety (Buss 1980: 204), and defined as "feeling of tension and apprehension specifically associated with second language contexts" (MacIntyre & Gardner 1994: 284; see also Dewaele & MacIntyre 2014, McIntyre 2017). Horwitz, Horwitz, and Cope (1986) identified three components of L2 anxiety: communication apprehension, test anxiety, and fear of negative evaluation. Fear of negative evaluation involves "apprehension about others' evaluations,

avoidance of evaluative situations, and the expectation that others would evaluate oneself negatively" (Watson & Friend 1969, as cited in Horwitz et al. 1986: 128). Among the three components, particularly the fear of negative evaluation, comes close to fear for threats or attacks to one's language proficiency face. Foreign language anxiety has been found partly related to an individual's personality, partly related to situational factors (formality of the situation; number, sex, and identity of the interlocutors) and partly related to more general socio-educational and political factors (Dörnyei 2005; Young 1991).

From the viewpoint of this study, in which many of the participants are Finnish or German, an interesting cross-cultural study on communication apprehension was conducted by Croucher et al. (2015). They compared British, German, and Finnish participants communicating in their respective mother tongues. They found that Finns experienced more apprehension than Britons and Germans in general, in dyadic situations, and in meetings. Although first language communication in the study was unlikely to involve language proficiency face threats, the use of L2 of the participants in the present study might not be expected to smooth out the difference in the level apprehension between Finns and German.

It should be noted that the overlap between communication anxiety as the negative feeling of tension and the fear of face loss is only partial. While the fear or expectation of others' negative evaluation can be expressed in other words as a fear of loss of language-proficiency-related face, the feeling of anxiety is not a prerequisite for face concerns, nor is the fear of face loss the only source of anxiety. When I double-check the grammar of an L2 social media post to avoid proficiency face loss, I may do it calmly, without any feeling of anxiety. On the other hand, a feeling of tension and apprehension may stem from the stress caused by the higher level of attention and focusing. Feelings of tension and apprehension do not inherently involve face loss or the fear of face threat, but may be a result of hard work. Consequently, when a participant reports feelings of anxiety in L2 communication, it is not automatically a face matter.

Still, the three components of the fear of evaluation that I have listed above coincide quite closely with face-related phenomena: apprehension about others' evaluations can be seen as an emotion caused by the threat to language proficiency face. The expectation that others will evaluate one negatively can be seen as fear that one will not be able to maintain one's language self-concept after learning what others seem to think about one's language skills. Avoidance of these evaluative situations can be seen as avoidance facework. Consequently, bearing in mind that the fear of face loss and communication anxiety are not synonymous, features of the situation that increase anxiety can also *potentially* increase face threat. Some of the factors that may increase foreign language anxiety have been found to be age (Onwuedbuzie et al. 1999), the public nature of the event (Dewaele 2007), the number of people present (Buss 1980), the intensity of attention paid to the speaker, and the formality of the situation (Buss 1980). On the other hand, anxiety has been found to decrease with, for example, the familiarity of the interlocutors (Dewaele 2007; Buss 1980), the speaker's

history of visiting foreign countries, their experience of using languages at school, their perceived creativity, intellectual ability, academic competence and self-worth, and their cooperativeness (Onwuedbuzie et al. 1999). The observed or reported anxiety of the L2 user in interaction, particularly when combined with features of the interaction that make the language marked, should be considered a marker of proficiency face issues.

2.6.2 Exceptions: proficiency face want overridden by other strategic needs

Although this study is based on two assumptions, first, that people usually want to display a realistic or slightly polished image of themselves as L2 users in interaction, and second, that other people usually assume that speakers of an L2 have this face want, these two premises do not always hold. People may want others to evaluate their L2 skills lower than they actually are, or even as non-existent, in situations where this falsely assumed lower proficiency will bring them some strategic benefits that override the pride of being a proficient speaker.

A retired Finnish businessman once gave a public presentation in which he described how, despite his fairly good Russian skills, he always used a consecutive interpreter in the first round of negotiations with new potential business partners. He explained that he did this because when the Russian party asked him a question in Russian (which he usually understood well enough), he could start processing the answer while the interpreter was still translating the question into Finnish. By the time the interpreter reached the end of their turn, the businessman had already formulated a ready answer and could start answering in Finnish right away, which the interpreter then translated into Russian. According to the businessman, this allowed him to act in a way that was admired by his Russian counterparts, i.e., producing an immediate answer to their questions. Appearing less proficient than he really was and using an interpreter thus allowed him to use a discourse feature that he believed improved his fellowship face (cf. Lim 1994: 210-211) in that situation, which made him a desirable business partner in the eyes of the others. The businessman found that appearing as a non-speaker of Russian did not give him a stigmatized role (cf. Goffman 1963: 8), but appearing as someone who could not display honesty by giving immediate answers would have done so.

When I was studying in Leningrad in Soviet times, there were situations in which it was financially beneficial for a foreigner to appear as Soviet as possible, in other words, where an image as a fluent Russian speaker was useful. This could happen, for example, when negotiating a price for a taxi ride. However, there were also situations in which quite the opposite was the case, when it was advantageous to appear to be a non-speaker of Russian. Such a situation emerged once when I went to an Intourist hotel, a place which was off limits for most Soviet citizens and also the only place where one could purchase certain goods manufactured in the West. Once I made my purchases in Russian, and I ended up being questioned by the hotel detective. I was released after I was able to present proof that I was a foreign citizen. After that, however, to avoid a similar

scene, every time I visited an Intourist hotel to do my shopping I refused to understand Russian and made all my purchases in English, this way indexing myself as an alien (see Kádár and Haugh 2013: 234). Strategic needs overcame the need to display the image of a competent speaker.

In the world of crime and crime protection, strategic pretending of non-proficiency evidently has its place. A guidebook for US police patrols (Remsberg 1995) on stopping vehicles and drug inspections describes how suspected drug smugglers may strategically choose not to show their competence in either English or Spanish, depending on the situation. The guidebook also gives advice to police officers about in which situations it is beneficial to pretend not to understand a language, and in which situations it is better to reveal one's language proficiency.

As these examples show, one may want to hide one's L2 (or even L1) proficiency, indexing oneself as a non-speaker, for strategic reasons, for legal, social, or financial benefits, or for one's overall desire for non-identification. However, in most cases of interaction where these fairly exceptional strategic or identification needs do not apply, one's natural need to appear resourceful and competent in the eyes of other people sets the face claim. In an international study on work-based co-operation where English is used as a lingua franca, pretending to have a lower proficiency than one really has can rarely be considered beneficial. One's L2 proficiency is part of one's resourcefulness and competence, of which one wants to display a realistic or slightly polished image.

2.7   Earlier findings on the relationship of face and language proficiency

2.7.1   A summary of earlier findings

Apart from the foreign language anxiety studies discussed above, an L2 speaker's image as a proficient user of the language and the role of this image in interaction has not itself been the focus of an in-depth study in relation to the concept of face. However, it has been discussed or at least touched upon by several scholars, although not always within the theoretical framework of face. The topic area has been discussed in the context of code-switching by Auer and Eastman (2010: 100), in NS-NNS interaction by Haugh (2009: 14-15), in relation to repairs in NS-NNS interaction by Kurhila (2006), in relation to the mediation of understanding problems in ELF interaction by Hynninen (2011: 971), from the angle of collective, national face in a questionnaire study by the Varieng group (Leppänen et al. 2011), and as one of the explanations of communication strategy choices in lingua franca interaction by myself (Ahvenainen 2005: 101, 114, 118). Also, a phenomenon related to proficiency face has been mentioned in passing in studies on academics who teach in an L2 (see e.g. Mariotti 2012: 75). The findings of these studies will be briefly discussed in this section.

In addition to the above-mentioned studies on natural L2 interaction, there are findings about the relevance of face in relation to language proficiency in the language classroom context. The context is different as far as face is concerned in that the primary focus of participants' attention in a classroom is more on the language. Topics and findings of these studies include the inherent face threat of repair work (Markee 2000: 142; Dalton-Puffer 2007: 243–245; Smit 2010: 172), face issues behind interaction styles in an L2 classroom (Chick 1996: 36; Dalton-Puffer 2007: 239), the masking of correction as a hearing problem to save another's face (Dalton-Puffer 2007: 242-244), and the impact of more similar language skill levels on the power relationship between teachers and students in CLIL classrooms as compared to a conventional ELF classrooms (Nikula 2010: 119).

Another study that did not discuss proficiency face, but the effect of language proficiency on such facework that arises for other reasons than one's image as the language user is worth mentioning. Piirainen-Marsh (1995) studied the role of face and facework in conversations between native and non-native speakers with the focus on how L2 and native speakers of English negotiate face-threatening encounters. The face threat in Piirainen-Marsh's study did not derive from the language skills of the participants but from the social consequences of speech acts, such as requests or expressions of criticism. An interesting finding in Piirainen-Marsh's (ibid, 226) study was that L2 users' different access to linguistic and sociocultural knowledge is reflected in the way they use face-saving strategies when compared with native speakers.

Haugh (2009: 14-15) analyzes an instance of proficiency face in the introductory chapter of "Face, Communication and Social interaction" (Bargiela-Chiappini and Haugh 2009), where he discusses the nature of face both as constitutive of and constituted in interaction. The face threat in the example comes from the potential inability of a non-native speaker of Japanese to understand the meaning of a Japanese word that the native speaker has uttered. The focus of Haugh's discussion of the example is, however, on the dual relationship between face and interaction (i.e., face is created in interaction and also acts as a constituent of interaction) rather than on problematizing how language proficiency is perceived or constructed as a face issue. In his discussion, Haugh (2009: 14–15) points out that if a participant's positive image as a language user is presupposed, all of the participants in the interaction orient to this presupposition. In this way, face is constitutive of the interaction. Haugh (ibid.) saw that in the case of a potential non-understanding on the part of the non-native speaker, the native speaker aimed to maintain the non-native's positive image by initiating a repair in such a way that the non-native participant could provide the correction or confirm the understanding themselves. In Haugh's example, the non-native speaker chose to confirm understanding by answering the NS's very generic question ("Is that okay?") in an equally generic manner ("No, that's okay"), which - according to my own interpretation - may have been either an honest confirmation, or an instance of face-saving through feigning understanding, which might later prove problematic if challenged.

Auer and Eastman (2010: 100) mention proficiency-related facework in connection with code-switching. They state that for bilingual speakers, code-switching can be "strongly linked to facework." A speaker may switch to the interlocutor's (assumedly) stronger language in a helpful, but also in a condescending way. On the other hand, the speaker may code-switch to ask for help or to gain time to retrieve the right word.

A study in which proficiency face issues were under very detailed consideration in connection with features of the interaction, although the concept of face was not used as the theoretical framework, was Kurhila' s (2006) study on the construction of understanding between native and non-native speakers of Finnish. Kurhila (2006: 222) found that speakers' orientation to competence and to being a competent participant in the interaction is shown in the way they manage repairs and construct their turns. For example, (ibid: 149) the different interpretations of hesitations and errors in the interaction are based on participants' status as native or non-native: for native speakers, the significance of such hesitations or errors is interpreted more locally, whereas they can cast doubt on the overall "linguistic authority" of non-native speakers. This is seen in the fact that NSs were found to immediately address the NNSs for help when faced with a problem (ibid: 224). In contrast, NNSs sought help from the NSs only after a self-directed phase during which they withdrew their gaze from their interlocutor, showing that they wanted to carry out a word search on their own (ibid: 92), a practice that has been recognized in different cultures (Goodwin and Goodwin 1986: 57).

Kurhila's finding – that the same problematic feature of language (e.g., hesitation, or an erroneous form) is interpreted as indexical of a more local problem for native speakers and as a more fundamental problem of language proficiency for L2 speakers – is essential to the consideration of proficiency face. The same duality of interpretation may take place when we assess our own linguistic repertoires in our native and a second language, as we may interpret the source of the problem differently when facing a problem in the use of those different languages. For example, we may sometimes be unable to name an object, e.g., a species of herb that we see or a tool that we rarely use, in the second language, and consider this inability a gap in our second language proficiency. When we are unable to name the same object in our native language, we are unlikely to classify the problem as a gap in our language proficiency, but would rather attribute it to a lack of knowledge of the world. My view is that when we consider our own interaction in an L2, we implicitly include mental procedures and skills under the umbrella of language proficiency that we would classify in a different way if we were interacting in our mother tongue.

Kurhila (ibid: 151) also notes that non-native speakers are in a paradoxical situation when processing their speech in NS-NNS communication. When they attempt to pay more attention to the formulation of the output in order to avoid displaying incompetence they can end up being less fluent, which can be interpreted as a sign of incompetence. If there are errors in the NNS's language, native speakers tend to underestimate the non-native speaker's linguistic

competence, and consider these NNS errors markers of a lack of competence rather than as slips of the tongue (ibid: 222).

Further, Kurhila (ibid.) suggests that the different ways of managing repairs by native speakers and non-native speakers can be based on this same orientation to competence, which could be described as the need to protect the non-native speaker's face as a competent speaker. In certain contexts, native speakers tend even to prefer to directly correcting the speech of a non-native speaker, rather than inviting them to correct their own speech, because "when the NNS is not invited to do repair, she cannot be caught as being incompetent" (ibid.). Thus, the NS tends to choose a repair strategy that will not reveal a NNS's potential incompetence in the interaction. The choice of this specific way of managing the repair is very different from choices in NS talk, and as such reflects potentially asymmetric competencies.

This conclusion of Kurhila's stands in contrast to Haugh's example, above, in which the invitation to repair was seen as protective facework, not as causing a face threat. In Haugh's (2009: 14-15) example, however, the face-saving nature of the repair initiation was enabled by the very generic manner of this initiation, which allowed both participants to proceed without thoroughly checking if the NNS had understood the word. Both participants might have followed the let-it-pass principle (Firth 1996: 243), where the NNS falsely confirms understanding, and the NS never challenges this confirmation.

As for collective face, the language-related national face concerns of Finns have been revealed by VARIENG, the Centre of Excellence for the Study of Variation, Contacts and Change in English, which conducted a large-scale national survey of Finns' uses of, attitudes to and perceptions of English in the 2000s (Leppänen et al. 2011). They studied several questions that can be considered aspects of language-related collective face, using the concepts of *pride* and *embarrassment* in the study. In their study, about a fifth of the respondents reported that hearing a famous Finn speaking English like a native speaker and hearing a Finn speaking English fluently but with a Finnish accent made them feel pride in Finns. At the same time, hearing a famous Finn speaking English poorly on the TV or radio caused embarrassment on behalf of Finns to about 13 percent of the respondents. The youngest respondent group (15-24 yrs.) reported embarrassment more often than did other age groups (ibid, 77). The questionnaire used in the study itself gave among its range of fixed options feeling pride or embarrassment, and included descriptions of various situations, . The fact that most of the respondents did not choose either embarrassment on behalf of Finns or pride in Finns as their reaction suggests various interpretations. The most obvious one is that only a minority of Finns experience collective face gain or face loss from other people's public use of English. In principle, the collective proficiency face want is not very common. The second is that if their own English skills are poor, Finns tend to gain confidence in themselves and feel sympathetic in response to another Finn's poor performance. A third interpretation is that they find it acceptable to speak English even "poorly", which would nullify the proficiency face relevance of the event.

In the context of a language classroom, it can be assumed that the participants' orientation is more on the language than on everyday interaction. There is also an institutionalized asymmetry in terms of knowledge between different participant groups, that is, teachers and students/pupils. Chick (1996: 36) suggests that in L2 classrooms, the teachers – if also L2 speakers themselves - may choose their interaction style with the aim of saving the face of both themselves and the students, in other words, so that both can hide their incompetencies in the language. This confirms the underpinning of language proficiency face discussed above, associated with the ideal or ought-to language self: that it is not only the absolute level of language skills that causes face concerns but also the expected level of skills in relation to one's role in the situation; the teacher in the classroom is expected to know much more.

Hynninen (2011) discusses the face-threatening nature of third-party intervention in problems of L2 understanding. She studied Master's students in English-instructed university seminars, focusing on third-party mediation. In mediation, a third-party mediator - which in this case was a teacher - solves the problem of understanding that has arisen between two participants. Hynninen (2011:971) pointed out that a third-person intervention may, in general, be face-threatening, as it focuses attention on a communicative problem faced by two participants and thereby draws attention to a particular participant's inability to understand another. In this way, the need to intervene becomes evident, which may also threaten a participant's autonomy face (see Lim and Bowers 1991: 420). In her study, however, Hynninen (2011: 976) concluded that mediating often functions as successful facework. Teachers, being more expert in the subject matter, managed to direct students' attention to what they considered important, and by mediating they showed students a model of problem-solving. In Hynninen's study, mediation made it possible to divert the participants' attention from language skills to the topic. Mediation seemed to function as a face-saver from the point of view of both professional face and language proficiency face. Mediation gave students a voice in a situation where they might otherwise not have been able to contribute and act as experts in their field. Thus it might be more likely that in Hynninen's data, professional/expert face wants overrode L2 proficiency face wants. If that was the case, while assuming help from the mediator did not improve participants' L2 proficiency face in itself, the mediation directed the participants' attention from language problems to content, allowed them to get over the awkwardness of the non-understanding situation more promptly, and allowed them to have a meaningful discussion and maintain their expert face. The mediating teacher might have – intentionally or unintentionally – camouflaged the mediation as a subject matter tool instead of its being a language tool. However, a more likely interpretation is that the mediating teacher simply aimed to solve the communication problem, without particularly focusing her help as either language mediation or topic mediation.

2.7.2 A note on earlier findings: on ambiguity of facework vs. face threat

The last idea that I reported (above) from Kurhila (2006), about direct corrections, as well as the findings I discussed from Auer and Eastman (2010) on code-switching, both reveal that some of the interactional features that can be considered facework are actually ambiguous in terms of face. Let us examine this in terms of communication strategies (see. e.g., Dörnyei & Scott 1997, Ahvenainen 2005). When speaker A does *not do a code-switch* or *initiates repair* after speaker B's turn when speaker B apparently struggles or produces an erroneous form, speaker A continues the conversation in the way that "challenges" speaker B to expose their language skills to evaluation. These two strategies are more demanding for the speaker B than the opposite strategies, i.e., *doing a code-switch into the hearer's stronger language* and *outright repair (by speaker A)*. By choosing one of these former strategies, however, speaker A indicates trust in the speaker B's competence to cope with the situation. Therefore, as *strategy choices*, they are face-giving. On the other hand, they are risky if the speaker B, after all, cannot face the challenge: in the first case cannot continue in the original language of the interaction, and in the second case cannot produce the required repair. The latter strategy choices, doing a code-switch and outright repair of what the original speaker said, the latter of which Dalton-Puffer (2007: 242-244) found was frequent in a study on CLIL classrooms, can be seen as prevention facework, as they both prevent the interlocutor's potential shortcomings in terms of language skills from being further exposed. However, the very choice of these strategies is easily interpreted as mistrust[6] in the interlocutor's language proficiency.[7] Thus, what the speaker may have intended to be facework is in the end perceived by the hearer as a face threat. Dalton-Puffer (2007: 254), referring also to Day et al.'s (1984) study in which NS-NNS friends were found to use direct repairs similarly to what Dalton-Puffer found in CLIL classrooms (i.e. not masked as hearing problems or *hedge*d), suggests that familiarity of the interlocutors with each other and the stability of their relationship reduces the face threat so that direct repairs may become face-wise unmarked.

In my earlier study (Ahvenainen 2005: 111) on communication strategies in ELF interaction, one participant reported that she found it very irritating when the interlocutor continued repeating explanations even after she had confirmed her understanding of the matter. According to Goffman (1967: 29), it is common for the "handicapped" party to accept unnecessary help from those in a more powerful position. The same phenomenon can be seen as an example of a more general feature of everyday life, when someone in a (supposedly) stronger position offers help to someone in a (supposedly) weaker position. A typical example of this might be a parent or grandparent helping a child in public in some action that the child thinks they could already manage on their own. Help

---

[6] For corrections as face theat in ELF communication, see Smit (2010: 172).

is offered to make things easier and to prevent the participant in the weaker position losing face in case of failure, but the one in the weaker position finds this help patronizing and interprets it as a sign of mistrust in their abilities (Ylänne 2000: 169; Holliday, Hyde and Kullman 2004: 31-32).

The ambiguous implications for face of choosing between an explicit reference to a potentially stigmatizing feature and not mentioning it explicitly was discussed by Ellis (1998: 526). She refers to the phenomenon as a Batesonian double bind (Bateson 1972; Bateson et al. 1956) in her autoethnographic study on lisping, a stigmatizing feature of speech.

> …without rules for how to deal with the minor bodily stigmas of others, social inter-actants often are confused about how to respond appropriately. If I mention my stigma, will it be easier or more difficult to interact around it? If you mention my stigma, is that evidence that my "spoiled identity" is salient for you or that the blemish is so trivial that it can be spoken of offhandedly? If you don't mention it, is that evidence of its triviality or its unmentionability (Robert Drew, personal communication)? If you do mention it, will I see you as an insensitive and uncaring person? Is our silence meant to protect each other's identities and, as Goffman (1956) says about embarrassment, the interactional encounter as well? (Ellis 1998: 526)

In this extract from Ellis, it can be seen that an explicit reference to a potentially stigmatizing feature in another's speech could also be interpreted as communicating its unimportance. Bringing the feature into the conversation could function as facework, in that it highlights the potentially face-threatening topic but treats it in the same open and straightforward way as non-threatening topics are treated. By behaving thus, the speaker implicitly denies its face-threatening nature (cf. Goffman 1967: 21). The choice in Ellis's extract is between making and not making explicit reference to a potentially face-threatening feature in one's own or the interlocutor's speech. Although the facework strategies mentioned in Ellis's example are different from those proposed (above) by Kurhila, and Auer and Eastman, the nature of the ambiguity is similar: the same strategy can be perceived either as face-saving or as face-threatening, depending on the angle from which it is evaluated. More directly, the dilemma in Ellis's discussion can be compared to the face threat dilemma of a metalinguistic comment that is made to solve a communication problem in an L2 conversation if the comment refers to an evident shortcoming in one participant's language skills.

In Ellis's extract, it can be seen that an explicit reference to a potentially stigmatizing feature in other's speech could also be interpreted as a sign of communicating its trivialness. By bringing the feature to the conversation could function as facework, in the way that it forefronts the potentially face-threatening topic, but treats the topic in the same open and lighthearted way as non-threatening topics are treated. Thus the speaker implicitly denies its face-threatening nature (cf. Goffman 1967: 21). The choice in Ellis's extract is between doing and not doing explicit reference to a potentially face-threatening feature in one's own or the interlocutor's speech, and consideration how serious the face threat that this choice infers is. Although the facework strategies to be chosen in Ellis's example are different from the above examples of Kurhila, and Auer and

Eastman, the nature of ambiguity is similar: one strategy choice can be perceived either as face-saving or face-threatening, depending on the angle from which it is evaluated. More directly, Ellis's discussion can be compared to a face threat dilemma of a metalinguistic comment as a solver of a communication problem in L2 conversation if the comment refers to an evident shortcoming in one participant's language skills.

In my own study of communication strategies in English as a lingua franca interaction (Ahvenainen 2005: 101-102), I found that participants tended to put less effort into solving understanding problems if they thought that they would not lose face by getting caught feigning understanding. In addition, participants reported that overdoing explicitness could also be face-threatening, as it assumes the other's poor understanding. Like code-switching and explicit repair, overdoing clarity can be interpreted as patronizing (cf. Ylänne 2000:169) and thus a face threat, despite the user's benevolent aim to improve mutual understanding.

The earlier findings discussed above support the idea that face and facework are elusive and ambiguous phenomena that mostly exist in participants' perceptions. Therefore participants' interpretations are essential when judging the face relevance of a communication feature. Face is rather an emic than an etic phenomenon.

2.8 From the theoretical approach to the research questions

In this study, face is mainly seen as a property of an individual, resembling more such folk concepts as reputation, honor, respect, and dignity than the closeness or distance of the relationship. While it is acknowledged that face is constituted in interaction and constitutes interaction, and facework is partly unconscious, perceptions of face can also be approached from the other direction: the participants' metapragmatic conceptions of the factors that underpin face claims.

The preliminary concept of language proficiency face is built on the overall concept of face as an image of the self that one wants others to acknowledge. Similarly, participants in an interaction make conscious or unconscious assumptions about their interlocutors' face wants. If the situation is not very competitive or conflictual, it is assumed that participants mostly do integrating facework, that is, they try to balance between their communicative goals, relational goals, their own face needs, and the face needs of their interlocutors. These face needs include language proficiency face needs. The conceptualization of language proficiency face in this study must be seen in the cultural context in which this study was conducted which, with these data sets, could broadly be described as European, and even mostly North European. This means that the face concept is based on fairly individualistic social values.

The preliminary assumption is made that a participant's proficiency face loss is not a direct function of a mismatch between the communicative or linguistic requirements of the situation and a perceived lack of proficiency. As long as one

accepts one's apparent lack of proficiency, in other words, so long as the situation is still consonant with the participant's desired or ought-to language self, one does not perceive one's image as a language user to be emotionally vulnerable and threatened. Similarly, if a participant assumes that the other's lack of L2 proficiency in the situation is consonant with that person's desired or ought-to language self, the participant does not find this shortcoming a potential threat to the other's proficiency face and does not do facework. The vulnerability of a person's image as an L2 user, which is a prerequisite for face concerns, derives from a perceived inadequacy in the face-holder's proficiency compared to their ought-to language self. These language self-concepts inform our quality face claims, i.e., what language competences and abilities we want to have, and particularly what we want to seem to have. Participants in an interaction make assumptions about others' proficiency face needs.

Earlier findings on face from the language proficiency point of view are from studies that have not focused on language proficiency face per se, but the main focus has been elsewhere. They have discussed the face-threatening nature of different correction types, code-switching, seeking help, or mediating, and the choice of communication strategies. While earlier studies can offer some evidence of how language proficiency face emerges in interaction and how a participant engages in facework, one point that they have largely ignored is how participants *perceive* face matters related to language proficiency. This study aims to focus on both sides of the question: language-proficiency-related facework in interaction, and participants' perceptions of proficiency face.

Consequently, the research questions that this study aims to answer are:

RQ1: How is language proficiency facework visible in L2 interaction?

RQ2: How do L2 users perceive language proficiency face in interaction?

Visibility of facework (RQ1) is studied through signs of conscious or unconscious goal-oriented action directed at face owners' and their interlocutors' image as language users. Facework is particularly explored in situations that are marked for language proficiency face, such as when there are production problems, a lack of mutual understanding, or metalinguistic comments. The visibility of face (work) is studied by means of a discourse analysis of the interaction, and by complementing this analysis with a content analysis of participants' comments on the interaction in interviews.

Perceptions of language proficiency face (RQ2) are explored in participants' reports concerning their own and other participants' vulnerable image as language users, and what is behind this vulnerability, such as comments that describe or reveal something about a participant's conception of their language proficiency and their L2 selves. The research question is addressed by analyzing interviews with participants as well as analyzing my own autobiographical notes using content analysis.

3 METHODOLOGY

Section 3.1 discusses the principles of data acquisition, and Section 3.2 describes the data in more detail. Section 3.3 describes how the data was analyzed, and some ethical considerations are discussed in Section 3.4.

3.1 Principles of data acquisition

For the present study, three kinds of data were collected.

(1) The first type of data is natural interaction in L2 in real-life, professional situations in which most of the participants were assumed to be not very experienced users of English as a lingua franca. An important characteristic of the first data set is that it does not derive from language learning situations. Instead, the focus in the interaction is more on the content and getting the job done than on language. A setting in which English was used as a lingua franca was chosen instead of a native-speaker - non-native-speaker setting because in such a setting nobody is given in advance the status of a stronger speaker, and it can be assumed that face considerations are more often mutual. The interaction data were collected from two different groups of participants: one where the participants were professionally novices (i.e., undergraduate students), and the other where the participants were experienced professionals. This choice was made to better explore the potential interplay of language proficiency face and professional face. The assumption that the participants would not be very experienced was based on the fact that the students in the first group had completed their studies in their home country in their mother tongue, and in the other group neither the experts in social services nor the lecturers were in international positions. These assumptions could later be confirmed in the interviews. Admittedly, the interviews later revealed the differences between participants' experience of using English, which is also discussed in the analysis.

(2) The second data set consists of interviews with some of the participants who contributed to the interaction data. The interviews used the stimulated recall method and were focused on questions about the participants' perceptions of language, language use, and language proficiency, both in the interaction situation of the first data set and at a more general level.

(3) The third set of data is introspective data, including autobiographical language memoirs and field notes written by the researcher.

3.2 Description of data sets

All three data types are utilized in the investigation of both research questions. The data sets are summarized in Table 2 and described in more detail below. This more detailed description aims to provide a broader, ethnographically informed approach with descriptions of the interaction situations.

3.2.1   Interaction data

The interaction data is from two different settings, both of which yield authentic language use and in both of which the participants' focus is mostly on the task at hand rather than on language learning. In both settings, English is used as a lingua franca by non-native speakers. Data sets 1.1a and 1.1b are from an international workshop for civil engineering and architecture students, and data set 1.2 is from a meeting of social services specialists. Thus all of the data comes from a work-related context.

The situations, on the other hand, differ from each other in that in the student data, the participants are novices in their field, while the social services experts' meeting was attended mostly by middle-aged lecturers, officials and advisers with a long career in their field. Further, in the student workshop data, the recorded situations had clear, predetermined goals and formed a part of a longer chain of communicative events held over three days with partly the same groups of people. The social services meeting, on the other hand, was a one-off event in which the Polish and Finnish delegations had met each other about one hour before the recorded session, in another meeting, but the Romanian delegation was previously totally unknown to the other particpants. In the student data, everyone spoke for themselves, whereas in the social services meeting many participants spoke English only through a mediator. In this study, of the Romanian participants it is mainly the mediators who are in focus; the other Romanians did not speak English. In both situations, it is unlikely that any participant would have gained any strategic benefit from appearing a weaker L2 speaker than they actually were, so in this sense positive L2 face wants can be considered to prevail. In both situations, I as a researcher was also a partial insider (see description below).

TABLE 2   Data sets

Data set	Nature of data/ date of acquisition/ language(s) used	Location	Analysis method	Participants. Pseudonyms used in examples, the first language (L1) and the assumed gender (m/f) is given in brackets	Form of documentation
1. Interaction data	1.1 a) Inventory of a building/ September 2011/ Multilingual, mostly English, some German and Finnish	Outside and inside a building on the site	Discourse analysis	Eight (8) students of civil engineering and architecture. L1 Finnish: Heikki (m), Suvi (f), Jenni (f), Teemu (m); L1 German: Monika(f), Frank (m); Erich (m); L1 Mandarin Chinese: Mei (f)	Recording by two video cameras; partial transcription. 54 mins.
	1.1b) Meeting/ September 2011/ Multilingual, mostly English, some German and Finnish	Around a meeting table		Eight students. Five of the participants were the same as above (L1 Finnish: Jenni(f), L1 German Monika(f), Frank(m), Erich(m), L1 Mandarin Chinese: Mei(f); three were different (L1 Finnish: Jarmo(m), Noora(f), Roope(m)	Video recording; complete transcription 57 mins.
	1.2 Meeting/ May 2011/ Multilingual, mostly English, some Romanian, Polish, French and Finnish	Campus classroom		L1 Finnish: S1 Otto (m), S2 Marie (f); L1 Polish: S3 Walentyna (f), S4 Jaroslaw (m), S5 Krystyna (f) L1 Romanian, S6 Andreea (f), S7 Ioana (f), S8 Bianca (f), S9 Aleksanrdru (m), S10 Razvan (m), S11 Cosmin (m), S12 Anca (f), S13 Theodora (f), S14 Geanina (f), S15 Timea (f); L1 Finnish: S16 Sirpa (f), S17 Leila (f), S18 Tarmo (m)	Video recording 51 mins
2. Interview data	2.1 Interview with stimulated recall method; commentary of videorecorder interaction September 2011/ Finnish and English	A room on the museum site and a conference room on campus	Content analysis	Individual interviews with ten students. All of the participants listed in data sets 1.1a and 1.1b except Jarmo. Two of them (Mei and Suvi) also later gave complementary comments by e-mail when requested.	Ten (10) audio-recordings by TA. 20 – 35 mins each; complete transcription.
	2.2 Interview with stimulated recall method Introspection + commentary of videorecorder interaction from September 2011/ Finnish	Interviewees' own offices		Individual interview with two (2) Finnish UAS lecturers of social services, participants in the international co-operation meeting, Otto and Marie	40 + 53 mins; complete transcription
3. Introspective	Autobiographical language memoirs. My own field notes and autobiographic memoirs; introspection/ 2009-2017 English	Various	Content analysis	My own field notes and autobiographical memoirs; introspection /No pseudonym (Tarmo)	Written memoir on a Word file

These situations can be considered suitable for the study of proficiency because participants' attention was not expected to be on the language but on completing a task that was not language oriented, but their inexperience in L2 use could at the same time raise face concerns. In this way, the settings are real communicative situations. Also, many contextual features, such as the novelty and partial structuredness of the situations, the importance of the task, and the interaction with unfamiliar interlocutors, raised the participants' self-awareness and their anxiety, which made an orientation to face issues more likely (cf. Schlenker 2003: 495; Dewaele 2007; Onwuedbuzie et al 1999; Buss 1980). In the following sections I will describe the settings in more detail.

Student workshop data: inventory task and meeting

The first video-recorded interaction involves a group of eleven civil engineering and architecture students in four-day Finnish-German civil engineering camp of ca. 40 students, with English as a working language. Four of the participants are from Germany (three students L1 German, one student L1 Chinese) and seven from Finland (L1 Finnish) in two situations (inventorying the building and participating in a meeting), but in such a way that only the maximum of eight students are present at each time. Both inventorying the building and meeting were real, task-based situations, not language learning activities, and at the start of the camp, the German and Finnish party did not know each other apart from the one-day city walk, organized by the Finnish students.

The main motivation for choosing this setting as data is that it has many of the above-mentioned contextual features, typical of situations where people are conscious of self-presentation (so that they would also do conscious facework that they might be able to remember and report) and where people tend to experience foreign language anxiety. The situation was not free social interaction, but a goal-oriented activity. The first part (1.1a), inventory of a building, was pursuing a task in co-operation, although it did not have a structure beforehand. The second situation (1.1b), meeting, was informal but still had structures of meeting as a goal-oriented action. Thus it was a partly structured situation. Participants confirmed in the interviews reported that at the time of the inventory task, they did not know the students from the other country well, while their fellow-countrymen were familiar to them. By the meeting on the following day, they had naturally got to know each other. Thus the situation was partly interacting with unknown people. The tasks were part of their official camp program, which in turn was part of the study program for the German and the Finnish group. Further, participation in the workshop had some importance even beyond the university framework as the participants were informed that the mill museum management would be hearing their suggestions of the reuse of the building, and they should be ready to hand over their drawings to the mill museum management so that they could introduce the plans to UNESCO officials. Thus one may assume that participants were at least partly conscious of

their own professional face concerns, too, as they are doing a task that they consider important.

The public nature of the event and the number of people present are likely to affect the consciousness of self-presentation. Both the communication situations, the inventory of the building, and the meeting, took place in groups of 4-8 people. Thus they were not public in the widest sense; on the other hand, they were more public than a dyadic situation would be. The intensity of attention paid to the speaker increases the chances of anxiety; in the meeting, the intensity paid to the speaker was occasionally high, while in the inventory situation, participants' attention was mostly directed at the building and the measuring task. The experience of using L2 decreases anxiety. It was later revealed in the interviews all students had some experience in communicating in English in international encounters, but none of them attended an English-instructed program at the time of the study. Two of the German students (Frank and Monika) had earlier studied a few months in an English-speaking country, and one Finnish student (Noora) had work experience where she had to routinely interact in English. Finnish students had had English courses with professional content as part of their degree program, whereas for German students, the last formal language class was in their previous stage of education, i.e., high school. Thus lack of school experience in foreign languages was a potential anxiety-increasing feature for German students. Several potential anxiety-decreasing features (perceived creativity, perceived intellectual ability, perceived academic competence, perceived self-worth, cooperativeness) vary by person, so it was not possible to be selective in data acquisition.

For a more comprehensive understanding of all aspects of this data, I will below describe the context where the student data was acquired in the spirit of thick description. The four-day camp in early September was the major part of a workshop of a Finnish and German university of applied sciences (*ammattikorkeakoulu* and *fachhochschule*), which had been arranged annually in either of the two countries or Lithuania which was the third country in the network. Before the camp, there had been one city day on campus where e.g., the Finnish students had shown the city to the German visitors. The Verla Paperboard Mill museum, located in Kouvola, Southern Finland, is a UNESCO world heritage site. It is a large parklike area consisting of several buildings, including the main factory building, the cabins in which we were sleeping, the old ticket office building for which the students were supposed to plan novel use, and the former people's house that we used for lessons, meetings and meals (and where I conducted the interviews). The site was located far from other habitation, so one could sense being in the middle of the forest and isolated. The students and staff stayed at the camp four days and nights without leaving the place. The students included about 20 Finnish civil engineering students from a B.Eng. program, and about the same number of German students, partly civil engineering and partly architecture. The camp was organized in such a way that in halfway of the camp, most of the Finnish students were replaced by another 20 Finnish students while the German students stayed at the camp for the whole

time (4 days). Therefore, the composition of the small group also changed. However, the German students had met all the Finnish students involved during the city day before the camp. Two German lecturers were attending the workshop, as well as two Finnish lecturers, including me. My colleague, a lecturer of architecture and civil engineering, was in charge of the program and most practical arrangements, so I could concentrate on my research with only a few administrative camp duties. We all spent four days on the site, day and night. The mill site was our workshop, living quarters, and free-time activity. We cooked our own breakfast, and had the lunch and dinner brought there from outside, as there were no services available. A view from the museum site is Figure 1.

The first video-recorded interaction involves a group of eleven civil engineering and architecture students in three-day Finnish-German civil engineering camp of ca. 40 students, with English as a working language. Four of the participants are from Germany (three students L1 German, one student L1 Chinese) and seven from Finland (L1 Finnish) in two situations (inventorying the building and participating in a meeting), but in such a way that only the maximum of eight students are present at each time. Both inventorying the building and meeting were real, task-based situations, not language learning activities, and at the start of the camp, the German and Finnish party did not know each other apart from the one-day city walk, organized by the Finnish students.

FIGURE 1   A view from Verla Mill Museum site

The workshop had three different kinds of activities: first, the actual inventory and planning of the reuse of one of the buildings, which was the main assignment, and finally, all the interaction I videotaped was from this activity. Second, there were different small workshops on traditional building methods led by the lecturers and museum staff, but they were very practical hands-on manual work,

68

so there was little verbal interaction to monitor. Third, there were some leisure activities arranged by the Finnish students, like a guided walk in a Finnish forest, which was arranged by a Finnish student who is a nature guide. It was expected that the students would get to know each other during the leisure activities. However, as mentioned above, most of the Finnish students changed half way through the camp, between the inventory and the meeting, which reportedly somewhat disrupted the feeling of unity in the camp.

At the beginning of the camp I chose one small group out of four groups of camp participants to be the informant-participants in this study and asked every participant in that group to sign written authorization for the video recording. The statement they signed is presented in Appendix 3. At that point I did not mention that I would later interview them, because I wanted to make sure that they did not do anything for the sake of the future interview but focused instead on the task at hand.

To record the interaction, I had two video cameras available and a digital voice recorder for backup. In the first, inventory situation, four German and four Finnish students were present for four minutes (Figure 2). After that, the student group, surprisingly, decided to organize their work in such a way that they split into two groups of four, each consisting of two Finnish and two German students, one outside the building (Figure 3) and the other inside the building (Figure 4). As I could not be in both places at once, I left one video camera inside the building to record the action, hoping that it would catch at least part of the discussion, and hand-held the other camera, following the other group outside. I did not participate in the interaction from behind the camera in any way.

FIGURE 2   The entire small group discussing the task before the split

FIGURE 3   The first half-group measuring outside of the building. From left to right: Monika, Suvi (with a notebook in hand), Heikki, and Mei.

FIGURE 4   The second half-group measuring inside of the building. From left to right: Erich (bent over the table), Frank, Jenni, Teemu.

As I have mentioned, halfway through the workshop most of the Finnish students were replaced while the German students stayed at the camp for the whole time (4 days). Thus in the meeting the German students are the same as in the inventory phase, but some of the Finnish students are different.

I operated the camera most of the time when recording the meeting. For short periods, the camera was left running on its own. During the recording, I pointed the camera toward the speakers, as it was impossible to include every participant at the same time. Once during the recording I moved the camera stand to the other side of the table so that every student's face would be visible at least part of the time. The different video shooting angles are visible in Figures 5, 6, and 7. During the video recording, I did not participate in the discussion apart from for one short period when one of the students asked me about the opening times of the mill museum, which I answered briefly.
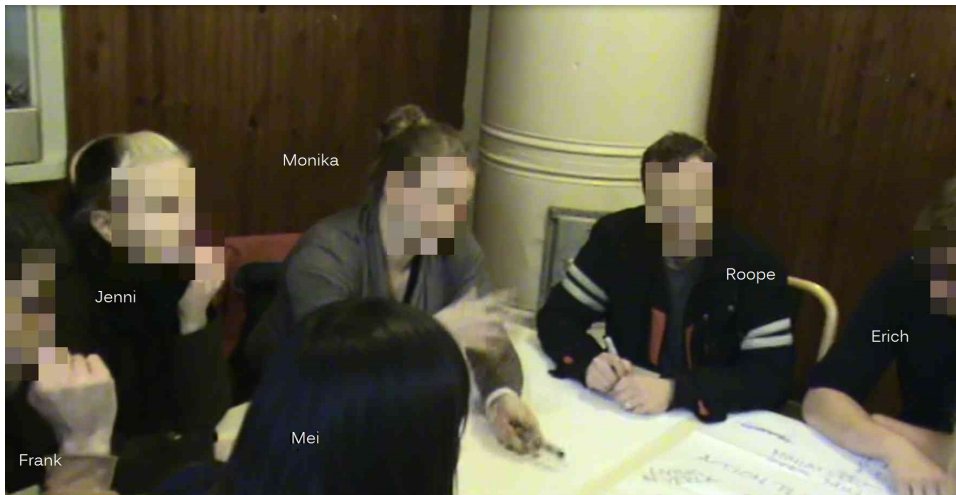
FIGURE 5   Meeting, video shooting from the first camera stand position, the left end of the table
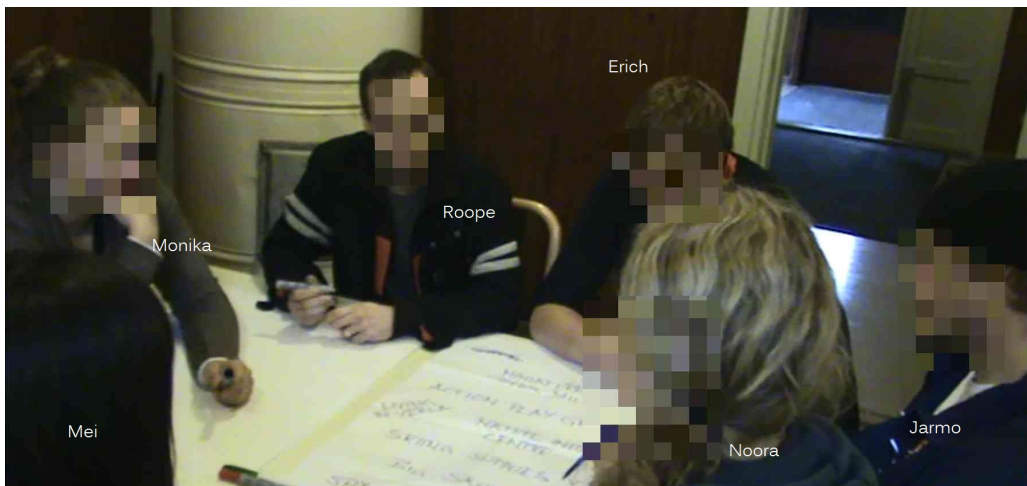
FIGURE 6   Meeting, video recording from the first camera stand position
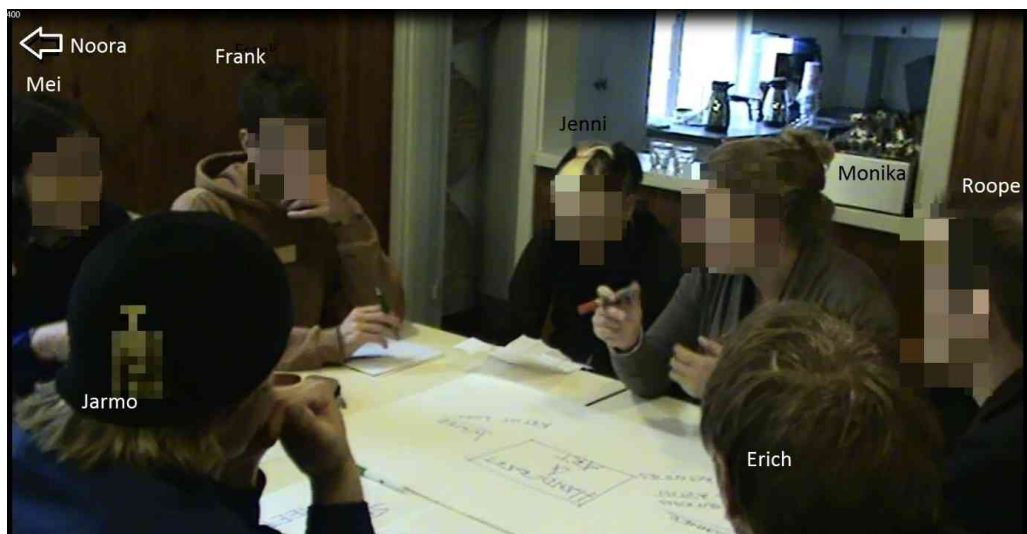
FIGURE 7　　Video recording from the second camera stand position

The video recordings of the interaction were later partly transcribed. The parts of the interaction that were not transcribed include the exchange of very simple information during the measuring of the building with no apparent communication problems (e.g. one student measuring, reading aloud the measurement, and the other repeating the measurement and writing it down).

Meeting of social services lectures and experts

The other interaction data is from a meeting of Romanian social services experts, lecturers from a Polish university, and lecturers from a Finnish University of Applied Sciences (UAS). It took place in a campus classroom. Again, this is a real professional encounter in which the three groups were unknown to each other. Two Finnish social sciences lecturers, Marie and Otto, both L1 Finnish, hosted the meeting. The other participants were three visiting Polish university lecturers and ten Romanian experts in social services, who were looking for an institution with which to co-operate and were visiting this university for the first time.

　　Marie and Otto (in photographs about the scene marked as speakers S1 and S2) had met the Polish delegation (S3-S5) only shortly before this meeting. For the Romanian delegation (S6-S15), this meeting was the first contact with the Finnish and Polish delegations. It turned out during the meeting that most of the members of the Romanian delegation did not speak English at all, so two members of their delegation (Ioana and Bianca) acted as interpreters in the meeting. Finally, there were two Finns who were doing a course in the social services (S16-S17), who had functioned as guides for the Romanian delegation during their visits to various places in Finland, and myself behind the camera (S18); I participated in the discussion briefly, twice.

Although English was the official working language of the meeting, there are long passages in the recording during which the only language spoken is Romanian. There were also several occasions when the main discussion divided into smaller language-specific groups that conversed in Romanian, Polish or Finnish.

FIGURE 8   Participants of the social services experts' meeting, the left half of the group. S1 and S2 are Otto and Marie, the Finnish lecturers, S16 and S17are Finnish students, S3-S5 are members of the Polish delegation, and the rest (S6–S15) are members of the Romanian delegation. The pseudonyms of speakers used in interaction extract are given in TABLE 2.

Marie and Otto hosted the meeting, and in the video recording were evidently more proficient in English compared with the guest participants. This kind of double authority made it unlikely that they would have any need to fear for their own proficiency face. Instead, this gave rise to a situation that called for attention to others' face. As language was far from being of central interest to the meeting this, like the student workshop, was a context in which it was not to be expected that the language itself would be in focus in the same way as it would be in a language learning context.

Figures 8 and 9A show a scene from the event and the seating arrangements. The seating remained the same all through the event, interrupted only by a brief interruption while people helped themselves to coffee. The only change was that near the end of the event, Otto left his place to present some information on the screen. The contextual features that could increase or decrease participants' consciousness of self-presentation and communication anxiety are similar in some ways to those in the student data, but there are also some differences. For experts in their own field, this kind of meeting is not a novel situation, so they were probably less conscious of the aspect of self-presentation.

FIGURE 9   Participants of the social services experts' meeting, the right half of the group. Members S3–S5 belong to the Polish delegation, the others belong to the Romanian delegation.

The layout of the setting (Figures 8 and 9) was typical of a formal meeting. Also, although there was no written agenda, the meeting followed the pattern typical of a formal gathering - an opening speech, welcoming words, the introduction of the participants - which made it a structured situation, a factor which could be likely to increase consciousness of self-presentation. Another factor that would raise this awareness was that each country delegation was previously unknown to both of the other delegations, and the Polish and the Finnish delegations had first met only one hour before this meeting. It is difficult to estimate how important various participants considered this meeting. The two Finnish lecturers, who were the only ones interviewed, reported that this was more like a "let's wait and see" kind of meeting, an exploratory encounter, not a high stakes one. There were eighteen people present (including me behind the camera), so the group was fairly large. Consequently, the public nature of the event and the number of people present could potentially lead to an increase in self-consciousness. In the meeting, the intensity of attention paid to the speaker, an anxiety-increasing factor, was occasionally high. Little is known about participants' earlier experience of international communication was previously unknown except for the Finnish lecturers, who were experienced travelers, and one of them also used English regularly at work. In the meeting, one of the members of the Romanian delegation said that they typically needed to speak English once a year. Several anxiety-decreasing features (perceived creativity, perceived intellectual ability, perceived academic competence, perceived self-worth, cooperativeness) vary from one person to another, so it was impossible to make choices based on this criterion in the data collection.

I video-recorded the meeting with one video camera and with a digital voice recorder for backup. Before beginning the recording, I asked every participant to sign a form giving me permission for the video recording. The statement giving me this permission is presented in Appendix 3. In addition, I asked one member of the Romanian delegation to orally translate the content of my English language

form to those participants who could not understand it. I did not participate in the discussion of the meeting apart from two short periods during which I offered my help in translating a question from one of my Finnish colleagues into French for one of the Romanian participants, and another time when my colleague referred to me in her speech and asked me a question that I briefly answered. Later I made a partial transcription of the discussion, omitting the talk in Romanian and Polish.

3.2.2 Transcription on interaction data

The accuracy of a transcription style is, as Dörnyei (2007: 248) suggests, "a pick and mix" from various conventions. In the interaction transcripts, the speech is transcribed in such a way that all pauses and overlapping speech are marked. In addition, laughter, utterances said laughing, utterances with rising intonation and words said with special emphasis, as well as *erms*, *uhms*, repetitions and false starts are marked. In cases where it was possible, non-English speech was also written, with a translation.

On the phoneme level, speech is written in the standard form, ignoring any slight unorthodoxy in vowel or consonant sounds. However, if the unorthodoxy produces a different grammatical form (e.g., I have chose), it has not been normalized, but ungrammaticality has been left the way it is. Commas are used to mark short pauses (one second or shorter), and longer pauses are specifically marked. Sentence boundaries are not marked in any way in the transcript (as suggested by Pavlenko 2007: 173), unless there is a pause in speech requiring a pause mark. The passages chosen to be transcribed are sometimes accompanied with some commentary on the non-verbal communication and screenshots showing the participants' action if it is considered essential.

The transcription symbols are given in Appendix 1, and an example extract from the interaction data is given in Appendix 2.

3.2.3 Interview data

Stimulated recall interviews with student workshop participants

In the academic year before the camp was held, I had taught all the Finnish students their compulsory English course, which is part of their B.Eng. degree in civil engineering. To have a better rapport with the student participant-interviewees for this research, of the students who participated in the camp I chose a small German-Finnish group to be video-recorded and interviewed based on my experience with the Finnish members: I chose students I knew would be co-operative, with whom I had not had any earlier problems. This was done to facilitate the interviews on a subject that could have been sensitive to them. The written agreement I asked them to sign included an agreement to be interviewed (Appendix 3). At the time of the study, the university of applied sciences where I work had no policy of requiring preliminary research approval from the university management.

In the evening leisure activities, such as going to sauna, playing cards, sitting by the campfire, drinking beer, I tried to socialize with the students of this participant-interviewee group as much as possible to create better rapport, as I knew the topic of the interview would be sensitive.

Ten of the eleven participants who participated in the interaction during the four-day Finnish–German student camp were individually interviewed in a semi-structured way. The German students were interviewed at the camp, while the Finnish students were interviewed either at the camp or during the following week, on campus. The interview included stimulated recall; interviewees were shown selected video clips of their interaction, and they were asked to comment freely on anything that came to mind. In addition, I drew up some more specific questions. The clips were chosen on the basis that some orientation to language was noticeable in them, either due to a lack of mutual understanding or because the production of speech seemed to require some special effort. These passages included visible symptoms or signals of non-understanding such as reformulation as a comprehension check, metalinguistic comments (Pitzl 2005: 55), other meaning negotiations, corrections of misunderstanding, or the use of production strategies that suggested special effort in formulating the utterance, such as lengthy pauses within a turn, reformulations, non-verbal action replacing gaps in verbal expressions, or unfinished utterances followed by collaborative meaning-making. Some fluent, unmarked, passages were also included to build the interviewees' proficiency face in the interview situation.

In addition to post-commentary on the data, I asked the students some semi-structured questions about their experience of English language use, their study history, and their own concepts of language. Each semi-structured interview lasted 20-35 minutes. The Finnish students were interviewed in Finnish and the German students in English.

Stimulated recall interviews with two lecturers of social services

The Finnish participants in the meeting of social services experts, Marie and Otto, were interviewed separately. The two interviews lasted 40 and 53 minutes, respectively. Their interviews included stimulated recall of the interaction. The clips were chosen on the same basis as described above (see Section 3.1). Like in the student interviews, I interviewed them in a semi-structured way about their English language use, their study history, and their own concepts of language.

I knew both Marie and Otto beforehand, but my acquaintance with Otto had been fairly superficial as I do not teach on social services programs. Marie and I had been working in the same project, so I knew her better. Also, she had participated in a course about teaching in English for teaching staff, for which I had acted as trainer. I had no opportunity to interview the Polish and Romanian participants in the meeting. An example of a transcript of the interview data is given in Appendix 2.

3.2.4 Transcription of interviews

The oral interviews were transcribed following the same principles as were used for the interaction data, except that, for simplicity, overlapping speech is not marked; instead, the dialogue is always written as consecutive. However, whenever overlapping speech was considered relevant from the proficiency face point of view, this is separately mentioned. In addition, as the interviews were only audio recorded, the transcripts do not contain any comments on the interviewees' body language during the interview.

The interviews conducted in Finnish have been transcribed in Finnish, and English translations are given for those extracts that are analyzed in this thesis. In the English translations, I tried to maintain the colloquial features of the Finnish original, including some fuzziness in sentence structures and ungrammaticality by written standards. The Finnish transcriptions were written with an attempt to retain the dialect features, as this was a mode all of the interviewees found appropriate (e.g., the Kotka dialect *miä* as it is pronounced for the first person singular pronoun "I", *minä* in standard Finnish).

3.2.5 Introspective data: my own autobiographical narrative

I have long kept field notes on my personal experiences with regard to various linguistic and pragmatic topics, which I expanded in 2011 into a language memoir. The entries have been written randomly, a couple of times a year. I decided to make further notes in English so that they would be more readily usable in this research. Partly this could be called a language memoir in which I describe my development as a language professional, partly field notes, which I have kept occasionally in various situations.

In my notes I describe my own experience and feelings about learning and using English, both in lingua franca contexts and with native speakers of English, and using Russian with native speakers of Russian. The earliest notes are from before this study was started, so there is no evidence in them of an orientation to this topic. The later notes were written after embarking on this thesis, and in these my orientation to the subject is already evident.

3.3 Methods of analysis

3.3.1 Discourse analysis of interaction data

The discourse analysis of the interaction data was conducted with the assumption that any use of language involves complex social, cultural, political, cognitive, and linguistic processes and contexts—all of which are part of the meaning and significant for reading, writing, and using language (Bloom et al. 2005). As discussed above, these contexts include participants' different goals, which can be content goals, relational goals, or face goals. In a conversation,

participants interpret contextualization cues, i.e., all features of communication that contribute to the signaling of contextual presuppositions (Gumperz 1982). These cues may be verbal (e.g. words, syntactic structures), paralinguistic (e.g. pausing, tone shift, volume shift), or non-verbal communication features (e.g. eye gaze, gesture, facial direction). In this study, the focus is on those contextualization cues that signal participants' orientation to their own image or their interlocutor's image as the language user, in other words, one participant's proficiency face. The interaction clips were chosen on the principle that in them the language proficiency of one or several of the participants was being made prominent, i.e., participants seemed to orient to the language and the content simultaneously. Such instances are hesitantly co-constructed turns, meaning negotiations, solving problems of mutual understanding, or metalinguistic commentary. Language proficiency becomes foregrounded when some evidence of disfluency in production is visible. Therefore, scenes that included a negotiation of meaning, misunderstandings, and non-understandings (manifested e.g., as clarification requests, repetition requests, a discontinuity in the discussion, or silence), direct expressions of non-understanding with explicit reference to the language (e.g., negotiation on the translation of a word), or some significant difficulties in the speaker's own production (e.g. a word search, numerous false starts) were counted as marked passages. Each of these passages was taken under analysis if it was one of the few of its kind (e.g metalinguistic comments). If there were many of them available in the data (e.g. hesitant co-constructed turns), one or two were chosen and presented to participants in the interviews. Based on both the researcher's own observation and the commentary gained from the participants in the interviews, these passages were then either included in or excluded from the set of examples that are analyzed in detail in this thesis.

As examples of non-verbal features, Domenici and Littlejohn (2006: 76) suggest that silence can be taken to mean at least three things face-wise; taking the previous speaker's comment seriously and giving it careful consideration, displaying contempt for the previous speaker's comment, or displaying an unwillingness to reply to a disrespectful turn. Like silence, laughter, particularly nervous laughter, can indicate several possible things: emotional stress, anxiety or embarrassment (Provine 1996), or an invitation to elaborate.

I, the researcher, interpreted the above-mentioned marked passages from the proficiency face point of view, analyzing their function as part of the discourse. In doing this, I attempted to take into account the context in which they appeared, including the information I had of the context as a partial insider, and information I had acquired on the participant's language self-concepts, language use history, and other contextual features in the interviews. The analysis of the discourse can therefore be described as ethnographically enriched.

3.3.2   Content analysis of the interview data

In the introspective and interview data, following, on one hand, Haugh and Hinze's (2003:1584) views on studying face, and on the other Maddux and

Gosselin's (2003, 23) concept of self-efficacy, the method of analysis can be defined as follows. Language-proficiency–related face, i.e. the vulnerable image of the person as a language user that the claimant wants to be (implicitly) acknowledged by others, is approached from various angles, which I will now introduce one by one. These angles form the operational category "the relevant evidence of orientation to language proficiency face" needed for content analysis (cf. Titscher et al. 2000a)

Own face
1. How, if at all, the participants describe their own perception of what others think about them as language users. This perception may be in the form of implicit commentary, such as
    a) the participants' comments on their own experience of the interaction at hand in a way that suggests a feeling of success or failure,
    b) the participants' comments on themselves as language users, that is, how their language self-concept is visible in speech,
    c) the participants' comments on other participants' verbal and non-verbal messages about their performance as language users, in other words, what they report that others seem to show about what they think of their language skills, and
2. How, if at all, the participants comment on their own feeling of vulnerability as language users, or their feeling of anxiety in interaction, or the lack of those feelings.

The facework of the participant in the interview situation (i.e., between the interviewee and me, the interviewer) is not in focus in this study, but it is considered whenever it is considered relevant and may be briefly commented on in the analysis.

As I will already have introduced some of the topics that are discussed in the interviews, my prompt or question is always shown in the analysis, and sometimes a summary of the preceding topics, where relevant.

Other's face

How, if at all, in the interview the participant refers to their interlocutor's language use or language proficiency, their interlocutor's assumed language self-concept, the assumed vulnerability of the interlocutor's image as a language user, or whether they report that they have sought to protect the interlocutor's proficiency face.

Limitations of the method

As a researcher, I understand the limitations of this method. There are a variety of reasons why a participant will not comment on every relevant face event. For one thing, participants may have paid attention to face in the situation

unconsciously, in which case it will have left no trace on their memory. Alternatively, they may refuse to acknowledge face issues in the interview in order to protect their own face in relation to the interviewer, for example to avoid double-shame, the shame of having been ashamed. In addition, it is possible that the interviewee will have forgotten the face sensitivity of the situation, and even the video stimulation does not help them to recall it. The contrary is also possible: that when the researcher shows a video clip with a disfluency or a problem of mutual understanding, which might have passed unnoticed in the actual interaction, having it brought to one's attention may raise it as a face concern for the first time in the interview. These limitations are taken into consideration and are briefly discussed in the analysis, when necessary.

On the positive side, this method enables us to see different participants' viewpoints on face that would otherwise remain hidden. This kind of approach, with its focus on participant perception and interpretation, is in line with the presently understood goal of pragmatics, as expressed in the statement of the Journal of Pragmatics on its scope: "theories of how speakers produce and interpret language in different contexts" (Foolen 2019: 44).

To conclude, no method is flawless. This study also gives us information on the how useful and how usable the method is.

3.4 Ethical considerations

All of the participants in the interaction data were asked to fill out a written consent form beforehand. This consent form was drafted following the instructions of the National Advisory Board on Research Ethics (In Finnish *Hyvä tieteellinen käytäntö ja sen loukkausten käsitteleminen*). The written consent form that the participants signed is presented in Appendix 3.

The identities of the participants are not disclosed apart from myself, and all the names used are pseudonyms. In addition, there are a few interview extracts that I considered particularly sensitive, and in the discussion of these extracts even the participants' usual pseudonyms are not used, but the participants are referred to only as A1, A2, etc., to protect their anonymity among themselves. Similarly, pseudonyms are used for towns and names of institutions in the interaction data. The speakers' first languages and home countries are disclosed as they may have relevance in the interpretation and do not compromise the secrecy of the participants' identity.

At the time of data collection, the university of applied sciences that I worked for (and still work for) had no requirement of officially approving the conduct of a study involving students and staff on the university premises. Permission to involve students was orally granted by the Head of Department of Civil Engineering, on condition that each student individually gave their consent, and this was done.

The method of showing the participants parts of the interaction in which they seemed to be less successful could be considered harmful to the participants'

L2 self-concept. To avoid this, I also tried to include in the video clips a few neutral and fluent passages, even though they were irrelevant from the research point of view. I also explained to the interviewees that most of their speech had been fluent and elegant, but for this study, the less fluent parts were of greater interest.

4 PROFICIENCY FACEWORK IN INTERACTION: FACEWORK IN THE BUILDING OF SHARED UNDERSTANDING

This chapter discusses how proficiency facework is visible in the building of shared understanding in interaction. The different instances discussed are the co-construction of turns, subtle confirmation requests, non-verbal elements as turn constituents, code-switching, and the handling of problems of understanding.

4.1 Co-construction of turns

The material revealed many instances in which shared understanding was co-constructively built when one participant seemed to have difficulties in finding the right word. In this kind of situation, one participant's clear difficulty in a word search might orient the other participants' attention to the speaker's language proficiency and it is thus marked for proficiency face. In the following extracts (1 and 2), participants co-operate in turn construction when the first speaker has obvious difficulties in word retrieval. The first example is from the social services expert meeting. Ioana (female, L1 Romanian) and Bianca (female, L1 Romanian) are the two members of the Romanian delegation who interpret for the entire group and function as their spokespeople. The transcription symbols are explained in Appendix 1.

Extract 1 (Interaction data 1.2)

1	Ioana	in this proj- this project is for err university , and err on
2		*(gazes at Bianca)* {collegios}(?) also , they can *(gestures with*
3		*hands)* err I don't know how to say in English *(gazes at*
4		*Bianca)*
5		(pause 2 secs)

6	Bianca	work/
7	Ioana	they can work together for […]

In line 2, Ioana uses a Romanian word to describe an educational institution, and after that (lines 2–3) she gestures and finally explicitly expresses her inability to form her turn, making a metalinguistic comment (line 3). This is followed by a two-second pause (line 5), which creates social pressure on Bianca to support Ioana. Bianca, the other mediator, contributes in line 6 by uttering the word 'work' with a rising intonation, which indicates that it is a suggestion, and that Bianca is not sure if it is the word Ioana is looking for. Besides, Bianca's contribution is an extremely common verb, 'work', so it is unlikely that it would be beyond Ioana's lexical repertoire in English. However, since Ioana explicitly expresses that she wants to say something that is beyond her repertoire (line 3), Bianca's offer of help can be interpreted as a simple approximation that she finds here potentially suitable, that is, something that could roughly convey the more refined expression that Iona probably had in mind.

As Ioana has explicitly said that she cannot express her idea in English, Bianca's help is solicited and, that being the case, cannot be considered patronizing, as can happen if someone offers unsolicited help. If Ioana loses proficiency face, it happens during lines 1–4, when she fails to retrieve the word and explicitly utters her inability to continue. Thus the mere fact that Bianca helps Ioana is not a severe face threat. In this case, offering help, and particularly offering help that is easily accepted because it comes as an approximation in the form of such a simple and common lexical item, enables Ioana to utilize this help and move on with her speech promptly. Consequently, the co-constructive action is rather a remedy that shortens the duration of word loss than a threat to Ioana's face.

This kind of explicit expression of difficulty in a word search is uncommon in the data. More often, co-operation is offered without an explicit request for help. In the following, Extract 2, from the same data set, Bianca explains an idea that Andreea (female L1 Romanian) and Anca (female L1 Romanian) want to present to the other participants. Certain phases of Extract 2 are illustrated with video captures from the scene in Figures 10–13, and the relevant places are shown in the script. Otto is male, L1 Finnish.

Extract 2 (Interaction data 1.2)

1	Bianca	they want to invite you to (n) Abruveni to summon ,
2		intenational seminar about , policy/ *(gestures with hands,*
3		*gazes at Ioana)* , poor policy/ *(FIG. 10)*
4	Ioana	(nn) *(quietly)*
5	Otto	people who are poor *(FIG. 11)*
6	Bianca	yes *(gives a very positive nod and then smiles) (FIG.12)* and
7		they *(gestures with hand towards Andrea and Anca)* want to
8		invite you they send the invitation *(FIG. 13)* and , more
9		[information] *(gestures with hand)* by mail

10   Otto   [okay/] okay thank you

In lines 2–3, it is evident through gestures and a gaze that Bianca needs help in formulating her turn (see Figure 10). Both Ioana (female, L1 Romanian) and Otto (male, L1 Finnish) respond. Ioana's response is inaudible, and Otto suggests such a simple expression that it is unlikely to be outside Bianca's linguistic repertoire. Bianca accepts (line 6) with a short 'yes,' gives a definite nod, and moves on with her explanation. Otto's comment (line 5) does not actually offer any new information or a more readily usable lexical chunk for Bianca. Rather, Otto's comment can be interpreted as a confirmation that he understands Bianca's intended meaning. In line 7 (see also Figure 12) Bianca looks down at the floor, which can be interpreted as serious concentration and a withdrawal from the interaction to process the word search (Kurhila 2006; 92; Goodwin and Goodwin 1986: 57). In lines 8–9 (also in Figure 13), Ioana has completed this self-directed process and already seeks contact with her gaze.

FIGURE 10   Bianca on the right says "poor policy" (Extract 2, line 3) with Ioana on her
            left.
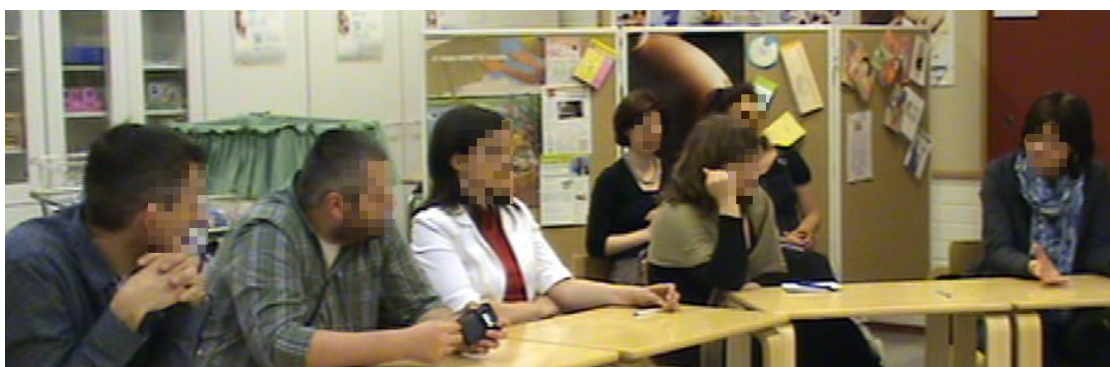
FIGURE 11   Bianca is on the right, Ioana is the second one the right at the table. Otto on the
            left suggests "people who are poor" (Extract 2 line 5).

FIGURE 12   Bianca (on the right) nods profoundly and says "yes" (line 6). Ioana is the second on the right at the table. Otto is on the left.

FIGURE 13   In line 8, Bianca (second from the right) has completed the self-directed process and already seeks contact with her gaze while saying "they send the invitation".

Like in the scene in Extract 1, this co-operative meaning-making can be considered face-maintaining as it shortens the time others' attention is directed to the first speaker's inability to formulate the turn. It also resembles a situation encountered among proficient speakers when an incomplete turn is due to the tip-of-the-tongue phenomenon, fatigue, or distraction on the part of the speaker. Therefore, although giving help to a participant who visibly (Extract 2) is not able to complete her/his turn is not proficiency face-giving per se, and nor would it be in a case where the participant makes this inability explicit with a metalinguistic comment (Extract 1), it does not need to be proficiency face-threatening, either. If the speaker and interlocutors perceive that this co-operation enables them to get past a non-fluent situation, in which their attention may have turned to the speaker's inadequate linguistic resources, this kind of turn-completion by an interlocutor can be considered face-maintaining.

Extract 3 is from a somewhat similar scene in which the speaker makes a subtle confirmation request to the interlocutor. The extract is from the same social services professionals' meeting as Extracts 1 and 2. In this extract, Ioana (female, L1 Romanian) explains what their group has done so far in Finland. The other person present is Otto (male L1 Finnish).

Extract 3 (Interaction data 1.2)

1	Ioana	we visit house care in Koisala/(*gestures with hands, gazes*
2		*towards Otto*)
3	Otto	uhum
4	Ioana	and then we w- was at , family support ce[[nter]]/ , in
5		Tamminlahti (*gazes towards Otto intensively*)
6	Otto	[[n]] (*quietly*)

FIGURE 14   Ioana is seeking support with her gaze: (left) Line 4: "and then we w- was at"; (right) Line 4: "family support center/ in Tamminlahti (gazes intensely toward Otto)".

Ioana seems to be unsure how to describe the institutions they had visited. The first place where this shows is in lines 1–2, where she seeks confirmation from Otto with gaze and rising intonation, which Otto gives with a quiet "uhum". In the first case, the question is more about remembering the name of the Finnish town and cannot easily be seen as a matter of English language proficiency. As for the second hesitation (lines 4–5), here Ioana's body language (turning toward Otto and Marie (female, L1 Finnish), as shown in Figure 14, her rising intonation and the pause all show clearly that she is again implicitly requesting confirmation, this time more intensely, and Otto confirms it quietly. After this, Ioana moves on.

Ioana's facial expression, the turning toward Otto and the short pause before 'family support center' suggest that she is not sure whether she can

express a previously familiar idea in appropriate English, i.e., use her linguistic creativity to describe something for which a conventional term is not available or, alternatively, if she can repeat in the right form an expression someone has used before when describing the place, and which she thinks she should know. Both cases can be considered indicators of language proficiency issues, although linked with different areas of language proficiency: the former with the ability to describe a referent with an expression that can be considered appropriate in the circumstances, and the latter with an ability to recall and use a newly learned chunk of language. In both cases, the hesitation and accompanying facial expressions make this scene marked for proficiency face.

Ioana (female, L1 Romanian) and Bianca (female, L1 Romanian) act as language mediators or interpreters for the rest of their delegation all through the meeting. I do not know if this role had been explicitly and institutionally agreed upon beforehand, or whether it is something that had emerged more organically during their trip. If the former, the face threat would be more serious, as Bianca's ought-to L2 self as a fluent English speaker would be more prominent, and everyone in the group would know this role.

After this scene, the video recording reveals that Bianca continues actively and cheerfully to act as an interpreter for the group, together with Ioana, all through the event. If Bianca felt this scene was a threat to her proficiency face, she does not show it: it does not result in any evident avoidance facework, i.e., avoidance of communication. The subtle confirmation request, accompanied by an equally subtle confirmation, seems to be a proficiency face-saver, as it enabled the participant to move on fairly fluently.

There are also scenes throughout the entire meeting that can be considered proficiency face-giving as Bianca manages to express her own ideas and interpret her fellow countrymen's ideas in English in ways that are meaningful in the discussion. Also, although the role of mediator sets some demands on the ought-to L2 selves of both Ioana and Bianca, having and acting in this role also gives them face as users of English. They are, after all, acting as interpreters. It is possible that despite all the difficulties Ioana displays in speaking, she is still greatly respected, even admired, by the Romanian delegation, whose members mostly do not speak English in this meeting. So, momentary signals of disfluency or being at a loss for words do not seem to result in face loss, at least in these cases, where turns are constructed in co-operation.

The interview with Otto, the Finnish host, enables us to view Bianca's proficiency face from another participant's point of view. In the interaction (Extract 3 above), Otto briefly confirmed Ioana's suggestions with short 'uhums', maintaining Ioana's image as a proficient speaker as this way he confirmed that Ioana's expressions were appropriate. In the interview (Extract 4), Otto does not seem to orient to Ioana's English proficiency and potential proficiency face concerns, even when as the interviewer I highlight this confirmation-seeking function of Ioana's turn.

Extract 4 (Interview data 2.2)

1	Tarmo	okei , mä mietin sitä ku toi sano toi Ioana, että sanoks se
2		*family support center* in Tamminlahti
3	Otto	**joo perhetukikeskus**
4	Tarmo	ja hän siin kohtaa katso vaan sinuu ja jotenkin hyvin tää
5		**kasvojen ilme oli aika voimakas tota, hakiko hän siin**
6		**kohtaa jonkunlaista tukea**
7	Otto	**joo tätä se oli tällänen family support center eiks niin**
8	Tarmo	joo
9	Otto	se oli kyllä
10	[…]	
11	**Otto**	**eikä tällasta koskaan tiedetä et onks se niin kun**
12		**virallinen nimi mut sitten kun on tavallaan et okei, en**
13		**mä virallista termiä tiedä niin perhetukikeskus family**
14		**support center that's it siitä se niin kun tajuaa et aa ,**
15		**kyllä ,**
16	Tarmo	joo
17	Otto	et tää paikka se on

1	*Tarmo*	*okay , I thought about that when that Ioana said , so did she say*
2		*family support center in Tamminlahti*
3	***Otto***	***yeah , family support center***
4	*Tarmo*	*and at that point she looked at you and **her facial expression***
5		***was very intense well , did she seek some kind of support***
6	***Otto***	***well this yeah it was this kind of family support center***
7		***wasn't it***
8	*Tarmo*	*yeah*
9	*Otto*	*it was yeah*
10	*[…]*	
11	***Otto***	***and this kind of name it is impossible to know if it's like***
12		***an official name but then when it is in a way okay , I***
13		***don't know the official term so family support center***
14		***that's it one can understand that name like , oh , yes***
15	*Tarmo*	*yeah*
16	*Otto*	*that this place it is*

(The parts of the speech in the Finnish-conducted interview that interviewee expressed in English are presented underlined in the translated transcription.)

In Extract 4, Otto (male, L1 Finnish) seems to ignore the aspect of a request for help and Bianca's facial expression that I raised (lines 4–6). Instead, in line 7 , Otto seems to start negotiating with me whether the term Bianca used was appropriate. Later (lines 11–14), he describes how he finds this kind of ad hoc term legitimate in the interaction, although he cannot confirm its official status. This answer indicates that Otto does not primarily orient to Bianca's potential emotional stress in the situation, or to her image as a language user when there is a disfluency,

but rather orients to making sense of what is said and finding some basis for a shared understanding. This can also be seen in the more general comment I make to Otto about the entire episode, in Extract 5. This may indicate Otto's overall orientation to content-focused communication instead of person-orientedness (c.f. O'Keefe 1988), as Otto does not comment on the emotional or social needs that the imminent inadequacy of proficiency in the interaction might bring. Otto's commentary in Extract 4, lines 11–14, suggests that he has a primarily ELF language concept, in which the appropriateness of an English word is at least partly defined by local relevance. Extract 5 shows Otto's answer to my more general question on his role as a more proficient participant.

Extract 5 (Interview data 2.2)

1	Tarmo	entäs tämmöset tilanteet niin kun tässäkin ku tota sul on
2		tää tilanne kuitenkin hyvin hanskassa kaikin puolin mutta
3		siellä on monii ihmisii , joilla ainakaan kielellisest se ei oo
4		hanskassa niin **minkälaisii ajatuksii se sulla aiheuttaa**
5		**koet sä tarvetta et sun pitäis jotenkii siin tilantees auttaa**
6		**tai tukee tai muuttaa omaa puhetta tai muuta**
7	Otto	koen , koen joo , pitäis pystyy niin **kun sanomaan**
8		**jotenkin selkeemmin tai yksinkertasemmin tai jotenkin**
9		**muulla tavalla niin kun varmistua siitä että varmasti nyt**
10		**jokainen on tässä vielä kartalla ja mukana** ja kyllä
11		semmonen tietyntyyppinen niin kun , tää nyt oli iso
12		porukka et nää olis pitäny olla oma miittinkinää
13		romanialaiset tavallaan omanaan niin tavallaan se että
14		hetkinen, että oliks tässä nyt silleen niin kun mieltä ja
15		päästiinkö tässä , me Marien kanssa saatiin tästä irti mitä
16		me saatiin mutta en mä tiedä sitten , voi se olla, että
17		**vieraille olis ollu parempi se et jos ois toisten kanssa**
18		**ensin istuttu yhessä ja sitten toisten kanssa ja sit saatu**
19		**se asia jotenki käytyä kun siinä oli nyt näitä kielijuttuja**
20		**ja muuta että**

1	*Tarmo*	*how about this kind of situation like here when you can handle*
2		*the situation well but there are many people who at least*
3		*language-wise cannot handle it so **what kind of thoughts***
4		***does it bring to you do you feel that you should somehow***
5		***help or support someone in that situation or change the***
6		***way you speak or anything***
7	*Otto*	*I do I do yeah , one **should be able to say it somehow more***
8		***clearly or more simply or in some other way to make sure***
9		***that everyone is here still following** and yes a kind of like ,*
10		*here now there was a big group we should have met the*
11		*Romanians in a way in a separate meeting so it was like did this*
12		*in a way make sense at all and did we reach , Marie and I got*

13	*out of this what we got but i don't know then , **it could have***
14	***been better for the visitors if we had first met one group***
15	***and then the other and then somehow could have wrapped***
16	***up the topic somehow because there were these language***
17	***things and so on*** *that…*

When I specifically ask Otto (Extract 5, lines 1–6) about his thoughts on the situation in terms of whether he should have given some kind of support to a less proficient participant, his metapragmatic awareness seems to focus on ensuring mutual understanding (lines 7–10) and his responsibility as the host to organize the event in a way that will be maximally beneficial to all of the participants (lines 16–19 Finnish, 13–17 English). He does not specifically comment on Ioana and Bianca's roles, their language skills, or any feelings attached to language skills anywhere in the interview. The only comments he makes are in connection with another scene, when he said that "the translation there didn't work out" (Finnish original:" kääntäminen tossa niin kun tökkikin"), and above in Extract 5 a general reference to "oli nyt näitä kielijuttuja" (line 19 Finnish; "there were these language things" in lines 16–17 English). These comments show that Otto *did* pay attention to the interpreters' language skills and found them somewhat problematic, but these problems were never the focus of his commentary. Neither does he ever comment that the interlocutors' language problems had led him to think of taking some deliberate action to protect their proficiency faces.

In the interaction scene (Extract 3, line 3), Otto seems to orient to ensuring understanding and utters a short response to show Ioana that her lexical choice is acceptable. In the interview situation (Extracts 4 and 5), Otto seems to orient to a discussion of the appropriateness of the term used and the process of making a term locally appropriate, rather than to Ioana's proficiency face needs or her language proficiency. In sum, the scene in Extract 1 did not seem to affect Ioana's proficiency face in the long term if we consider how she acted in the exchange and after it. Similarly, based on Otto's comments, we can conclude that neither Bianca's nor Ioana's proficiency face called for specific attention.

Otto and Ioana seemed, then, to co-operate in allowing Ioana to maintain her proficiency face in the confirmation-seeking situation. Although Otto does not seem to orient to Ioana's proficiency face consciously, his action of confirming Ioana's implicit confirmation request acts to maintain Ioana's proficiency face as it allows her to move on smoothly. This allows her to better maintain her proficiency face in front of all of the participants in the situation. Otto's subtle facework protects Ioana's face and is probably an unintentional side-effect of his orientation to other aspects of communication.

Although no commentary on Extract 3 is available from those who received the help, i.e., Ioana and Bianca, similar co-operative turn completion situations are available in the student workshop data, accompanied by commentary from those who received the help. Extract 6 presents a situation in which the students are negotiating details of the building inventory assignment. The participants are Suvi (female, L1 Finnish), Frank (male, L1 German), and Monika (female, L1 German).

Extract 6 (Interaction data 1.1a)

1	Suvi	but if we take first the measures and then we draw
2	Frank	yeah
3	Monika	but **I guess ehm we should some** *(hand gestures,* FIGURE 15*)*
4	Suvi	**some** *(hand gestures,* FIGURE 16*)* (pause 1 sec) *(Suvi*
5		*continues gesturing)*
6	Monika	**some [drawings] (hand gestures, FIGURE 17)**
7	Frank	**[just to] sketch**
8	Monika	**just to sketch right**
9	Suvi	yeah
10	Monika	and then we could do measurements
11	Suvi	and yeah and then then the , right right pictures really
12	Monika	yeah okay so
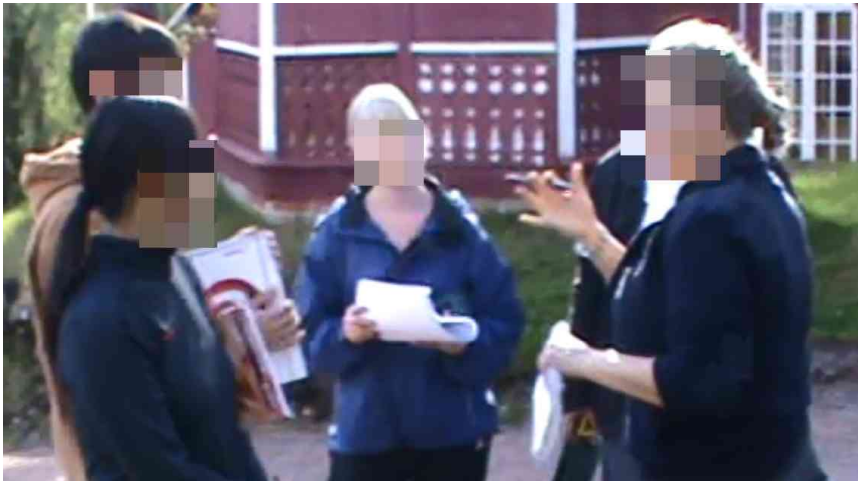
FIGURE 15   Gesturing while collaboratively searching for the word in Extract 6. Suvi is facing the camera and Monika is in front, on the right. Frank is behind Mei on the left. In line 3, Monika says: "we should some".

FIGURE 16   Extract 6, lines 4–5, Suvi facing the camera says "some".

FIGURE 17   Extract 6, line 6, Monika (on the right) says "some drawings".

In lines 3–6 (in Extract 6), Suvi and Monika are searching for the expression 'to sketch' or something similar in order to emphasize that the drawings they have to do at this stage need not be final. The pausing and the intensive gesturing indicate that they are both having difficulty finding a suitable expression. Finally, Frank in line 7 suggests 'sketch', which Monika immediately accepts by repeating it in line 8. The videocaps of the scene are shown in Figures 15–17. The scene in Extract 6 is communicatively different from the one in Extracts 1 to 3. While in Extracts 1 to 3 the speaker seems to have information that she wishes to convey to the other participants and the negotiation concerns the best way of expressing this in English, Extract 6 seems to be a combined negotiation of the action to be taken (i.e., "Are not-final drawings enough for now?") and the form of the utterance (i.e., "How do we call not-final drawings in English?"). While this is the interpretation that an observer of the scene can make, in the following, the participants themselves comment on how they found the scene.

In the following extracts, 7–10, Suvi, Frank, and Monika comment on the scene in Extract 6 after having seen a video clip in the interview. Extract 7 presents the discussion in the interview between Frank and me immediately after I paused the video clip.

Extract 7 (Interview data 2.1)

1	Tarmo	okay
2	Frank	okay that was actually I think a bit **funny**, cos they were
3		ALL talking about the same , **no-one knew the right**
4		**vocabulary**
5	Tarmo	@yeah
6	Frank	**none of us** , **but I still think we got on the same page**

Although it was Frank who produced the appropriate verb 'sketch,' he did not take credit for it himself, but instead commented on the situation from the collective point of view, underlining their shared lack of proficiency (lines 2–4

92

and 6). However, this alleged lack of proficiency was not justified on his own part, because he was the one who produced the word that Monika and Suvi were obviously searching for. Suvi's and Monika's joint word search in lines 3–6 of Extract 6 could well take place in L1 communication as a result of the tip-of-the-tongue phenomenon. However, as it happens here in an L2 interaction, it has the potential to be a proficiency face threat, whereas for an L1 speaker this kind of hesitation could be interpreted more locally (Kurhila 2006: 149).

In the interaction scene (Extract 6), Frank releases Monika and Suvi from the ongoing word search by offering help in line 7 because the word search has been unsuccessful so far and, therefore, constitutes a potential emerging proficiency face threat. The interviews with Suvi and Monika (Extracts 8 and 9 below) on this scene reveal that they perceived Frank's support as welcome help rather than as the unnecessary, patronizing help of a more proficient speaker (cf. Ylänne 2000: 169).

Extract 8 (Interview data 2.1)

1	Tarmo	aika kovast käsil selittämist
2	Suvi	mm nii joo no niiku tossakii yritin just selittää et sellaset
3		niinku pikapiirustukset , **mut onneks myä ajateltiin**
4		**samal taval nii sit molemmat selitti sit samaa siin**
5	Tarmo	mist siä tiedät et te ajattelitte samal taval
6	Suvi	no koska sit se sano jotenkii sillee että niin kun ensin vaa
7		jotkuu piirustukset ja myöhemmin ne oikeet
8	Tarmo	joo, okei

1	*Tarmo*	*quite a lot of talking with the hands*
2	*Suvi*	*mm well yeah like there I just tried to explain like fast*
3		*drawings , **but luckily we thought in the same way so we***
4		***were both explaining the same thing***
5	*Tarmo*	*how do you know you thought in the same way*
6	*Suvi*	*well because she then said something like first only just some*
7		*drawings and later the proper ones*
8	*Tarmo*	*yeah okay*

The word "luckily" (Extract 8, in Finnish line 3 "onneks") suggests that Suvi found the formation of her original turn problematic. She says that mutual understanding was achieved despite the lack of vocabulary. Suvi explains that their view of what had to be done was identical, although they had no words to express it, so the negotiation was not about what was to be done but merely about a suitable way of expressing it. The following comment by Suvi (Extract 9), which is on a later meaning negotiation, reveals that Suvi has a positive attitude toward Frank's helping her.

Extract 9 (Interview data 2.1)

| 1 | Suvi | […] onneks tää toinen kaveri *(Frank)* kyseli koko aika niin |
| 2 | | paljo ja johdatteli koko aika et sit voi vaa sanoo joo joo @@ |

1	*Suvi*	*[…] luckily this other guy (Frank) was asking all the time so*
2		*much and was leading the talk all the time so I could just say*
3		*yeah yeah @@*

In Extract 9, Suvi comments very positively on Frank's active role in the situation (lines 1–3). She also plays down her own role in the shared meaning-making (line 2). In other instances, below, Suvi says that she finds her image as an English user very sensitive, and feels that her English is poor. Frank's adoption of a more active role allows Suvi to avoid speaking, which on the one hand can be seen as following an avoidance strategy, but on the other hand means that they can carry out the task smoothly and overcome the proficiency face-threatening situation swiftly.

Suvi's claim in Extract 8 lines 2–4 and 6–7 that she and Monika had understood the idea in the same way because Monika had explained the idea of first making a sketch is not quite accurate. As can be seen in Extract 6, what Suvi claims to be the content of Monika's turn (first make a sketch and then make the final drawings) was actually half Monika's (first make a sketch) and half her own turn (making the final drawings); Monika did not explicitly mention the final drawings, although it can probably be inferred from her turn. Still, the sequence of turns can be seen as proof that they co-operatively came to a shared understanding of what was to be done.

In Extract 10, below, Monika explicates this reaching of shared understanding in more concrete terms than Suvi in her interview (Extract 8). Monika's description is metalinguistically more concrete than Suvi's.

Extract 10 (Interview data 2.1)

1	Tarmo	okay
2	**Monika**	**@not too much talking there@**
3	Tarmo	but you find- you find mutual understanding there , you
4		understand each other (nnn)
5	Monika	**yes but we understand each other but erm just talked**
6		**erm three to four words@**
7	Tarmo	yeah
8	Monika	**so that's just exactly thing here**
9	Tarmo	so how-how do you make the understanding if it's only
10		three or four words
11	**Monika**	**yeah I guess it's because we KNOW what we talk about**
12	Tarmo	yeah
13	Monika	and so if one starts a sentence , and the other ehm could
14		guess

15	Tarmo	yeah
16	**Monika**	**what you mean**
17	Tarmo	yeah
18	**Monika**	**because it is , kind of our profession**

In Extract 10, Monika says that they managed to reach an understanding using very few words, through a top-down processing of meanings, because of their shared professional expertise (lines 8, 11, 13–14, 16, 18). In line 11 Monika emphasizes the word 'know' (the emphasis indicated as upper-case letters in the transcript). She elaborates on her view by saying that they can finish each other's unfinished utterances (lines 13–14) by guesswork, which is based on their shared professional knowledge. (This side of this extract will be discussed in more detail below, in Section 5.3, Extract 70). So while Monika and Suvi cannot accurately express what they mean, Frank can guess what it is and he suggests the missing word. Monika's description between lines 9–19 on sharing the same expertise can be seen as an indicator of professional pride. Co-construction of the turn functions here as an indication of shared professional knowledge and is something that enhances their mutual professional faces. In the interpretation of this scene, professional face seems to override language proficiency face for Monika, as if "we don't need language proficiency to understand each other because we have our professionalism." In this scene, approximations, supported by their shared expertise, were enough for them to reach mutual understanding.

Nevertheless, while Extract 6 is a discussion of what should be done, with Monika underlining their shared expertise as the way the problem is solved, all three participants in Extracts 7, 8 and 10 interpret the scene as a negotiation over a suitable English expression rather than negotiation over the content, i.e., the plan that they should be making. Thus, this was a scene where the participants oriented to the language and, consequently, proficiency face questions might have been in the foreground.

Despite the attitude Monika expressed in Extract 10, she reports feeling proficiency face threat and being aware of others' similar concerns in the workshop in a general way, as is seen from her comment at the end of her interview, in Extract 11 below.

Extract 11 (Interview data 2.1)

1	Tarmo	is there anything else that comes to your mind about any
2		of these passages
3	[…]	
4	Tarmo	or anything about using English or getting understanding
5		or
6	[…]	
7	Monika	I've **got a feeling that erm , not just for me but for all of**
8		**us** errm that the language becomes , easier and each day
9	Tarmo	yeah

10	Monika	we use it again , because before we weren't- very , seldom
11		talked
12	Tarmo	yeah
13	Monika	in English and so I think it's also a little bit of problem
14		because we maybe a little EMBARRASSED about your
15		language
16	Tarmo	yeah

In lines 13–15, Monika mentions embarrassment about using English, due to their having used it relatively little (lines 10–11), and speaks on behalf of everyone (lines 7–8). Although Monika reports having a sensitive proficiency face, this face does not seem to be threatened by the co-operative meaning-making in Extract 6, although she reported in the interview that the meaning-making was more L2-proficiency related than content-related.

Similarly, Suvi expresses her face concerns in the following, Extract 12, from the beginning of her interview. It is one of several times when she refers to feelings that can be considered face relevant (other instances will be discussed later).

Extract 12 (Interview data 2.1)

1	Tarmo	jos näytän täst muutaman pätkän ja sä voit ihan vapaast
2		aina kommentoida jokaist pätkää mitä sul mielee tulee , sit
3		miä kysyn niist jotaa
4	Suvi	varmaan ihan kamala kattoo koska **minuu AHISTAA**
5		**puhuu englantii** et

1	*Tarmo*	*if I show a few clips here and you can freely comment on every*
2		*clip whatever comes to mind , then I'll also ask something about*
3		*them*
4	*Suvi*	*it's sure going to be horrible to watch them* **because I'm so**
5		**ANXIOUS** *when I speak English so*

In lines 4-5, Suvi explicitly expresses her anxiety when speaking English, and she anticipates that watching herself doing it will be a very negative experience.

Meaning negotiations themselves do not necessarily threaten proficiency face as they can be a common feature of interaction. Extracts 11 and 12, however, reveal that Monika and Suvi perceived proficiency face threat quite generally in the workshop, and therefore being at a loss for words in the interaction scene in Extract 6 could have been a threat to their proficiency faces. This justifies analyzing the events in Extract 6 also from the proficiency face point of view.

The ability to independently contribute to the interaction is a feature of language proficiency. For example, in the European Framework (Council of Europe 2018: 87), in the descriptors A2 level speaker in a formal meeting, one "Can exchange relevant information and give his/her opinion on practical problems when asked directly, provided he/she receives some help with the

formulation," while in level B2 the need for support is not mentioned in any form. Independence is evidently a positive indicator of language proficiency, as an invitation to co-operate can be interpreted to an indicator of retrieval problems. Nevertheless, the participants' positive commentary on the joint meaning-making in word search situations reveals that the question of proficiency face is not straightforward here.

Monika and Suvi reported experiencing language proficiency face threat in this workshop on a general level. However, their comments do not imply that the need to resort to co-operation in a word search was a negative experience, although it had the potential to be one: their inability to retrieve a word was displayed, and they managed to utter the desired meaning after some not-so-fluent co-operation. In this case, it seems that the participants did not find the co-operative nature of the meaning-making face-threatening, even when their shortcomings in linguistic repertoire were clearly visible. In general, in actual interaction, one reason may be the intensity with which the participants are involved in the joint meaning-making and orientation to the job to be done, so that any action that helps to smoothen this process is welcome. Another factor could be that receiving help from others shortens the time spent struggling and the time that the speaker is the center of others' attention, and therefore reduces the time that their struggles with language use are exposed to others. Also, this kind of positive reception of help indicates something about the participant's L2 selves: the speaker accepts that they can receive collaborative help in that kind of communicative situation.

As mentioned above, this kind of co-operative meaning-making, in which one participant completes another participant's unfinished utterance, is also common in situations in which the difficulties in word retrieval derive from the tip-of-the-tongue phenomenon, something that happens not only in an L2 but also when communicating in one's L1. This way this type of situation comes very near negotiation over content. Negotiation over content "What should we do?" and negotiation over language "How do we call what we should do in English?" may merge in the perceptions of participants in the actual interaction. As the negotiation over content is immediately more relevant for the participants, they may not primarily orient to this as a language problem at the time, even if in post-commentary the participants regard the scene as a negotiation about language. Orientation to the content in the meaning negotiation may background the proficiency face threat. The potentially face-threatening word retrieval can seem to camouflage itself, so to speak, as proficiency face–wise neutral negotiation on content.

4.2 Gesturing and using pictures

A speaker can use gestures (and other non-verbal elements) in their turn for various reasons. In Extract 6 above, the gesturing signaled inability to find a word but did not replace any lexical element in the turn. Non-verbal elements, such as

gestures, can also be combined with verbal elements in the turn design. This also happens in one's L1 for reasons that may have little to do with shortcomings in one's linguistic repertoire. Sometimes it is simpler to show than tell, and for reasons of economy and/or clarity, L1 speakers use gestures as part of their turn or show something with their hands instead of using verbal language. When this happens in L2 interaction, however, non-verbal elements may more easily be interpreted as compensation for lack of language proficiency, and thus may more easily be perceived as potential threats to the speaker's proficiency face, whether this interpretation is justified or not. If a speaker cannot find a suitable expression, it may be possible to compensate for it by non-verbal means, for example, by pointing at an object or gesturing an action one cannot name, or showing the angle or the position of an object one cannot explain.

Extract 13 is from data 1.1a from the student camp, at the very beginning of the small group's co-operation. The members of the group are negotiating the details of their assignment. Suvi seems to be better informed about the details of the instructions for the task, so Frank and Monika are asking her about them. Before this extract, Suvi had started the scene with a comment "So here we have some papers if you need." At this point, everybody has gathered around Suvi (female, L1 Finnish), and Frank (male, L1 German) targets the question (line 1) to Suvi with his gaze. The other participants are Heikki (male, L1 Finnish) and Mei (female, L1 Chinese).

Extract 13 (Data 1.1b)

1	Frank	so what is the work task do we draw , like a floor plan/
2	Suvi	yeah
3	Frank	and the cross sections
4	Suvi	yes and the three
5	(pause 2 seconds)	*(Suvi makes gestures with hands, pointing towards the*
6		*building under discussion with her index finger, see* FIGURE
7		18*)*
8	Frank	like a care [zone] (?)
9	Heikki	[nn] (quietly)
10	Mei	[[{nnn}]] (German)
11	Heikki	[[(nnn)]] (quietly)
12	Suvi	**[[no no]] no**
13	Frank	**ooh like views from the outside/** *(makes hand gesture)*
14	Heikki	yeah (quietly)
15	Suvi	**yeah**
16	Frank	yeah all right
17	Suvi	like here here and here (shows with hand, see FIGURE 19)
18	Frank	o:kay
19	Suvi	but not that *(gestures with her folder)*
20	Frank	okay and what/ did he say about like saying something
21		[…]

FIGURE 18   Suvi is gesturing. Extract 13, line 5: Pause 2 seconds, Suvi makes gestures with her hands, pointing with her index finger toward the building. Frank is the third from the left, Suvi (circled) is the fourth from the left, and Mei the fifth from the left. Heikki is behind Suvi, hardly visible.

FIGURE 19   Suvi is gesturing in line 17 (Extract 13) and says: "like here here and here".

To answer Frank's question in line 1, Suvi would obviously need an expression such as "façade picture" in lines 4–6. For two seconds, Suvi does not say anything but makes gestures with her hands. This is seen in Figure 18. This is followed by three short turns by Frank in English, Mei in German, and Heikki (quietly, presumably in Finnish), which are obviously attempts to help Suvi, although they are hardly audible, which can be judged by Suvi's rejection in line 12 with a repeated 'no no no'. In line 15, Suvi finally accepts the suggestion Frank makes in line 13. In contrast to the interaction in Extract 6 in the previous section, which seemed to be a merging of negotiation over the action and negotiation over a suitable English expression, Extract 13 is more clearly about the latter only, as Suvi seems to hold the answer to the question of what the participants need to

do. Lines 8–11 in Extract 13 are thus rather guesswork in which the other participants are trying to help Suvi find a suitable English expression.

Further on in Extract 13, in line 17, Suvi continues her explanation, attempting to explain which walls of the building must be included in the drawing. Again, she uses gestures and explains non-verbally which walls are included and which one is excluded. Her turn consists of the simple expressions 'here' and 'not that' (line 17 and 19), accompanied by gesturing (Figure 19). Frank is satisfied with Suvi's answer, which is shown in Frank approving her answer and moving on to the next topic, in line 20.

A turn design in L2 interaction in which one uses gestures should not in itself support language proficiency face. Quite the contrary: one might argue that it would be proficiency face threatening if the participants perceived that non-verbal elements were being used to replace words or expressions missing from the L2 speaker's linguistic repertoire. Suvi's commentary on the scene is presented in Extract 14.

Extract 14 (Interview data 2.1)

1	Tarmo	okei , siin te keskustelitte siit että mitä pitää tehdä ,
2		oiskos siit jotaa kommentoitavaa
3	**Suvi**	**että olin hyvin vähäsanainen**
4	Tarmo	ai jaa , mist se johtu
5	Suvi	no en tiiä, siin kohtaa ehkä ajatteli sit kameraa viäl , mut
6		ei tai siis ku , sit ku käy just toi et miä **en saa niit sanoi**
7		**päähän mitä pitäis sanoo niinku just julkisivut ei tullu**
8		**YHTÄÄN miälee**
9	Tarmo	joo , miten siä sen tilanteen s it selvitit
10	**Suvi**	**@seisoin paikallaa@**
11	Tarmo	okei kuunnellaas uudestaa
12	(The videoclip is watched again)	
13	**Suvi**	**käytän elekieltä**

1	*Tarmo*	*okay , here you discussed what you should be doing , do you*
2		*have any comments on this*
3	*Suvi*	***that I didn't use many words***
4	*Tarmo*	*oh well, why was that*
5	*Suvi*	*I don't know , that time maybe I was still thinking about the*
6		*camera, but no or I mean, then it happens that way that* ***I***
7		***don't get the words in my head that I should say like***
8		***'façades' didn't come to mind AT ALL***
9	*Tarmo*	*yeah , but how did you solve the situation*
10	*Suvi*	***@I was just standing still@***
11	*Tarmo*	*okay let's listen to it again*
12	(The *videoclip is watched again*)	
13	*Suvi*	***I use gestures***

In Extract 14, Suvi explains (lines 5–8) that she used gesturing to cover a lexical gap. The gesturing, followed by the others' suggestions for what Suvi might be trying to say (Extract 13, lines 8–14), can be viewed as a potential threat to Suvi's proficiency face, as the inability to find the right expression is publicly exposed, although this kind of collaboration is common in any interaction. Here, using gestures allowed Suvi to quickly move on to something else, and there was no long pause during which the others waited for Suvi's contribution. In that sense, the gesturing also had face-saving properties.

As her first comment on this situation, Suvi mentions the small amount of speaking (line 3), and later explains the reason for her failure in the word search (lines 6–8). She also seems to first play down her role as a solver of the problem of lexical choice by claiming that she was 'only standing still' (line 10), which she uttered laughing. It was only after the second viewing that she reported (line 13) that she had used gestures to solve the communication problem.

Now the question is whether solving the lexical gap with gestures was a proficiency face threat either in Suvi's own eyes or in others' eyes. Suvi's own perception of the three questions is revealed in Extracts 15 to 19.

Extract 15 (Interview data 2.1)

1	Tarmo	nii , ku sanot et sulle ei tullu sanaa mielee nii onks sul
2		sellanen tunne niiku ettei tu MITÄÄ sanaa mielee mikä
3		kävis vai että siä pelkäät ettei tuu niiku OIKEETA sanaa
4	Suvi	**no varmaan just sekii ett sanoo ihan väärin mut , ei**
5		**varmaan tos kohtaa tullu yhtää mitää sanaa mielee** ,
6		onneks tää toinen kaveri *(Frank)* kyseli koko aika niin
7		paljo ja johdatteli koko aika et sit voi vaa sanoo joo joo
8		@@

1	*Tarmo*	*well , when you say that the word didn't come to mind so do*
2		*you have the kind of feeling that you can't find ANY suitable*
3		*word or that you are afraid that you can't like get the RIGHT*
4		*word*
5	*Suvi*	***well maybe also that one too that I'll say it wrong but ,***
6		***I guess at that point no word came to mind** , luckily this*
7		*other guy (Frank) was asking all the time so much and was*
8		*leading all the time so I could just say yeah yeah @@*

Lines 4–5 Finnish version, 5-6 English version, above, reveal that Suvi did not seem to have any suitable word in mind, rather than that she had considered using a word about whose appropriateness she was unsure. Her own interpretation, then, was that she was using gestures instead of language because she lacked a suitable lexical element.

At the end of the interview, I gave Suvi the chance to add anything she liked, and she made a point about using one's hands in communication in a positive

tone, which I later raised in the e-mail interview. Extract 16 is from the e-mail interview.

Extract 16 (Interview data 2.1, email)

1	Tarmo	haastattelun yleisessä loppukommenteissa sanot
2		että: "no lähinnä oli hauska nähdä että kaikillä oli
3		hirveestkäsii siin mukaan @ku selitti niinku@, se
4		AUTTO tosi paljo"tulkitsenko oikein että suhtaudut
5		käsien käyttöön aika myönteisesti?
6	Suvi	suhtaudun käsien käyttöön TODELLA myönteisesti!

1	*Tarmo*	*in the overall final comments of the interview you said that "it*
2		*was funny to see that everyone used their hands a lot @when*
3		*they explained@ , it HELPED a lot" do I interpret this right*
4		*that your attitude toward using gestures is quite positive?*
5	*Suvi*	*my attitude toward gesturing is REALLY positive"*
6		

In this post-interview by e-mail, I asked whether she also implied a positive attitude, which Suvi confirmed very empathically (Extract 16, line 6 'todella' ('*really*') by writing the intensifier in capital letters and adding an exclamation mark. Suvi's comments in Extract 16 suggest that she wishes to underline her positive attitude toward gesturing as a communication method. Therefore, it is unlikely that she would consider gesturing face-threatening, although the reason for her gesturing in this case was a deficiency in her linguistic repertoire.

It should be noted here that at the general level, Suvi feels proficiency face threat when speaking English. This is seen in the following extracts from the interview, when Suvi reported her fear of being evaluated (Extract 17), of making an error (Extract 18), and of her errors leading to an unsolvable communication problem (Extract 19).

Extract 17 (Interview data 2.1)

1	*Tarmo:*	*mist se johtuu [se että sinun mielestä on helpompi puhua ei-*
2		*natiivien kanssa]*
3	*Suvi*	*no koska minust tuntuu että **se joka puhuu äidinkielenää***
4		***englantii se huomaa heti mun kaikki virheet,** mut sit*
5		*tällaset ketkä niinkun. ei puhu äidinkielenää ne tekee ehkä itte*
6		*samoi virheit, nii en ei huomaa niit*

1	*Tarmo:*	*what is the reason [for you to find it easier to speak English*
2		*with non-native speakers]*
3	*Suvi*	*well because I have the feeling **that someone who speaks***
4		***English as a mother tongue will notice all my mistakes***
5		***at once** , but then those who like don't speak it as a mother*

6		*tongue , they may make the same mistakes , so they don't*
7		*notice them*

Extract 18 (Interview data 2.1)

1	*Suvi*	@ nii siis totta kai se on niinku se pääasia että tulee
2		ymmärretyks pääasia että tulee ymmärretyks **mut sit**
3		**ko se on se tunne että pelkää mokaavansa ,** nii en miä
4		tiiä

1	Suvi	*@ well of course it's like the main thing is to be understood,*
2		*but then when there's **the feeling that you're afraid of***
3		***failure** , so I don't know*

Extract 19 (Interview data 2.1)

1	Suvi	Nii ja sit se toinen se ÄÄNTÄMINEN että niinku , **miä**
2		**pelkään et miä äännän ihan väärin ,** ja sit ne ei sen
3		takii ymmärrä , ja sit jos miä äännän väärin nii ne
4		yrittää kysyy uuestaa et mitä mitä mitä, nii sitte , sit
5		niinku **se asia ei tuu koskaa selvitetyks ku miä**
6		**äännän sit koko aika väärin**

1	Suvi	*and then the other thing that PRONUNCIATION so that*
2		*like , **I'm afraid that I pronounce totally wrongly** , and*
3		*therefore they don't understand , and if I pronounce it*
4		*wrongly and they try to ask again what what what , so then ,*
5		*then **like the matter's never clarified because I'm***
6		***pronouncing it wrong all the time***

Suvi's comments in Extract 12 that I discussed above (page 96) reveal that she often feels anxious when speaking English. Extract 17 shows that she feels that this anxiety stems from her fear that her speech is being negatively evaluated. Suvi admits (Extract 18) that mutual understanding could, after all, be the most important thing, but she is still afraid of failure. She considers that one form of her failure, poor pronunciation, can cause insuperable problems of understanding (Extract 19).

Consequently, it could be claimed that, overall, Suvi has a sensitive proficiency face. In the interaction scene presented in Extract 13, however, she did not seem to mind the possibility of gesturing threatening her proficiency face, and later even underlined her positive attitude towards it. Gesturing helped her to get over the situation more promptly, and she still managed to get her message through to the others.

To move on to other participants' perceptions of the scene, two other participants commented on this scene. Teemu was another Finnish student who

was present but silent during this episode. Below, in Extract 20, is Teemu's comment after seeing the same interaction scene (Extract 13).

Extract 20 (Interview data 2.1)

1	Tarmo	tuntu tuntuks sinust et pääsitte siin yhteisymmärryksee
2		et mitä pitää tehdä
3	Teemu	no , aika hyvin
4	Tarmo	joo
5	Teemu	**Suvi aika hyvin hoiti tän homman**

1	*Tarmo*	*did you did you feel that you here find mutual understanding*
2		*on what should be done*
3	*Teemu*	*well , quite well*
4	*Tarmo*	*yeah*
5	*Teemu*	***Suvi managed this job quite well***

Extract 20 makes an interesting point about Suvi's proficiency face. Teemu, a participant who was present in the interaction scene discussed in Extract 13 but remained silent, gives a positive overall evaluation of Suvi's performance by giving Suvi credit (Extract 20, line 5) for their successfully finding shared understanding in this situation. (Jenni, another participant who remained in the background in the scene, did not choose to comment on the scene at all in the interview.).

In Extract 21, Monika comments on the same interaction chunk of Extract 13. There is no apparent interviewer's question as I did not explicitly ask anything; line 1 starts where the video recording was paused.

Extract 21 (Interview data 2.1)

1	Tarmo	okay/
2	Monika	okay his/ frank/ language- his English is much better
3		than most of us , because I guess he already , spent some
4		time abroad
5	Tarmo	yeah
6	Monika	yeah , otherwise , that's the situation we had a lot of
7		times , **that nobody really , knew what to say and**
8		**especially how to say it**
9	Tarmo	yeah

Monika commented on this meaning negotiation (Extract 21 "how to say it," lines 7–8) from the collective point of view, explaining it with the expression "nobody knew" although it could easily be seen that the meaning negotiation derived from Suvi's failure to find suitable words. Monika did not explicitly mention gesturing in her comment. The point Monika emphasized is somewhat contrary to my analysis and Suvi's view, above; she suggests that instead of Suvi trying to

say something and the others guessing what she means, everyone had an idea of what should be said but nobody was able to say it English. Thus, if this was a face issue for Monika, it seemed to be the collective face of all of the participants, because no-one managed to express the jointly shared idea fluently.

Different participants, then, seemed to comment on the same situation from very different points of view. Suvi, as the main source of information in this scene, seemed to feel anxiety and face loss when failing to convey the intended meaning, but welcomed the gesturing and joint meaning-making. Teemu, silent in the situation, commented on Suvi's action in a positive tone. Monika, on the ther hand, at the time of viewing seemed to focus on the collective performance.

Suvi reports in Extract 14 that she was more at a loss for words than afraid that her words would be incorrect and the target of evaluation. Suvi's gesturing and Frank's help do not actually boost her language proficiency face in any way if language proficiency is seen in a very narrow sense. In that kind of thinking, they helped her pass the face-threatening situation of being at a loss for words more quickly and achieve her communicative goals.

From Suvi's point of view, in this particular scene, gesturing or getting help with a lexical choice - both strategies that could potentially threaten her image as a proficient user of English if they are seen as replacing Suvi's inadequate production of speech – seem to be taken as a more positive choice than the obvious alternative, which is, appearing to be a speaker who is independent and language-reliant but at the same time is not fluent due to difficulties in word retrieval. In other words, she found the overcoming of a situation that exposed her lexical gaps and caused difficulties with word retrieval more valuable than the chance of face building, i.e., showing that she can independently and purely verbally communicate her intended meaning. Also, one might argue that Suvi, by trusting in approximations and the shared expertise of the participants in Extract 6 (page 91) and by using gestures as a part of her turn in Extract 13, managed to both fulfill her role as information provider and support the accomplishment of the task goals fairly smoothly. In this way, Suvi managed to build her proficiency face in Teemu's eyes. For her proficiency face, Suvi's ability to communicate effectively overrode the more local difficulties of finding the exact expressions in English. In Suvi's comments, it can be seen that Suvi has a quite conventional and narrow concept of language proficiency: she does not include collaborative meaning-making or gesturing (Council of Europe 2018: 28) among her skills but sees them rather as something that she needs to resort to because of her inadequate language skills. This narrow conception of language proficiency partly causes Suvi's unnecessary own-face threat, as is suggested by Teemu's comment in Extract 20.

Overall, getting on calmly with the task also promoted Suvi's *professional* face in the situation, which may have been more in focus for her and for other participants than her *proficiency* face. The interplay and merger of professional face and proficiency face are discussed in more detail in Section 5.3.

There were a few other cases in the student workshop data in which the turn included gesturing or pointing at a drawing. In some of these situations, the gestures were presumably used to substitute something missing in the linguistic repertoire. Interestingly, though, none of the participants in the interviews suggested a negative attitude toward the use of non-verbal means.

Another example in which non-verbal means, this time the use of a drawing, are commented on is in Extract 22, when they are used to solve a problem of understanding. The interview comments on the scene are presented in Extracts 23 and 24. (The interaction scene in Extract 22 will itself be analyzed in more detail below, as Extract 62 in Section 5.2.)

Extract 22 (Interaction data 1.1a)

1	Monika	and I guess those how do we do those@ , ehm
2	Suvi	take how , this dimension
3	Monika	the lower line should be , one with the roof, doesn't it/ on
4		those towers
5	Suvi	what can you say again
6	Monika	I guess the lower line of the tower, the roof of the towers,
7		it's one with rooftop , of the , main , don't you think/ looks
8		like it
9	Heikki	{*Jos mä nyt [ymmärrän]*}* (Finnish) *If I now [understand]*
10	Monika	[what] are you saying, I DONT UNDERSTAND one word
11		(pause 2 secs)
12	Suvi	I'm not sure what you mean now
13	Monika	I mean , I mean that if one line ehm where the roof starts
14		from the towers , you see [that]
15	Heikki	[yeah] yeah
16	Monika	with the double u , and over that , and I guess that's erm
17		the same measurement , from below erm as the top of the
18		roof
19	(pause 3 secs)	
20	Monika	you see/
21	Monika	THIS , is the same as THIS line you've drawn that
22		differently

FIGURE 20   Monika (right) points out to Suvi (middle) in the drawing how she wants the drawing to be changed.

In Extract 23, Monika comments on the use of the drawing after Suvi had explicitly expressed her failure to understand Monika's turn.

Extract 23 (Interview data 2.1)

1	Tarmo	okay erm (pause 1 sec) something about this exercise
2		first-first of all that you did yesterday was it some kind
3		of routine thing that you are used to doing or-
4	Monika	**definitely not**
5	Tarmo	okay [nn]
6	Monika	**we have done something like that**
7	Tarmo	okay
8	Monika	**never before**
9	Tarmo	okay
10	Monika	and we @weren't sure how to do it@
11	Tarmo	@yeah okay@
12	Monika	we didn't even know how to proceed there/ and so it was
13		quite hard
14	Tarmo	yeah
15	Monika	**especially , in a strange language**
16		**that was quite hard** and then we proceeded to the paper
17		and then **just** showed it on the drawing board

In lines 4–8, Monika describes how the task itself was totally new to them, and what made it more difficult was having to use a second language (line 15). In line 16, Monika says how difficult the situation was, but then describes using the drawing as a solution, with the word 'just' in line 17 to emphasize how easy this solution was. There seems to be no negative tone in the comment. The difficulty that was solved by using the drawing was the combination of a demanding task and using a second language.

Similarly, Heikki, the third participant in the same interaction scene, comments on the use of the drawing as a solution to the understanding problem.

Extract 24 (Interview data 2.1)

1	Tarmo	joo , nmmites tota TOMMOSIS tilanteis missä tota , ei
2		niinku sit yhteisymmärryst löydy kovin helpol nii ,
3		aiheuttaaks se minkäänlaista ahdistust tai stressii sillee
4		vai otat siä yleensä lunkist ja katot et kyl tää täst jotenkii
5	Heikki	**joo siis em ei se nyt ihan heti ala ahistaa et , tossakiin**
6		**vaa annettii niin kauan selittää ja niin monta kertaa**
7		**uuestaa et ymmärs ni kyl se sit perille meni loppujen**
8		**lopuks**
9	Tarmo	joo
10	Heikki	**tarpeeks hitaast ja ottaa sit vaikka kuvat käyttöö**
11	Tarmo	joo
12	Heikki	**eihän siin mitää ongelmaa ollu sit loppupeleis , toi nyt**
13		**oli oikeestaa ainoa kohta just toi noin jos oli niinku**
14		**jonkinlaist , vaikeuksii oli**

1	*Tarmo*	*yeah , so how well in THAT KIND OF situations where well ,*
2		*the mutual understanding cannot be found very easily so , does*
3		*it cause you any kind of anxiety or stress or do you just take it*
4		*easy and see that this will be sorted out somehow*
5	*Heikki*	***yeah so well it doesn't make you anxious right away so ,***
6		***like there we just let her explain many times again and***
7		***again so it was finally understood***
8	*Tarmo*	*yeah*
9	*Heikki*	***slowly enough and then for example take pictures into***
10		***use***
11	*Tarmo*	*yeah*
12	*Heikki*	***so there was no problem in the end , that was actually***
13		***the only part where we had any kind of difficulty***

In lines 5–8 (Finnish version) and 5–7 (English version) and from line 12 on, Heikki stresses the normality of the meaning negotiation and its non-problematic nature. Part of this description is the notion of making use of pictures, in line 10 (Finnish version) and 9–10 (English version). It should be noted here that using a drawing when discussing technical details is not in fact a substitute for verbal interaction, but rather a natural means of communication. However, in L2 communication, any disruption in communication might be interpreted as a proficiency problem by participants (as it was in this case, see Section 5.2) and therefore as a face threat, regardless of whether this interpretation is justified. In sum, for Monika, using the drawing seemed to be a positive solution to a difficult case of non-understanding, while for Heikki it was an unmarked part of finding

shared understanding. For neither of them did the use of a picture seem negative in itself.

Also, Mei, another participant in the student workshop, comments on using non-verbal means in general (Extract 25) at the end of the interview.

Extract 25 (Interview data 2.1)

1	Tarmo	alright is there anything else that come to your mind
2		around anything that we talked about
3	[…]	
4	Mei	[…] they understand me , @@ that's very interesting ,
5		**they can show with hand and something** and also , you
6		don't , **you err don't always want to ask somebody** what
7		this means and so

In lines 4–5 (Extract 25), Mei comments on showing something with one's hand as an enabler of understanding. In lines 5–6, Mei also probably suggests that non-verbal means eliminate the need to ask for clarification. Consequently, the overall value of showing something with one's hand, as she puts it, seems to be positive.

While non-verbal constituents of a turn such as gesturing or pointing at drawings do not inherently improve any participant's image as a language user if participants consider language proficiency in a narrow sense, these strategies still seemed to be welcomed as facilitators of communication and enablers of finding shared understanding.

The European Framework has a rather ambiguous attitude toward these strategies. As mentioned above, non-verbal skills are mentioned as elements of plurilingual competence, but the framework considers the use of gestures and drawings to supplement a limited linguistic repertoire an indicator of a fairly low level of competence, A2 level (Council of Europe 2018: 112).

The interviews did not include any comment indicating that non-verbal communication would be non-desirable. Using non-verbal means, the participants can keep control over the situation and get on with achieving their communication goals. While gesturing or using other non-verbal means might function as a proficiency face threat if interpreted as indicators of deficient linguistic resources, the participants in this study described gestures and using the drawing positively: these non-verbal means seemed to enable participants to appear as resourceful communicators. Their potential to threaten proficiency face did not seem to occur to the participants. Speaking generally, like co-operation in meaning-making, gesturing and using other non-verbal means such as drawing are ways of achieving one's communicative goals more effectively. While their use might suggest that participants' language skills are insufficient, they function as resources that allow participants to reach their communication goals. This seems to mostly override the idea that using non-verbal means indicates inferior language proficiency that is compensated by non-verbal means. The participants in this study seem to have implicitly adopted a conception of

language in which gestures and the use of drawings are part of the communicative repertoire, and not a threat to proficiency face.

4.3 Metalinguistic comments

Metalinguistic comments, i.e. expressions in which participants comment on language (e.g. "I am not sure this is the right word", "How is this said in English?"), reveal participants' orientation toward language, and therefore they may also be indexical of an orientation toward the language proficiency of participants in L2 interaction. Metalinguistic comments are *endophoric* when they refer to a chunk of language in the same interaction episode, and *exophoric* when they refer to phenomena outside the present interaction. Particularly endophoric metalinguistic comments in L2 interaction have the potential of being a proficiency face threat, as they turn the participants' orientation from the content toward the code, and the mere fact that the metalinguistic comment is uttered suggests that the way of using the code is somehow unusual.

For example, one way for a speaker to process insecurity about a word choice when designing their turn is to hedge it with a metalinguistic comment. In the limited data of this study, both types of metalinguistic comments were very rare, and in the student workshop data they did not appear at all. In the social services professionals' meeting, there were a few metalinguistic comments, which are discussed below.

Extract 26 is the first occurrence of a metalinguistic comment from the social services experts' meeting. In this extract, the participants are introducing themselves, and Ioana (female, L1 Romanian), a member of the Romanian delegation, is introducing her fellow countrymen who cannot speak English. The names of places and institutions are pseudonyms, as in all of the transcripts.

Extract 26 (Data 1.2)

1	Ioana	ah okay , they are teachers in tunazeni , he teach err
2		technology at the high school , and she teach at the
3		petradeni university , erm , this is theodora , she also/ ,
4		represent corbevari area , **and she fight I don't know if**
5		**fight is the best @word@ but she fight with her husband**
6		**for , err children right** ,
7	S?	uhum *(quietly)*
8	Ioana	they work together in this , and I think @aleksanrdu can
9		present himself@

Ioana makes a metalinguistic comment in lines 4–5 on the appropriateness of the verb 'fight'. In addition, Ioana utters the word 'word' with laughter, which can be seen as a subtle modulator of the utterance (see Potter and Hepburn 2010). Although there is no pause here, which would more explicitly invite

collaboration (cf. O'Donnell-Trujillo and Adams, 1983: 175), an unidentified speaker responds with a minimal response (line 7) before Ioana moves on.

Depending on the viewpoint, this metalinguistic comment can be classified as either facework or acceleration of face threat caused by a less than ideal word choice. On the one hand, Ioana's metalinguistic comment can be seen as maintaining proficiency face in this situation as it indexes reflection, agency, and the speaker's control of the situation: "I know this is not the best word but I don't know any better, and I'm warning you about my word choice." The metalinguistic comment thus puts the focus on language and makes the interlocutors aware that they may need to do some receptive accommodation. The comment, together with the repetition of the word in focus in line 4, reduces the chances of non-understanding and thus reduces the probability of the potential proficiency face loss that non-understanding might cause both to the speaker and potentially to the hearer. As an indication of agency and an enabler of smooth sense-making that prepares hearers for receptive accommodation, the metalinguistic comment can be considered facework.

On the other hand, the metalinguistic comment may be considered proficiency face-threatening in the sense that it explicitly refers to the speaker's uncertainty in the choice of the appropriate lexical item; an uncertainty which might go unnoticed if the interlocutors did, after all, understand the verb used. In this kind of professional context, the verb 'fight' may not be stylistically the best choice, but it can be considered a good approximation, an expression accurate enough to be understood. Once the metalinguistic comment is uttered, it may unnecessarily draw attention to the speaker's uncertainty about the lexical choice and put the speaker's language proficiency in a negative light.

An unidentifiable speaker seems to confirm Ioana's word choice with an 'uhum'. The audience member's minimal response to Ioana's metalinguistic comment, whether it is a result of the principle of economy without orientation to Ioana's face, or tactful blindness, may be seen as a case of the audience acknowledging Ioana's assumed face want as a sufficiently proficient speaker.

What is also relevant is the environment in which the metalinguistic comment appears. In the previous example, it enabled a smooth transition to the next topic, while in the next example (Extract 27) its function is different. Ioana and Bianca are females, L1 Romanian, Aleksanrdru is male, L1 Romanian, and Otto is male, L1 Finnish.

Extract 27 (Interaction data 1.2)

1		*(Iiona, Bianca and Anca speaking simultenously in Romanian for 10 secs, voice*
2		*of Aleksandru in the background)*
3	Ioana	they think (gestures writing) , to wrote , an other , [project]
4	Aleksandru	[(nnn)]
5	Bianca	and to [[put into , european (gestures with hands) union]]
6		to get the money
7	S?	[[nnnnn]]
8	Ioana	they , want , you to be their partners , [for]

9	S?	[n]
10	Ioana	in this proj- this project is for err university , and err on
11		*(gazes at Bianca)* {collegios}(?) also , they can *(gestures with*
12		*hands)* err **I don't know how to say in English** *(gazes at*
13		*Bianca)*
14	(pause 2 secs)	
15	Bianca	work/
16	Ioana	they can work together for *(gestures with hands)* (pause 2
17		secs) *(shakes her head)* **it's so hard I don't know** @@
18	Otto, Aleksandru, S?	@@ *(several people laughing)*

In this extract, Ioana and Bianca, who are acting as mediators for the others, attempt to summarize the ideas of some of the Romanian delegates, in lines 3, 5–6 and 10–13. It is to be noted that Ioana and Bianca represent a different organization than e.g. Anca, who is mainly interested in the joint co-operation project, so Ioana and Bianca are not speaking for themselves and, as they said elsewhere, they do not know all the details of what is needed for the proposed co-operation. In lines 10–13 Ioana describes the institution behind it, makes a metalinguistic comment on her difficulty, and seeks help from Bianca with her gaze. Although Bianca helps briefly by uttering the word 'work' (line 15), at the end of the next turn (lines 16–17) Ioana ends up laughing while uttering the metadiscursive comment, "it's so hard". Ioana's (and Bianca's) difficulty in expressing what they want to say is already evident, and Ioana's last turn can be interpreted as a request for help. What is probably crucial here is not the metalinguistic comment alone, but Ioana's subsequent turn (lines 16–17), in which she tries to develop the idea after getting the word "work" from Bianca in line 15, and then her giving up trying (line 17). Momentarily giving up the task of mediating is here so visible that the metalinguistic comment seems to merely explicate the justification for giving up mediating. It therefore did not seem to increase proficiency face threat.

As for exophoric metalinguistic comments, there were four of them in the meeting of social services experts. One of these occurred when a member of the Romanian delegation asked the three Polish participants if they spoke French, and another when the mediator justified her role by explaining that many members of the group do not speak English. The most extensive metalinguistic conversation was near the end of the meeting, ans it is shown in Extract 28. Before this extract, the introduction round has been completed with the help of the mediators, different proposals have been made for some initial co-operation, and several scenes have already taken place (e.g. Extracts 1, 26 and 27) in which the Romanian mediators have visibly struggled in expressing themselves in English. Consequently, it can be said that language has occasionally been foregrounded and the participants have at some points oriented to language. Immediately before Extract 28, the participants have been discussing potential forms of co-operation between the countries, and Otto has mentioned the constant need for suitable places for Finnish students' international work placements. In the following, Otto (male) and Marie (female) are L1 Finnish speakers, Aleksandru

(male) and Ioana (female) are L1 Romanian speakers, and Jaroslaw (male) is an L1 Polish speaker.

Extract 28 (Interaction data 1.2)

1	Otto	what I mean that , what our students NEED if they have a
2		corporate training period abroad , number one thing the
3		MOST IMPORTANT THING IS that *(raises index finger up)* ,
4		SOMEONE in the- from the staff , for example someone ,
5		who works there in the same place there CAN speak
6		English *(gestures with hands)* , at least some people must
7		speak English *(nods emphatically)* , I think THEN our
8		students would be okay *(nods emphatically)*
9	(pause 5 secs)	
10	Otto	one of our students have , have worked in the street work
11		in New Yo- in the street work in New York , it's(?) then the
12		English language *(gestures with hands)* was not a problem
13	Aleksandru	yes
14	(pause 3 secs)	
15	Aleksandru	we , we understand what you talk , with us but to::
16		*(gestures with hand)* speak
17	Otto	yes yes I @understand@ [@@]
18	Marie	[@@]
19	Ioana	[@@]
20	Jaroslaw	[@] *(nods)*
21	Aleksandru	we speak English err , I guess one time in a year
22	Otto	yes that's the result
23	Marie,	
24	Jaroslaw, Ioana @	
25	Otto	yeah
26	Aleksandru	it's problem
27	(pause 2 secs)	
28	Otto	for example I *(points to himself with a finger)* we have
29		exchange students , almost through the year so , I have
30		used English , every week , so (nnn) *(gestures with hand)*
31	Marie	you do *(points to Otto with finger)* , but most of our teachers
32		[don't use English] frequently so
33	Otto	[mhm mhm] *(nods)*
34	Marie	so most of us are , a bit afraid @to speak English@
35	Otto	that's one part of Finnish national characteristics , afraid
36		to use languages *(gestures with hand)*
37	(pause 2 secs)	

In lines 1–8 of the extract, Otto refers to a situation outside of the context, i.e. potential work placements for Finnish students in Romania. He underlines the

importance of language skills by, for example, raising his index finger (line 3-4) when talking about the importance of the instructors' having language skills, and uttering certain words (lines 1–8) with special emphasis (words and syllables written in capital letters in the transcript denote special emphasis). The emphasis means that it can be considered indexical of the situation in which they then find themselves, and the Romanian delegation's immediate past experience of insufficient English skills, although no explicit reference to the present situation is made. Consequently, it can be argued that while Otto's turn in lines 1–8 includes a metalinguistic comment that is explicitly exophoric, it is also implicitly endophoric, and face-threatening, as it refers to the evident language difficulties of his interlocutors some moments before. This makes this different from Extracts 26 and 27, where the participants who utter the metalinguistic comments are referring to their own speech. Here the implicit referent is to others. Considering the earlier discussion in this meeting, including the fact that most of the Romanians did not speak English, Otto's comment in lines 1–8 can also be seen as a threat to the collective proficiency face of the Romanian delegation.

The potential face threat vs. the face-wise neutrality of Otto's comment about the need for an instructor of an international intern to have adequate English skills should be considered in the light of Ellis's idea of a Batesonian double bind; does hinting at a doubt about the other party's adequate language skills mean that it is a neutral topic of discussion, or is mentioning it a face threat, drawing attention to the interlocutors' lack of proficiency? If Otto had *not* mentioned the language requirement, would it have meant that he was being considerate because he thought that the other party's poorer skills were unmentionable, or would it have meant that Otto was treating it as an emotionally neutral problem that would need to be solved later in each case of international work placement? Naturally, part of one's judgment here depends on one's evaluation of language skills. In other words, is the fact that one does not know English in the first place something one should be ashamed of, even on behalf of one's fellow countrymen in general? That is to say, is Romanians' poorer knowledge of English, which in this particular scene is placed in comparison to the knowledge of English of the Finnish and Polish delegations, only a neutral fact with historical roots? Romanians more often know French than do Finns, and in Poland English is more widespread.

A perception of Otto's turn as face-threatening is indicated by the long silences (lines 9 and 14) that follow his turns, in Aleksanrdu's (male, L1 Romanian) subsequent turn, in which he explains the reasons for "their" poor English skills, and in Marie's turns (lines 31–32 and 34), which can be interpreted as atoning for the threat that Otto has made to the collective faces of various communities or nations. In that sense, Marie's turns are facework, as they make it clear that language proficiency is not so high in the speakers' community, either. In lines 15 and 21, "we" seems to refer to the people present rather than to Romanians in general, because Aleksandru refers to the ongoing situation. Aleksandru's comment is therefore a defense of these particular people's language skills rather than of the English skills of Romanians in general. In line 17, Otto says, "I

understand" and starts laughing, and several people join in this laughter. This can be seen as something that lightens the atmosphere and breaks the tension, but it does not eliminate the proficiency face threat. Although it has been evident in this situation that many Romanians do not speak English, explicitly declaring that this is a potential impediment to future co-operation puts the spotlight on the English skills of both the Romanian delegation and Romanians in general. In other words, judging their language skills this way can be seen as a threat, albeit unintended, to the collective fellowship face of Romanians as less desirable co-operation partners. In line 22, Otto obviously seeks to show empathy by expressing understanding of the Romanians' situation (i.e., that they need to use English very rarely), but the formulation of Otto's reply ("That's the result") does not seem to mitigate the face-threatening situation. Instead, it restates the face-threatening fact.

The analysis of Extracts 26–28, above, indicates that the function of metalinguistic comments in terms of language proficiency face is far from straightforward. A metalinguistic comment can be facework or face threat, and sometimes, ambiguously, either of the two. In the first case (Extract 26), the metalinguistic comment was either an unnecessary attention-drawer to language or, alternatively, facework in the form of making communication smoother and indicating agency. In the second case (Extract 27), its face relevance was minor as the face threat had already taken place in the form of mis-communication. In the third case (Extract 28), the exophoric metalinguistic comment included an implicit endophoric proficiency face threat toward the others' collective face. Consequently, it seems that metalinguistic comments cannot be considered inherently facework or face threat but their face function depends on the context.

4.4 Code-switching

Earlier findings of the face-threatening nature of code-switches have focused on code-switches that have been used to solve real or predicted understanding problems across language borders. In other words, the language of communication is often changed when the speaker assumes that the interlocutor speaks the new language better.

In the data of this study, in the meeting of social services experts there were numerous code-switches in the side conversations, as the Romanian mediators needed to switch between English in the general conversation and Romanian among the Romanian delegation. Also, the Polish and Finnish delegations occasionally had side conversations in their own languages. In the student workshop data, there were similar side conversations that took place in Finnish and German. In cases such as these, the facework aspect may not be very prominent as the switch can always be explained as the most natural choice when it takes place from English to the interlocutors' mother tongue. The Finnish and German students never spoke each other's language, so code-switching never functioned as a solution to communication problems between the Finns and the

Germans. Although a code switch to one's mother tongue may not be of great significan in the interaction data of this study, and code-switching is not discussed in detail here, let us nevertheless consider the potential face dimensions of these short side conversations between L1 speakers in the middle of an ELF conversation. In addition, I wish to shed light on the proficiency face implications of code-switch of the introspective data.

In the following student workshop scene (Extract 29), Erich (male) and Frank (male) speak German as L1, and Teemu (male) and Jenni (female) speak L1 Finnish. They are inside a cabin starting the measuring. See Figure 4 on page 70 for a general illustration of the situation, although it does not exactly illustrate this passage.

Extract 29 (Interaction data 1.1a)

1	Erich	we also
2	Jenni	okay
3	(pause 2 secs)	
4	Frank	he's our drawing master we are
5	Jenni	okay , great/
6	(pause 2 secs)	
7	Frank	pen
8	**Erich**	**smaller pen (?) (pause 2 secs) {(nnnn)}** *(German)*
9	**Frank**	**{ja}** *(German)*
10	**(pause 5 secs)**	
11	**Erich**	**{(nnn)}***(German)*
12	**Frank**	**{(nnnnnn)}***(German)***measurements**
13		**{eintrein}(?)***(German)*
14	**(pause 3 secs)**	*(Teemu looks at Jenni and smiles)*
15	**Jenni**	*(To Teemu)* **what/**
16	(pause 4 secs)	*(Teemu points at Frank with the pen)*
17	Frank	I HAVE worked with this one before , so

Extract 29 is a typical example of a short side conversation between Erich and Frank (lines 12–13) in German, before they switch back to English in line 17. While such short side conversations are relatively common, some participants have been critical of them, as can be seen in Extract 30, in which Jenni comments on the situation presented in Extract 29, and in Extract 31, in which Frank comments on another scene.

Extract 30 (Interview data 2.1)

1	Tarmo	tos te vilkaisitte teemun kans toisiinne
2	Jenni	mmhm
3	Tarmo	tota , onk sul mitää havaintoo , miks
4	Jenni	varmaa sen takii me ei ymmärretty mitä ne sano saksaks
5	Tarmo	joo
6	Jenni	et tota , **mun mielest täs tehtäväs oli hyvä et sillee kaikki**
7		**puhu keskenään , öö englantii**
8	Tarmo	joo
9	Jenni	sit Teemu alko välillä puhuu suomee niin **mua jotenkin**
10		**häiritsi se tilanne sit ku ne kaks muuta ei ymmärtäny ni**
11	Tarmo	joo
12	Jenni	**ne jäi vähä ku ulkopuolelle sit jotenkii sen takii yritin**
13		**koko aja**
14	Tarmo	joo
15	Jenni	puhuu englantii kaikkien kaa myös Teemun kaa ett
16	Tarmo	joo häiritsiks se sinuu myös jos ne puhu saksaa kesken
17		kaiken
18	Jenni	no , **ei ne onneks paljoo pu**hunu@

1	*Tarmo*	*here you and Teemu exchanged glances*
2	*Jenni*	*mmhm*
3	*Tarmo*	*well , do you have any idea , why*
4	*Jenni*	*maybe because we didn't understand what they were saying in*
5		*German*
6	*Tarmo*	*yeah*
7	*Jenni*	*so well, **I think it was good in this assignment that***
8		***everyone spoke with each other , err English***
9	*Tarmo*	*yeah*
10	*Jenni*	*when Teemu started sometimes to speak Finnish **it disturbed***
11		***me somehow that situation 'cos the other two guys***
12		***couldn't understand so***
13	*Tarmo*	*yeah*
14	*Jenni*	***they kinda were left outside somehow so that's why I***
15		***tried all the time***
16	*Tarmo*	*joo*
17	*Jenni*	*speak English with everyone with Teeum too so*
18	*Tarmo*	*yeah did it bother you if they suddenly started speaking*
19		*German*
20	*Jenni*	*well , **luckily they didn't speak much**@*

Extract 31 (Interview data 2.1)

1	Frank	she is- I still don't get what her intention to , like yeah ,
2		it's-it's hard for me to understand

3	Tarmo	yeah ehm when you said that because you couldn't figure
4		it out you didn't help her out , **do you feel it's somehow**
5		**your- one's duty to help others out in a situation like**
6		**this**
7	Frank	**yeah , like I was thinking about erhm (nnn) that stuff in**
8		**German**
9	Tarmo	yeah
10	Frank	**translate it roughly for her, ehm but actually I don't like**
11		**doing that**
12	Tarmo	yeah
13	Frank	**because then it starts out a whole new discussion**
14		**discussion for the German people** if I translated then
15		erm
16	Tarmo	yeah
17	Frank	and I have something to that to say and erich wants to say
18		something and we have a whole discussion just in
19		German going
20	Tarmo	yeah
21	Frank	that's not what I want so

The idea of having side conversations in one's L1 with one's compatriots, which would exclude others from the conversation, was understandably disapproved of by Jenni in Extract 30 and by Frank in Extract 31. Jenni's comment refers to unspecified cases outside the data when Teemu had started speaking Finnish, and Frank's comment was linked to a situation in which one participant had failed to understand the others. In lines 4–6 of Extract 31, I enquired whether Frank thought people should co-operate to make the meaning clear, which Frank (lines 7–8 and 10–11) seemed to interpret as my suggesting translating rather than any other kind of meaning negotiation, which he rejected in lines 13–14. In addition, Jenni's comment in Extract 30 line 18 (Finnish), line 20 (English) can be interpreted as her not liking the idea of being excluded.

Frustration at being excluded from the conversation due to code-switching is also seen in the interaction scene presented in line 10 of Extract 22 above (page 106), in which Suvi, Heikki and Monika were discussing a drawing. The English conversation between L1 Finnish speakers Suvi and Heikki, and L1 German speaker Monika is cut off by Heikki's Finnish turn in line 9. This is followed by Monika's explicit and emphatic disapproval of the code-switch in lines 10–11.

In the comments above (Extracts 30–31) and in the interaction scene (Extract 22), the side conversations in L1 were disapproved of as a communication strategy due to their exclusive nature. Although there was no negative comment on them in connection with language proficiency, it is quite obvious that the participants use them, if not because they are unable to express themselves in English, then at least on the principle of economy: resorting to one's L1 is easier in the circumstances. However, in this collaborative project, the students' use of the language they had in common was an important way of building a sense of community.

While in the student interaction data there were no code-switches between speakers of different L1s, there was one occasion in the social services meeting when the language changed to French for a moment, when Bianca gave up trying to mediate, and another occasion when the general discussion was in French between some of the Romanian and some of the Finnish participants.

A more striking example of speakers of different L1s code-switching to adapt to the interlocutor can be found in my autobiographic memoirs (Extract 32).

Extract 32 (Introspective data 3)

1   Sitting alone in a café in Russia, I asked the waitress in Russian to bring
2   the bill. She asked me so hastily in Russian about the method of payment
3   that I had great difficulty catching it. Despite the difficulty, I felt good
4   because my Russian skills were obviously good enough, so I could be
5   addressed like a fellow-countryman. She took me as one of them. No
6   need for accommodation. Later the same evening, accompanied by a
7   colleague, I was entering a rock club and I started a conversation with
8   the doorman in Russian. He immediately replied to me in English. At
9   that moment at least, my own view of my Russian skills collapsed. And
10   I felt that for the doorman, I wasn't one of them. Our exchange lasted
11   maybe five turns on each side; me continuing to speak Russian, and the
12   doorman equally persistently replying in English. (This piece is a
13   translation of my notes, originally in Finnish)

Extract 32 is an example from my field notes that I included in my language memoirs. I wrote it down in 2009, about two years after these episodes took place. It may be necessary to give some personal background to this example. I studied Russian as a minor subject for my Master's degree, but I have not lived for very long periods of time in Russia. I teach a Russian elementary course at our university. My Russian self-concept consists of liking to think of myself as a person with whom Russian-speaking people in Russia can speak Russian in everyday situations. The interaction sometimes includes various meaning negotiations and clarification requests on my part that derive from my limited comprehension skills, but I would still like to think that my Russian is good enough for me to function in the language. I recognize that my role as a Russian teacher might raise people's expectations of my Russian skills beyond what they really are. Therefore, to lower my proficiency face claim, I often particularly mention that I mainly teach elementary Russian courses, as I did seven lines above. It may be reasonable to claim that I am a little sensitive to the contrast between my status as a Russian teacher and my experience and awareness of my limited skills.

In the first situation (Extract 32 lines 1-5) in the café, when the waitress brought me the bill and asked for payment using the words "*по карте, наличными*" (po karte, nalichnymi, in English *on card, on cash*) at a speed that I

found very fast, I needed a moment to process what she had said. I remember that this pleased me for two reasons: first, I realized that I could understand what she said already on the first try, which boosted my Russian self-concept. Second, although I had already twice had contact with this waitress in what was a fairly quiet cafe, when I placed the order and when she brought me the coffee and cake, I could not sense any foreigner talk -style accommodation in her speech. Although it is impossible to know the reason for the waitress's behavior - whether it was total indifference to the language situation or to my foreigner status, her having forgotten the foreigner status that she might earlier have recognized, or an unwillingness to make any accommodation despite recognizing my foreigner status - from my point of view this was face-boosting. I got the face boost in this situation from my interpretation of what the waitres showed that she thought of me (see Haugh and Hinze 2003: 1584).

Between the incident in the café (Extract 32 lines 1–5) and the rock club door (Extract 32 lines 6-11), there had been other interactions during the day that I cannot recall, and that never ended up in my field notes. My face claims in the evening were of course not based entirely on the face boost of this exchange in the café, but also on my whole history of Russian language use, including, probably, some now forgotten interaction between the episodes.

In the rock club scene (lines 6–11) I was with a Finnish colleague of mine, L1 Finnish, a lecturer in mathematics who has a working knowledge of everyday Russian because he has studied it for years, mainly out of personal interest. Despite the assumedly good intentions of the doorman when addressing me in English, I felt that his immediate code-switching was an insult to my proficiency face. I found it over-accommodation and therefore patronizing (cf. Ylänne 2000: 169; Auer and Eastman 2010: 100.) For me, the code-switch was an evaluation of a short demonstration of my Russian skills, and a strongly negative one. This face loss was much more profound because I was with a socially relevant observer, my colleague, who regarded me as an expert in Russian. As the situation went on, I kept speaking Russian to the doorman. As soon as the doorman replied in English, I became aware of the self-efficacy belief (which had so far been backgrounded) that this was a situation I could and should manage in Russian. My persistent speaking of Russian was facework on my part, as I wanted the doorman to adopt my language choice.

On the other hand, from the doorman's perspective, his persistence in using English could have been part of his own proficiency facework as a user of English, his desire to show that he was able to serve foreign customers in English, and/or the desire to fulfill some self-representational needs of the corporate image, as was suggested by Vetchinnikova (2011) as possible motivations for someone is similar circumstances. However, his insistence on speaking English over several turns made my face loss even greater. Persistence in using the language we had chosen could be seen as defensive facework for both of us, although there can also be other cognitive, emotional, and social connections to language choice than just facework.

In sum, in this situation, the following features can be found in connection with language choice and face:

1. The doorman's motivation for using English was not relevant from the point of view of my proficiency face loss. What was relevant for me was "what I think he shows he thinks of me", and "what I think this makes my colleague think of me".

2. Potentially, the two participants may have had their own, conflictual, proficiency face agendas as regards language choice, the doorman speaking English and me speaking Russian, and the mismatch meant that integrated facework was not deployed. Furthermore, we could have been unaware of each other's proficiency face claims beforehand and therefore unable to immediately integrate our face needs.

3. My persistence in my language choice was corrective, defensive facework. As the situation proceeded and the doorman persisted in using English, the failure of this attempt at facework gradually deepened the face loss.

4. I tried to restore my image as a Russian-speaking person in front of my colleague and the doorman. However, the role that I assumed I had as a Russian language expert in my colleague's eyes was my major face loss concern, not any face loss in the eyes of the Russian interlocutor with whom I was speaking. My facework was therefore primarily directed toward a third party, not toward my immediate interlocutor.

As Spencer-Oatey (2007:644) points out, the sensitiveness of an attribute as an underpinning of a face claim is not permanent but varies in interaction. It also varies over a longer period of time across interactions, not only because the language user's language self-concept changes but also because the communication culture can change. This kind of change in communication culture has taken place in St. Petersburg in the last ten years or so, and this has relieved me of my face sensitivity in this kind of situation there. The incident in Extract 32 happened in 2007 in St. Petersburg. In those days, it was not very common to be served in cafes, shops, and restaurants in English. After that, an increasing number of mainly young people who work in the service trade have started to speak English, and they automatically start off in English when they notice a foreign customer. After this incident, my beginning the conversation in Russian has been met many times with a response in English, which has ceased to be a proficiency face issue for me anymore. Nowadays I feel that the main reason for a waiter's language choice may be not their evaluation of my Russian skills but rather the fact that they classify me as a foreigner and wish to do their job as well as possible. Thus, for me, a Russian waiter speaking English no longer indicates to me what they seem to think of my Russian skills.

On another occasion, something rather similar to the incident in Extract 32 happened to me in France. My interlocutor, a ticket sales vendor, made a codeswitch after hearing my initial turn in French. The ticket vendor immediately changed into German, which was unhelpful as in those days I did not speak a word of German. This, however, did not cause me any face concerns as I find

even my French proficiency face non-existent: I am happy to manage in tourist situations in French, but as I know that my French is elementary, I accept a code-switch, and particularly in demanding situations welcome it if it is into English. Similarly, once in France, a hotel receptionist corrected my French grammar with a metalinguistic comment, which I found amusing but not insulting. The significant difference between the French experiences and the encounter at the Russian rock club door was that I do not have the sort of role that would set me some kind ought-to L2 self in French. Another approach to analyzing these two scenes from the language self point of view is that my ideal self and ought-to language self in the Russian rock club situation probably suggest that I should be taken as "a serious Russian speaker". However, although I consider myself capable of buying tickets in French, overall my skills in the French language are not connected to a similar ought-to language self as a language expert. I also realize that despite my self-efficacy belief that I can buy a ticket in French, I am more ready to accept the fact that my pronunciation or unidiomatic phrasing may cause difficulties in understanding. In contrast, with Russian I assume that those features should cause my interlocutors no significant difficulties. Thus my different L2 selves in the two languages mean different self-efficacy beliefs and, consequently, that different proficiency face claims should be acknowledged in the two languages. These different face claims make me perceive code-switches in fundamentally different ways.

In sum, the face dimensions of code-switching depend on various factors. A side conversation in L1, when it could not be understood by all of the participants present, was not perceived as relevant for proficiency face in itself, but could be considered avoidable due to its exclusiveness. When the side conversations were unavoidable due to some participants' not having the necessary skills in the main language of discussion, they were tolerated, as was the case in the social services experts' meeting. If we compare code-switches to the use of non-verbal elements, the difference is that gestures and the use of pictures are equally accessible to everyone in the situation, unlike the use of another language. When there is a code-switch (as in Extract 32) which the hearer of the code-switch perceives is made because the speaker assumes it will be a helpful accommodation toward the hearer, it is a potential face threat if the hearer does not agree that help is needed. The actualization of this face threat depends on many contextual factors, as explained above in the analysis of my autobiographical example, including language selves, the social role or identity to be upkept, and the presence of a third party.

4.5 Three solutions to misunderstandings and explicated non-understandings and their consequences for proficiency face

In sections 4.1 and 4.2 shared understanding was sought in situation where the problems of finding shared understanding were never explicated with a

metapragmatic comment. Problems of understanding in L2 interaction have an inherent potential threat to participants' proficiency face because they make the participants orient to language and may indicate a shortcoming in a participant's proficiency. This section introduces one misunderstanding event (Extract 33), which is a case where at least one party can notice the understanding problem immediately as is the case with *mis*understandings, one event of *non-*understanding (Extract 34) where the non-understanding was explicated with a metapragmatic comment, and one hybrid case, which includes both misunderstanding and the subsequent expression of non-understanding (Extract 35).

The first extract (Extract 33) is an example of misunderstanding, when the speaker of the utterance that is misunderstood repeats his original message with an emphasis on the relevant part. This is from the meetings of the social services experts, and Otto (male, L1 Finnish) and members of the Polish delegation, Krystyna (female, L1 Polish), Walentyna (female, L1 Polish) and Jaroslaw (male, L1 Polish) are actively participating in the scene.

Extract 33 (Interaction data 1.2)

1	Otto	(gestures towards the Polish delegation) what kind of
2		international co-operation do you have in your- in your
3		department in Sremszlaw what kind of co-operation do
4		you have , so far
5	Krystyna	err we choose (gazes shortly at Jaroslaw) , one problem ,
6		err in one area (gestures with hands) , maybe social work
7		maybe , quality of life , maybe education/ , I don't know
8		@[@]
9	Otto	[yes]
10	Krystyna	the worst problems yeah , maybe we must err (turns to
11		Walentyna)
12	Walentyna	(nn) (quietly to Krystyna)
13	Krystyna	know problem in Poland and Romania , and err (pause
14		2 secs) err we're thinking about (gestures with hands) one
15		way , to do research , I don't know
16	(pause 1 sec) (32:32)	
17	Otto	what kind of co-operation have you had SO FAR
18		(gestures with hands) , what have you done so far
19	Krystyna	AAH so far , ehm
20	(pause 4 secs)	
21	Krystyna	(nn) (quietly to Walentyna and Jaroslaw)
22	Walentyna	(nn) (quietly to Krystyna and Jaroslaw)
23	Jaroslaw	(nnn) (quietly to Walentyna and Krystyna)
24	Krystyna	uhm, **I think that mostly** in education area-area (gestures
25		with hands)

26	Otto	okay/
27	Krystyna	yes education
28	(pause 2 secs)	
29	Krystyna	[because] year beginning- in beginning , with social
30		work , ehh *(gazes at Jaroslaw)*
31	Jaroslaw	[eh] it is **too early stage , to err talk more about**
32	Otto	mhm
33	Jaroslaw	**co-operation target , areas** , err
34	Krystyna	*(nods)*
35	(pause 6 secs) (33:29)	
36	Andreea	([*talks in Romanian for 18 secs*])

In lines 1–4 of Extract 33, Otto asks the Polish delegation about their existing international projects, and in the formulation of the question, he repeats it ('do you have' and 'do you have so far'). Krystyna seems to misinterpret this question and starts to explain their wishes for the potential shared future project. In line 9, Otto responds to Krystina's turn with a short 'yes'. Only after Krystina's second turn (lines 10–15), followed by a one-second pause (line 16), does Otto repeat his question, now more slowly and speaking a little more clearly, emphasizing the phrase 'so far' and even repeating it with a paraphrase of the actual content part (line 17–18). In lines 22–25, Walentyna, Jaroslaw and Krystyna have a short, quiet conversation, after which Krystyna and Jaroslaw in collaboration produce their answer (lines 26–36). The answer reveals that they still misunderstand Otto's question. They continue to talk about the topic in line with their original understanding, i.e., their hopes for areas of future co-operation, rather than in answer to Otto's question on their earlier experience of international co-operation. This interpretation is supported by the comment in line 24 ('I think'), which shows that Krystyna is referring to future hopes rather than reporting past action. The exchange ends in line 34 when the topic is dropped, which is seen in a long pause (6 secs, line 35), after which the Romanian delegation start a discussion in Romanian, and later their mediators introduce a different topic in English.

In lines 17-18, Otto repeats his original utterance and emphasizes the misunderstood part of the message ("so far"). This cannot be considered a particularly face-protective strategy, but on the other hand he did not use any negative metacomment, which would have been more face threatening. After the Polish delegation's second attempt to answer Otto's question, Otto lets this repeated misunderstanding pass and does not comment on it at all. Face-wise, this dropping of the original communication target by letting it pass is tactful blindness. Dropping the target in this way is possible due to the robustness of the communication situation. The robustness comes from the absence of any pressure to understand this issue right then: they could, in principle, go back to the issue later in the day. In addition, the whole seminar was, as Otto put it a "let's wait and see" kind of event rather than a high-stakes event. If the Polish

partners' previous international co-operation had been something that definitely needed clarification, the communication situation would have been more fragile, and Otto could not have afforded this kind of tactful blindness to save proficiency face. Admittedly, dropping the subject in this way is not done exclusively or even primarily for face-saving purposes. In casual conversation, a speaker may avoid making an effort to correct a misunderstanding if the topic is not considered important (cf. Ahvenainen 2005: 76–77, 97). The main reason for dropping the topic can be economy of interaction. One request and one repetition to clarify after the misunderstanding can still be considered fairly normal, but returning to the misunderstood topic for a third time would probably be perceived as importunate, unless it was essential to reach a precise, shared understanding.

In the student interaction data, there was an explicit expression of non-understanding, which is presented in Extract 34. The extract refers to a stage after the basic idea of changing the use of the museum building has already been drafted. The participants are moving toward details of its implementation. Mei is a female L1 Chinese speaker, Noora and Jenni female L1 Finnish speakers, Frank and Erich male L1 German speakers, and Monika a female L1 German speaker.

Extract 34 (Interaction data 1.1b)

1	Mei	okay
2	**Noora**	**how do we call this , thing**
3	(pause 3 secs)	
4	Frank	(coughs)
5	**Monika**	**ahh you want [one TITLE on it]**
6	**Erich**	**[name of the] name of the house , maybe**
7	Noora	yeah
8	Noora	what's that
9	Erich	name of the house , maybe
10	Noora	yeah like how do we call our ideas
11	**Jenni**	**alternative or what do you mean**
12	**Noora**	**no I [mean]**
13	**Jenni**	**[I didn't] understand**
14	**Noora**	**no wha- what's gonna be our title for the- how we call**
15		**this**
16	**Jenni**	**aaha**
17	Noora	like it is going to be expedition , something or
18	Roope	so
19	Noora	activity something or
20	Roope	something which explains this
21	Noora	yeah exactly (pause 3 secs) handicraft center with
22		expedition

23	Monika	mhmm (pause 2 secs) just better one everybody can (nn)
24		@@
25	(pause 7 secs)	
26	Noora	activity gallery something
27	Mei	(n)
28	Monika	ART and activity@
29	(pause 4 secs) *Noora nods*	
30	Noora	handicraft and art very original
31	Monika	yeah (pause 2 secs) it's a working title
32	Noora	it's a working title
33	Monika	handicraft and art we say first and then we can switch
34	Noora	yeah

In line 1 of Extract 34, Mei closes the previous topic, after which, in line 2, Noora introduces a new topic, a name for the project. This is followed by a three-second pause, after which Monika responds by paraphrasing Noora's turn (line 5). Erich and Noora continue to discuss the question of a name (lines 6–10). The word 'name' is explicitly mentioned twice after Noora's introduction, 'how do we call.' Still, after these turns, Jenni suggests her own misinterpretation of Noora's request in line 11. Considering the level of English language skills that Jenni displays elsewhere, it is unlikely that the expression "How do we call this in English?" would be beyond her lexical and grammatical competence. Instead the misunderstanding must come from careless listening or slow processing, like Jenni herself described in the interview. In line 12, Noora rejects Jenni's interpretation immediately, and after that, Jenni (line 13) explicitly expresses non-understanding. This is followed by Noora's explanation (lines 14–15), and Jenni's brief confirmation of understanding (line 16). After this, Jenni does not participate in discussing the topic, but the discussion is carried on by Noora, Roope, and Monika (lines 17-30), ending in agreement (lines 31–35) that what they have come up with is a working title that can be changed later.

The reason why Jenni is probably forced to produce a summary of the earlier discussion that turns out to be wrong stems from the overall goal of the participants in this situation. Compared with the scenes in the meeting of social services experts, the whole communication situation here is more fragile. While the social services experts' meeting was said not to have any very specific goals in the first place and, as the two participants reported in the interviews, participants did not need to have anything concrete completed at the end of the day, in the student meeting there was some time pressure: the plan of the building had to be ready by the next day, and it was rather difficult to participate in making the plan if one did not understand what Noora suggested. Therefore, for example, letting the non-understandings pass was less an option for the participants, as was Jenni's avoidance of communication after her non-understanding, because here the degree of involvement was greater: if one wanted to participate in the joint task, a certain level of shared understanding was essential. Therefore in Extract 34, communication goals override Jenni's

proficiency face protection wants and make her persist in finding shared understanding, whereas in Extract 33 it is possible to drop the immediate communication goal of the question after realizing that the misunderstanding is persisting even after an attempt to rectify it. Furthermore, while in problems of understanding there is always more than one party involved, this time, the three other participants who spoke (Noora, Erich, and Monika) seemed to have a common understanding of what Noora wanted; only Jenni misunderstood it. In this situation, then, it was particularly Jenni's proficiency face that was under threat.

After being corrected, Jenni's facework seems to consist of prompt confirmation of understanding (line 16), albeit with a minimal response, after which she withdraws from the discussion, like in earlier stages of the meeting (Jenni uses the fewest turns in the meeting). Overall, Jenni seemed to avoid communication, which on the one hand ensured that her potential linguistic shortcomings were not exposed, but which also made it impossible for her to build her language proficiency face, a point that will be discussed in the next section. In the interview (Extract 35 below), Jenni comments in a general way on her communication style and the impact of using English.

Extract 35 (Interview data 2.1)

1	Tarmo	no , vaikuttiks tää kieli mitenkää asiaa , onks sull sellanen
2		tunne että jos tää olis tehty suomeks ni oisit sä osallistunu
3		enemmän tähä keskusteluu
4	Jenni	@en usko et@
5	Tarmo	et
6	Jenni	en
7	Tarmo	joo
8	Jenni	joo
9	Tarmo	jos on tällanen isompi porukka ni sä et o- sä et o se mikä
10		on siäl ääness
11	Jenni	en oo se , joo en oo kyll

1	*Tarmo*	*well , did the language affect this , do you feel that if this had*
2		*been done in*
3		*Finnish you would have participated more in the discussion*
4	*Jenni*	*@I don't think so no@*
5	*Tarmo*	*no*
6	*Jenni*	*no*
7	*Tarmo*	*yeah*
8	*Jenni*	*yeah*
9	*Tarmo*	*if it's a bigger group like this so you are no- you are not the one*
10		*to talk all the time*
11	*Jenni*	*that is not me , yeah I really am not*

In Extract 35 Jenni claims that the language did not affect her communication style, but she never contributes much. Based on my earlier acquaintance with Jenni, I find this plausible: Jenni's proficiency face needs seem to merge with Jenni's overall reserved communication style.

In the next example from the student workshop data, the participant Mei takes a different approach after an expression of non-understanding. This dialogue (Extract 36) is from an earlier stage of the same meeting. Here the participants, Noora, Monika, Frank and Mei, are discussing the overall concept of the reusable building.

Extract 36 (Interaction data 1.1b)

1	Noora	the- like I think about- I'm still thinking about this artist ,
2		that there's one person who gets the task and to like err
3		st- aren't there
4	S?	[yes]
5	Noora	to do his OWN work or her own work and then kind of
6		also plan how next summer , activities are going to look
7		like and then , it has to be something to do with like ,
8		somehow to , present like verla and verla's history that it-
9		it can't be like whatever , but but paper-ma[king (nnn
10		verla)]
11	Monika	[yeah I think]- I think it should be something to do with
12		paper-making or good paper
13	Noora	yeah
14	Monika	and so and erm that person could also be the one who ,
15		mmhm
16	Noora	yeah
17	Monika	may know about how to do those papers/
18	Noora	yeah
19	Monika	she could also be the one who supervises
20	Noora	yeah
21	Monika	sometimes
22	Mei	*(turns towards Noora)* **what is the idea I just not follow**
23		**what you want to say**
24	(pause 2 secs)	
25	Noora	**err you can't follow what I'm saying**
26	Mei	yeah
27	Noora	okay err I'll tell what it works , erm , how would I say , if
28		you kind of grab one person who is going to get the
29		workspace for himself
30	Mei	yes
31	Noora	then he also gets the responsibility of err planning those
32		activities that are going be there so
33	Mei	**this- he-he needs the space and err**
34	Noora	he then (?)

35	Mei	he plan his own activities (nn)
36	Noora	yeah or like activities that other people do there [(nn)]
37	Frank	[(*coughs*)]
38	Mei	okay and he can make something paper some paper
39		[[thing]]
40	Noora	[[yeah]]
41	Mei	or he could do [[[be doing]]] something else
42	Frank	[[[(*coughs*)]]]
43	Noora	yeah
44	Mei	this is this is supposed to be safe with others [and]
45	Noora	[yeah]
46	Mei	also use water and , maybe we need also some pictures
47	(pause 4 secs)	
48	Noora	yeah if it is something if it's something else that's also

In Extract 36 Noora has a longish turn (lines 5–10), followed by a dialogue with Monika (lines 11–21), where they draft the idea that the space would function as an artist's workshop, but at the same time, the artist should supervise a miniature paper mill where tourists could try making paper. In lines 22–23, Mei explicitly expresses non-understanding, and by gaze particularly directs her words to Noora, rather than to both Noora and Monika. Noora (line 25) echoes Mei's comment of non-understanding and then starts rephrasing the earlier stretch of talk. Between lines 33 and 46, Mei seems to be paraphrasing Noora's ideas. Some of her turns can also be interpreted as implicit confirmation requests, which Noora answers positively in lines 36, 40, and 43. However, Mei does not simply paraphrase Noora's talk but she also puts forward a new idea in line 41, which Noora accepts. So, instead of merely listening to the reformulation of the earlier discussion, Mei engages actively in building shared understanding, contributing to the conversation and in this way building her proficiency face. In Mei's contribution, clarification of a language-based problem and participation in developing the content of the conversation merge. This is a very different approach from Jenni's in Extract 34.

Like in Extract 34 above, the scene is communication-wise quite fragile; in order to fully participate, Mei needs to understand the others' intended meanings in some detail. This means that even if Mei has higher proficiency face wants in the situation - an idea that is not actually supported by the views she expresses about her English skills in the interview - she has to sacrifice them by confessing her non-understanding. This way, however, she manages to act as a meaningful contributor to the group project and thus maintains her professional face, which may be a more important face for her in this situation. On the other hand, by expressing her non-understanding (lines 22-23) and subsequently taking an active role in building shared understanding, Mei displays her maintenance of some agency and control in the situation. The other alternative that Mei had available to her – keeping quiet and letting the situation pass - would have forced her either to withdraw and assume a passive role, or later to make contributions

that were not in line with the plan as agreed so far, both of which could have been detrimental to her professional face.

In the following extract (Extract 37), Noora comments on the scene after seeing the video clip in the interview.

Extract 37 (Interview data 2.1)

1	Tarmo	okei (pause 2 secs) siin Mei kommentoi että , se ei
2		ymmärtäny mitä siä sanoit ja sit siä selitit sille uudestaan
3		sen jutun
4	Noora	joo , kyllä
5	Tarmo	joo (pause 2 secs) miten, mist siä sit luulet et se voi johtuu
6	Noora	**no, ehkä se johtuu miä en usko et miä esitin sen asian**
7		**hirveen hyvin, se ei ollu hirveen kirkkaana mun**
8		**mielessä että miten miä saisin sen esitettyy ja sit se ei**
9		**ehkä , miä huomasin et sil oli jossain joissakin**
10		**tilanteissa vaikeuksia ehkä ymmärtää miun aksenttia**
11		**se sano kerran et se ei niiku, se ei pystyny toinen kerta**
12		**niiku ymmärtämään mitä miä puhuin**
13	Tarmo	joo
14	Noora	et ehkä se sit vaa on sanat ja sanajärjestys ne niin se ei
15		niinku sen , mieleen ollu , selkee , **miust oli hyvä et se**
16		**sano et se ei ymmärtäny , ni sit se ehkä ymmärs sen**
17		**paremmin , toivottavasti**

1	*Tarmo*	*okay (pause 2 secs) there Mei commented that , she didn't*
2		*understand what you said and then you explained it again*
3	*Noora*	*yeah , yes*
4	*Tarmo*	*yeah (pause 2 secs) how, what do you think was the reason for*
5		*that*
6	*Noora*	***well , maybe it was because I didn't think I presented the***
7		***topic very well , it wasn't so clear in my mind how I***
8		***could get it presented and then it maybe not , I noticed***
9		***that she had difficulties in some cases understanding my***
10		***accent , she once said that she kinda didn't , she couldn't***
11		***another time like understand what I said***
12	*Tarmo*	*yeah*
13	*Noora*	*so maybe it is only the words and the word order so they were*
14		*not like in her , mind , clear ,* ***I think it was good that she***
15		***said that she didn't understand , so then she maybe***
16		***understood it better , I hope***

In Extract 37, Noora, who was one of the most fluent speakers in the meeting, took part of the blame for Mei's non-understanding on herself (lines 6–12 Finnish, lines 6–11 English version), suggesting that she had not formulated the idea very clearly, or that her accent was difficult for Mei to understand. In lines 15–17

(Finnish)/14–16 (English), Noora expresses a positive attitude toward Mei's explicit expression of non-understanding.

When one notices someone else's misunderstanding, the main options are (1) dropping the topic, letting the situation pass and maybe returning to the topic later, (2) repeating or paraphrasing the original expression, or (3) a metalinguistic comment, or a combination of (2) and (3). In the list, the order proceeds from the assumedly least face-threatening (non-handling of the face-threatening event and letting it pass) to the most face-threatening (handling the face-threatening event and explicating it with a metalinguistic comment). Thus, facewise, it could be concluded that in Extract 33 (page 123), Otto chose a middle way in handling another person's misunderstanding, by first emphatically repeating the misunderstood part, but in the second round by resorting to the face-saving strategy of dropping the topic. Two very different approaches were used for the follow-up to the explicit expression of non-understanding in the student workshop data. In Extract 34, Jenni's strategy was a minimal response and retreat, which avoided the risk of her needing to express non-understanding again but which naturally gave her very little voice in the collaboration. In Extract 36, Mei's active response to the paraphrased utterances by repeating further paraphrases and implicitly making requests for confirmation allowed her to build proficiency face as an agency-holding participant and meaningful contributor to the joint meaning-making.

Another question is how Mei and Jenni managed to build proficiency face in the eyes of the other participants with these two different strategies. Naturally, how others perceived these two participants' proficiency was based on the entire workshop before the interview and not just on one episode. It is interesting to see how the others commented on Mei and Jenni. We can find two comments that probably overestimated Mei's proficiency, one (by Roope) in which she was seen as someone who probably cannot express everything she wants to express and another and another (by Noora) in which she was compared to Monika as probably having equal skills but being less active (by Noora). These views were contrary to how Mei estimated her language skills and also contrary to my observation.

On the other hand, there was one participant[8] who underestimated Jenni's contribution to the meeting by claiming that Jenni had said nothing at all in the whole meeting. This is not a statement of quality but of quantity, and it was an exaggeration. It seems that despite the possible problems of quality in Mei's speech, her active attitude and participation in the joint meaning-making gave her face, while Jenni's probably better quality but fewer turns with less willingness to take part in the shared meaning-making threatened her language proficiency face. At times, Mei's active participation seemed to build her proficiency face, while Jenni seemed to aim to protect her proficiency face by avoiding communication.

---

[8] For reasons of sensitivity, this interview extract is not presented, nor is the pseudonym disclosed.

As discussed above, different participants may perceive understanding problems, their seriousness, and the consequences for face differently. Another analysis of different participant perceptions and interpretations of relevance to face of a longish scene with a prolonged problem of understanding is discussed in Section 5.4.1, with the focus on how both the source of the understanding problem and its ensuing face threat were perceived by different participants.

5 PARTICIPANT PERCEPTIONS AND INTERPRETATIONS OF PROFICIENCY FACE

In the previous chapter, some features of proficiency facework in L2 interaction were analyzed. The point of view was how proficiency facework emerged in interaction from both the researchers's and the participants' point of view. In this chapter, the focus moves from facework in interaction to the participants' perceptions of proficiency face and what lies behind the face claims. The role of the interaction data in this chapter is to provide a setting for the participants' perceptions. The aim is to shed light on what features of language use and language skills are perceived as relevant to their proficiency face. First, they are discussed from the own-face point of view (Section 5.1), then from the point of view of other's face (Section 5.2). Section 5.3 discusses the interface between *proficiency* face and *professional* face. In Section 5.4, two extracts from the interaction are presented, and participants' different perceptions of these extracts are discussed. The role of language selves and conceptions of language, and the role of other contextual features, are discussed as underpinnings of the participants' views.

5.1 Face threat sources in one's own speech – not being good enough, being too good and causing an understanding problem

Exposure of poor language skills vs. causing an understanding problem

Exposure of one's L2 speech to possible evaluation by others has been established as face-threatening in earlier research on language anxiety. This exposure is a source of threat to one's own proficiency face. In the interviews, participants explicated what features in other people's speech they regarded as intimidating. In the following three interview extracts (Extracts 38–40, already shown as Extracts 17–19 above), Suvi (L1 Finnish) describes her proficiency face concerns.

Extract 38 (Interview data 2.1)

1	Tarmo:	mist se johtuu [se että sinun mielestä on helpompi puhua
2		ei-natiivien kanssa]
3	Suvi	no koska minust tuntuu että **se joka puhuu**
4		**äidinkielenää englantii se huomaa heti mun kaikki**
5		**virheet,** mut sit tällaset ketkä niinkun. ei puhu
6		äidinkielenää ne tekee ehkä itte samoi virheit, nii en ei
7		huomaa niit

1	*Tarmo:*	*what is the reason [that you find it easier to speak English with*
2		*non-native speakers]*
3	*Suvi*	*well because I have the feeling **that someone who speaks***
4		***English as their mother tongue notices all my mistakes***
5		***at once** , but then those who like don't speak it as their mother*
6		*tongue , they may make the same mistakes , so they don't notice*
7		*them*

In lines 3-5, Suvi seems to be afraid that native speakers criticize her speech because of the errors she makes. She does not suggest that this shows somehow in their interaction. This makes this a face concern based only on Suvi's own imagined experience, what she imagines she is doing and how she expects others to be evaluating her. This also reveals something about Suvi's language concept: as an L2 speaker, she does not allow herself to make any errors that could be noticed by a native speaker. In other words, her desired L2 self is one who can produce flawless language. In the next examples (Extracts 39 and 40), she comments on my question about understandability vs. correctness.

Extract 39 (Interview data 2.1)

1	Suvi	@ nii siis totta kai se on niinku se pääasia että tulee
2		ymmärretyks pääasia että tulee ymmärretyks mut sit ko
3		se on se tunne että pelkää mokaavansa , nii en miä tiiä

1	Suvi	@ well of course it's like the main thing is to be understood,
2		but then when there's **the feeling that you're afraid of**
3		**failure** , so I don't know

Extract 40 (Interview data 2.1)

1	Suvi	Nii ja sit se toinen se ÄÄNTÄMINEN että niinku , **miä**
2		**pelkään et miä** äännän **ihan väärin** , ja sit ne ei sen takii
3		ymmärrä , ja sit jos miä äännän väärin nii ne yrittää kysyy
4		uuestaa et mitä mitä mitä, nii sitte , **sit niinku se asia ei**
5		**tuu koskaa selvitetyks ku miä äännän sit koko aika**
6		**väärin**

1	Suvi	and then the other thing the PRONUNCIATION so that
2		like , **I'm afraid that my** pronunciation **is totally wrong** ,
3		and so they don't understand , and if I pronounce wrong
4		and they try to ask again what what what , so then , then
5		**like the matter's never clarified because I pronounce it**
6		**wrong all the time**

In Extract 38, Suvi admits that mutual understanding is important, but the fear of making an error seems to be overwhelming. In Extract 40, Suvi describes how she finds her poor pronunciation a source of understanding problems. Suvi describes how non-understanding gradually develops as a result of her repeatedly mispronouncing words (lines 1-2). Also, what is implicitly expressed in Suvi's description is that she is unable to identify what parts of her speech she is pronouncing incorrectly, and therefore she cannot know where to start solving the problem. Suvi seems to consider incorrectness something that inherently causes unsolvable non-understanding (lines 4-5), rather than either treating a pronunciation error as potentially a marginal feature in terms of understanding, or trusting in her interlocutor's receptive accommodation.

Interestingly, in the following (Extract 41), Suvi admits that her fear of being evaluated may be unnecessary.

Extract 41 (Interview data 2.1)

1	Tarmo	joo , no onko toisinpäin tilanteit tavallaa sit että tulee
2		niiku sen toisen takia sellanen tunne että nyt mun on
3		toimittava, tehtävä
4	Suvi	ai niin ko jos se on sanonnu jotai väärää
5	Tarmo	nii , sanonu väärää tai sanonu
6	Suvi	**EI en miä taas niinku MUITTEN puheita kuuntele**
7		**sillee et se puhuis jotain väärin tai huonost niinko ,**
8		**lähinnä** vaa että jos miä ymmärrän @ nii sit se on hyvä ,
9		**ehkä se on vähä ristiriitasta koska kai se , ei kai meist**
10		**kukaa muukaa aattele sillee**

1	*Tarmo*	*yeah , well are there situations the other way round in a way*
2		*that you get the feeling that now I need to do something for the*
3		*sake of the other person, to do*
4	*Suvi*	*you mean when she has like said something wrong*
5	*Tarmo*	*yeah , said something wrong or said*
6	*Suvi*	***NO I don't like listening to OTHERS' talk with the idea***
7		***that is she saying something wrong or badly like ,*** *it's*
8		*mainly that if I understand@ then it's good ,* ***maybe this is a***

9		*bit contradictory because I guess it , none of us thinks*
10		*that way either*

In lines 6–7 of Extract 41, Suvi says she does not evaluate others' L2 speech when she is listening to them. Then in lines 9-10 (Finnish version) and 8-10 (English version) she admits that her own fear of having her language skills evaluated because of her errors is contradictory, because other people probably have the same attitude as she has. Suvi fears that others will evaluate her understandable but erroneous speech, although she denies doing that herself. Thus, what she expects others to think is based on her imagination, even when her interlocutors do not show that they are evaluating her and despite her own experience as a listener. The fear of being evaluated is thus not necessarily based on the idea of reciprocity of action and rational assessment of how others would act in the same situation.

A similar view to Suvi's in Extract 40 about correctness and understandability was expressed by Noora (L1 Finnish), who was a fluent speaker in the student workshop.

Extract 42 (Interview data 2.1)

1	Noora	[…] jotenki ku miä oon kuitenki käyttäny sitä
2	Tarmo	käyttäny sit niin paljo , joo
3	Noora	ja sitte muualla nii , ei tunnu niin suurelta kynnykseltä
4		alkaa puhumaan
5	Tarmo	joo
6	[…]	
7	Noora	[…] et kyllä minuuki niiku sellasis tilanteissa jännittää ku
8		miä tiiän et kuulijakunta on semmosta, siis niinku, **joka**
9		**voi puhuu sitä äidinkielenää ja joka välttämättä ei sitä**
10		**ymmärrä että mitä miä tarkotan koska miä saatan , sitte**
11		**käyttää jotain et se asia jää epäselväks sen takii et miä**
12		**en osaa ilmasta sitä oikein**

1	*Noora*	*[…] somehow as I have anyway used it*
2	*Tarmo*	*used it such a lot , yeah*
3	*Noora*	*and then elsewhere so , it doesn't feel like a big threshold to start*
4		*speaking*
5	*Tarmo*	*yeah*
6	*[…]*	
7	*Noora*	*[…] that I'm also anxious like in such situations when I know*
8		*that my audience is such , like , who might speak **it as their***
9		***mother tongue and who might not understand what I***
10		***mean because I may , then use something so that the issue***
11		***remains unclear because I can't express it correctly***

Although Noora, a fairly experienced user of English (Extract 42, lines 3–4) does not echo Suvi's fear of making errors, she reports a similar low self-efficacy belief in her ability to solve an understanding problem using e.g., rephrasing (lines 8–11). Her fear seems to focus on causing non-understanding by using non-standard language when speaking with native speakers. Also, interestingly, because she claims to have this anxiety only with native speakers, Noora implies that native speakers have a lower capacity for receptive accommodation.

Suvi and Noora thus seem to find a strong connection between errors and the ability to communicate, and these two features merge as face threats. Suvi's major concern as regards her own face seems to be being evaluated, while the dysfunctionality of her speech is a secondary, but still a real concern, and is strongly linked to errors. For Noora, it is not so much making errors that bothers her, but the resulting lack of understanding. This close link between correctness and the ability to communicate was not shared by all of the interviewees, as can be seen in the next extract, 43, when I interviewed Monika, a female L1 German speaker from the student workshop.

Extract 43 (Interview data 2.1)

1	Tarmo	yeah , so when you talk about this embarrassment it not
2		embarrassment about being correct it's (nnn)
3	Monika	**no definitely no**
4	Tarmo	(n) of understood yeah yeah
5	Monika	**that would've been my mother** she really, erm learned
6		perfect English at school and **just sits there** and , thinks
7		about it okay , erm which word to use in a perfect way
8	Tarmo	@@
9	Monika	and also erm, **when use present or future or past**/ , yes
10		erm **we don't think about it really**
11	Tarmo	yeah yeah
12	Monika	**we** just say (pause 2 seconds) it's important to be
13		understood
14	Tarmo	yeah (pause 2 seconds) okay/

In Extract 43, in answer to my question in lines 1–2 about the source of embarrassment, in line 3 Monika emphatically claims that correctness is not the main concern. Quite the contrary, she vehemently denies focusing on correctness, and contrasts her own focus on understandability with her mother's interest in form. The contrast between mother (line 5) and "we" (line 12) can be interpreted as a comparison of language concepts and a different ethos between the generations: for Monika's generation it is acceptable to make mistakes when speaking L2, but for her mother's generation it was not. Monika seems to consider her mother's focus on form even counter-productive for communication (line 6: "just sits there") as she describes her mother passively considering the correct form. Interestingly, though, as an example of what she calls an unnecessary focus on grammar, Monika mentions verb tenses (line 9), a

grammatical category that can often be considered communicatively significant. Finally (line 12), she contrasts the act of communicating ("we just say") to the previously mentioned focus on grammatical form. Monika's view, then, seems to be that formal correctness and understandability are at least to some extent unrelated, and only failure in the latter can cause "embarrassment" and proficiency face loss. To conclude this discussion of these particular examples, although one's own inadequate skills can cause proficiency face threat, the exact source seems to be fundamentally different for Monika and Suvi.

In the following extract, Erich (L1 German), another participant in the student workshop, describes quite powerfully his experience of not being understood and underlines its significance as a face threat.threat.

Extract 44 (Interview data 2.1)

1	Tarmo	yeah , erm one more thing about this err , unsafety would
2		you say it's more err that you don't have the words , or
3		you think that they are the wrong words or you , the
4		others don't understand you what is in a way the main
5		cause of unsafety (pause 2 secs) saying something wrong
6		or not being understood
7	Erich	yeah yeah I think
8	Tarmo	(n)
9	Erich	**the worst case is already to erm when they- when they**
10		**look at you , and you see the , {die fragezeichen}**
11	Tarmo	yeah the question mark
12	Erich	**question mark on on on their head and then you begin**
13		**and the words are losing and , you can't find the**
14		**sentences or words and so can't complete your your**
15		**your question or your sentences or what else you wanna**
16		**say , then it's quite difficult**

In Extract 44, Erich describes a feeling that could be summarized as growing panic, which starts from his interlocutors' puzzled gaze and his being the center of attention (lines 9–10). Erich reports that he can see from the others' faces that they cannot understand him. This increases his anxiety and makes it even more difficult for him to retrieve the right word and form his turn (lines 12–14), and the result is that Erich is unable to complete his turn (line 14-16) satisfactorily.

It is evident that Erich's description in Extract 44 is a description of communication anxiety, but how this is a description of experiencing face threat may need to be explicated. What Erich is doing in the situation he describes is use his L2 (English) to express his ideas; as he becomes involved in this, it is clear that he wants to be successful, so he wants to be proficient enough in English to convey his thoughts understandably. That is the image of a language user he wants to maintain, his proficiency face want. If he were indifferent to that image, he probably would not describe his despair so expressively (lines 12–16). Erich describes (lines 12–14) how he gradually slides into a situation where he is in the

wrong face, i.e., his image as a competent enough speaker cannot be maintained. The inability to complete the turn then makes him think that his interlocutors will be considering his communication skills in English rather poor. In this case, the face loss does not derive from the speaker's evaluation of the quality of his language per se, but rather from his assessment, based on the others' behavior, of its inadequacy to convey his communication purpose. Seeing the others' non-understanding seems to dramatically increase his panic and make the formation of utterances increasingly difficult.

Consequently, in the participants' commentary, there are two different aspects of one's own speech that are perceived to be a proficiency face threat. One aspect is making mistakes in the language that one's interlocutors hear. This has the underlying idea that the speaker perceives that they have become a target of negative evaluation because their interlocutors have noticed shortcomings and errors in their language. The other aspect is the disruption of communication that the deficiency visibly causes. In the latter case, it is the dysfunctionality of the language that counts rather than one's sense of failings in one's language skills. Furthermore, the participants in my study seemed to have different views on how closely these two are interconnected: for Suvi, incorrect language was a face threat in itself, but it was also a clear cause of mis-communication. For Erich and Noora, there was also a clear connection between the two, but the face threat for Noora appeared only when her interlocutors were native speakers (less adaptive, in Noora's opinion), and for Erich it appeared when his speech was not understood. In contrast, Monika emphatically claimed to distinguish between the two: in her opinion, one can speak erroneously but still be understandable, and only miscommunication causes proficiency face threat.

The following table presents a summary of the discussion above on four participants' reported perceptions of the relationship between correctness and communicativeness and their own explanation of the source of face threat in their own speech.

TABLE 3   Comparison of Suvi's, Noora's, Monika's and Erich's perceptions of the relationship between incorrectness and non-understanding, and their perceptions of the cause of the proficiency face threat

Participant	How the participant perceives the relationship between correctness and comprehensibility of their speech	Claimed source of proficiency face threat
Suvi	Connected	Both exposure of one's incorrect speech and being the cause of non-understanding, separately and together
Noora	Connected	Being the cause of non-understanding due to non-standard language that one uses with L1 speakers
Monika	Separated	Being the cause of non-understanding
Erich	Connected	Being the cause of non-understanding due to the lack of vocabulary

Incorrectness or non-standardness being the focus of proficiency face loss can also be viewed from the point of view of language concept, in terms of conformity vs. creativity. The language user may emphasize conformity with the rules as a desirable feature of language use, or alternatively, the right to creativity and the functionality of creativity.

Earlier, in Extract 4 on pages 88, Otto (male, L1 Finnish) mentioned creativity in a positive sense in connection with creating novel words or phrases. Frank (Extract 45), somewhat similarly, describes how an approximate term can be adopted locally.

Extract 45 (Interview data 2.1)

1	Frank	I think in situations like that you can even like not create
2		new vocabulary re-, like say couldn't find the word for
3		floor plan , **we could just say ground picture or**
4		**something**
5	Tarmo	yeah
6	Frank	and **then for this group it worked like new vocabulary**
7	Tarmo	yeah

This kind of use of approximation is familiar to most L2 speakers and is often used without paying very much attention to it. There was, however, one occasion when the interviewee reported being aware of experimenting with language items of whose appropriateness or communicativeness he was unsure. This is presented in Extract 46, in which Frank, the same participant as in the previous extract, describes his communication strategy.

Extract 46 (Interview data 2.2)

```
1   Frank      I make the experience , just say it , they will at LEAST get
2              the meaning , and it's a lot easier for them to listen as ehm
3              when you just say even when it's wrong , other just other
4              way it's just taking too long if you search for the right ,
5              ending and he she it
6   Tarmo      yeah
7   Frank      just takes too long and maybe you have to restart your
8              sentence and , it's- no-one actually likes to listen to that I
9              think
```

In line 1, Frank describes trying out language that he was unsure about in terms of correctness. With the word 'experience', he is likely to mean 'experiment', and this serves as an example of how even an incorrect or ungrammatical item or phrase is better for giving interlocutors the idea promptly; too careful a focus on accuracy (lines 7–8) with all the restarts that involves makes speech processing so slow that it is unpleasant for one's interlocutors (lines 8–9). Frank, then, has made his choice in the L2 speakers' dilemma described by Kurhila (2000: 151): whether to process an utterance carefully to make it more accurate at the expense of fluency, or whether to speak less carefully and sacrifice accuracy for the sake of fluency.

To some extent, some related experience about creativity and experimenting is found in my field notes. Extract 47 is from my language memoir, where I describe my work experience as a camp counselor in the USA when I was in my twenties.

Extract 47 (Introspective data 3)

> As one of the few foreigners in the camp, I felt I was allowed to make experiments with the language, and I didn't need to get the meaning right at the first time.

Extracts 4, 45, 46 and 47 display the speaker's claimed right to creativity in the use of L2, which is linked to the idea that adherence to the rules is not everything, and that experimenting with words does not cause proficiency face threat.

Figure 21 presents the views that participants expressed in the interviews in relation to certain features of language proficiency, and the corresponding proficiency face concepts, on a continuum of two opposing language concepts, that is, from conformity to creativity. In the first line of the figure, the participants' different ideas are placed on the continuum. The second line gives interpretations of the proficiency face concepts based on these views.
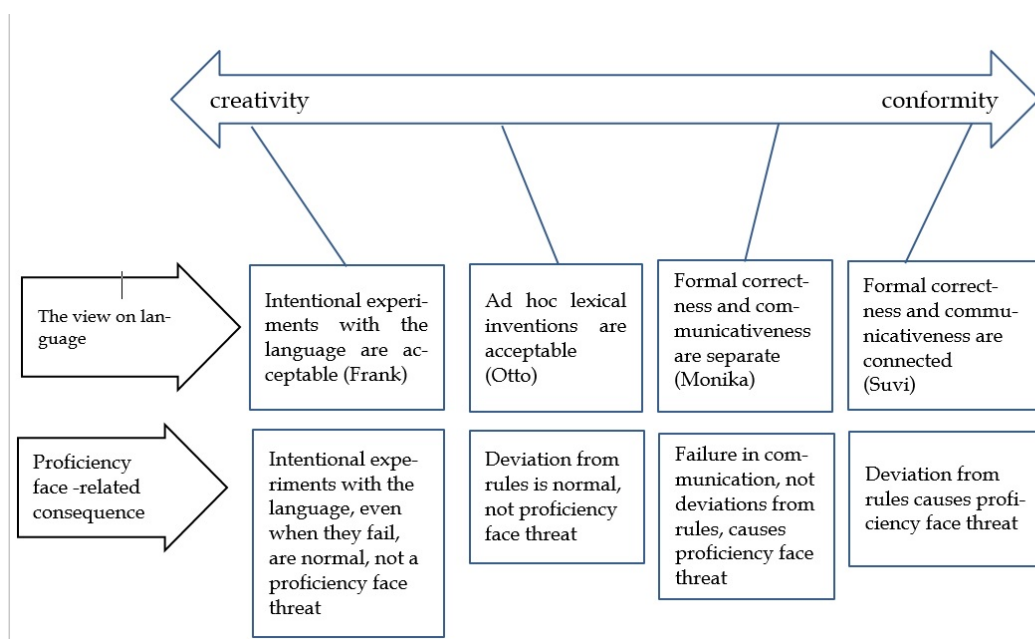
FIGURE 21   The different views put forward by participants on certain features of lan-
guage proficiency and the corresponding proficiency face concepts based on
these views, on a continuum from conformity to creativity.

How interlocutors are perceived as mitigating or increasing proficiency face threat?

Let us now consider the features of *interlocutors* that seem to increase proficiency face threat. There are at least two features that seem to be relevant. The first is the language expertise of one's interlocutors, for example, if they are significantly more fluent, or known native speakers; in other words, whether one feels oneself to be a small fish in a big pond or a big fish in a small one. The second is the interlocutors' social relevance to the speaker, i.e., whether they are people with whom the speaker has regular contact, or people whom the speaker considers important, or just people one meets by chance and/or in passing.

In the student workshop interviews, two students compared talking to native speakers with talking in a lingua franca context (Suvi in Extract 38, above, and Noora in Extract 42, above). In addition, one participant was asked about this in an interview. In the interview, I asked Jenni to compare speaking with other non-natives and speaking with native speakers. Jenni's preference for non-natives was based on the idea that non-natives are less critical of the linguistic correctness of her speech due to their own lower proficiency. Knowing her interlocutors' lower ability and/or less willingness to criticize makes her feel less anxious and encourages her to talk. Nativeness – non-nativeness was described similarly by Suvi in Extract 48, which is partly identical with Extract 38 but longer, and by Jenni in Extract 49.

Extract 48 (Data set 2.1)

1	Tarmo:	onks tota tavallaa se että mitä sä ajattelet mitä on tällänen
2		hyvä englanti oikees elämäs , tai mitä oot oppinnu mitä
3		on hyvä englanti koulussa ni oks se jotenkin niiku eri ,
4		niinku eri asia vai sama asia , onks sun käsitys
5		muuttunnu sillon ku on joutunu käyttää englantii oikees
6		elämäs
7	Suvi	mmm , siis HALUAISIN osata puhuu paremmin
8		englantii , minust , tai niiku minust en puhu mitenkää
9		hyvin englantii mut sit taas on on helpompi puhuu
10		sellasten kaa tai tällästen kaa jolla oma äidinkieli ei oo
11		englanti , nii se on helpompi ku sellasen kaa joka puhuis
12		sit äidinkielenää englantii
13	Tarmo	mist se johtuu
14	Suvi	**no koska minust tuntuu että se joka puhuu**
15		**äidinkielenää englantii se huomaa heti mun kaikki**
16		**virheet**, mut sit tällaset ketkä niinkun. ei puhu
17		äidinkielenää ne tekee ehkä itte samoi virheit, nii en ei
18		huomaa niit

1	*Tarmo:*	*is it like in a way what you think is good English in real life ,*
2		*or what you have learned about what good English is at school*
3		*so is it somehow like different , like a different thing or the same*
4		*thing , has your idea changed as you you've used English in*
5		*real life*
6	*Suvi*	*mmm , well I WOULD LIKE to speak better English , I think ,*
7		*or like I don't think I speak English very well but then it's easier*
8		*to speak with people like here who don't speak it as their mother*
9		*tongue , so it's easier than with someone who speaks English as*
10		*their mother tongue*
11	*Tarmo*	*what is the reason*
12	*Suvi*	*well because I have the feeling **that someone who speaks***
13		***English as their mother tongue notices all my mistakes***
14		***at once** , but then those who like don't speak it as their mother*
15		*tongue , they may make the same mistakes , so they don't notice*
16		*them*

Extract 49 (Data set 2.1)

1	Tarmo	mitäs , koet sä , englanninpuhumisen helpommaks vai
2		vaikeemmaks sille että , ko täss tilantees muutkii on ei-
3		syntyperäisii puhujii vai sit jos sä puhut niinku brittien
4		tai amerikkalaisten kaa , onks siin eroo

5	Jenni	mmhm no mun mielest , se kynnys on ehkä pienempi
6		tälläsessä ku tietää että kukaa muu ei osaa sitä niinku
7		äidinkielenää
8	Tarmo	mhhm
9	Tarmo	mhhm
10	Jenni	mut sit voi olla , et no en oo kyllä kun muutaman ihan
11		englantilaisen tai tällasen kaa puhunu
12	Tarmo	joo
13	Jenni	mut tuntuu et he sit taas ymmärtää sen , kun ne oli niin
14		tottunut siihen , että tekee @virheitä@ helpommin ku
15		äidinkielellä ni
16	Tarmo	joo , ko sä sanoit että kynnys on pienempi ni minkä
17		kynnys on pienempi
18	Jenni	sen et niin ku , alottaa sen puheen
19	Tarmo	joo okei
20	Jenni	puhumisen että , et ko niin ko tietää että ei ne naura jos
21		@teet jonkun virheen@

1	*Tarmo*	*well , do you find , speaking English is easier or more difficult ,*
2		*like here in this situation also the others are non-native speakers*
3		*compared to speaking like with Brits or Americans , is there a*
4		*difference*
5	*Jenni*	*mmhm well in my opinion ,* **the threshold is maybe lower here**
6		**as you know that nobody else speaks it as a mother tongue**
7	*Tarmo*	*mhhm*
8	*Jenni*	*but it can be , that well I've only talked with a few English people*
9		*or so*
10	*Tarmo*	*yeah*
11	*Jenni*	*but* **it felt like they understood , when they were used to it ,**
12		**that someone makes @mistakes@ more easily than in your**
13		**mother tongue so**
14	*Tarmo*	*yeah , when you said the treshold is lower , so treshold of what is*
15		*lower*
16	*Jenni*	*of like , starting to talk*
17	*Tarmo*	*yeah okay*
18	*Jenni*	*talking so ,* **so that one knows that they won't laugh if you**
19		**@make a mistake@**

In Extract 48, Suvi explains (Finnish lines 14–16, English lines 12–14) that she is very sensitive to making mistakes. Both Suvi and Jenni (Extract 49 lines 13–21 Finnish, lines 11–19 English) seem to think that native speakers are particularly critical of non-native speakers' mistakes, while non-native speakers are more tolerant. It is rather unlikely that native-speakers would openly criticize non-native speakers in most situations in the way Jenni describes (Extract 49 lines 20–21 Finnish/lines 18–19 English), so we can assume here that Jenni is referring to them laughing to themselves rather than laughing out loud. Suvi's description of

native speakers' immediately noticing her errors (Extract 48 lines 14-15 Finnish version, lines 12–14 English version) suggests that native speakers focus on errors. Jenni and Suvi's concern here is more about what they think others think about their proficiency, even if these others do not show it in any way. It can be said that the face threat in this case is caused by a disparity between the actual L2 self and the ought-to L2 self. The speakers assume that their interlocutors expect them to have certain kinds of skills, and the speakers do not perceive that they have them. It should be emphasized that we do not know if the interlocutors have these expectations and, if they do, if the speaker falls short of their expectations, but knowing about this is not relevant. What is relevant is the speaker's own perception of the mismatch, and the feeling of vulnerability attached to it.

In Extract 49, I asked Jenni to contrast speaking with other non-natives and speaking with native speakers. Jenni's preference for non-natives was caused by the idea that due to their lower proficiency level, they are less critical of the linguistic correctness of her speech. Knowing her interlocutors' lower ability and/or less willingness to criticize, in turn, makes her feel less anxious and encourages her to talk. Nativeness versus non-nativeness was experienced in a similar way by Suvi in Extracts 48, where she reported being very sensitive to making mistakes. Both Suvi and Jenni seem to think that native speakers are particularly critical towards non-native speakers' mistakes, while non-native speakers are more tolerant. Fear of being evaluated by a more proficient speaker is congruent with the findings of the Big Fish in the Small pond phenomenon (BFLPE - see Section 2.6.1). Studies indicate that people compare themselves with other members of their group and this affects their self-efficacy beliefs. On the other hand, there are other factors like personality features, or attitudes toward L2 use that one has learned in formal language instruction.

Monika disagrees about the relative easiness of interacting with native or other non-native speakers, but her view is based not on proficiency face but on the support that native speakers can more readily offer due to their expertise in the language. See Extract 50, below. In lines 24-26 and 28, Monika explains this view.

Extract 50 (Data set 2.1)

1	Tarmo	okay erm (pause 1 sec) something about this exercise
2		first-first of all that you did yesterday was it some kind of
3		routine thing that you are used to doing or-
4	Monika	definitely not
5	[…]	
6	Monika	we didn't even know how to proceed there/ and so it was
7		quite hard
8	Tarmo	yeah
9	Monika	especially , in a strange language
10	[…]	
11	Monika	but I think mmh my , active vocabulary is much less , than
12		passive one , so

13	Tarmo	yeah , that's quite natural
14	[…]	
15	Tarmo	yeah , so-oo in what kind of situations do you notice that
16		your- you feel that your active vocabulary isn't large
17		enough
18	Monika	especially here@@
19	Tarmo	okay@ (nnn) , yeah
20	Monika	I guess it's- it also erm takes some time/
21	Tarmo	yeah
22	Monika	ehm to come into the language and the spoken language
23	Tarmo	yeah
24	Monika	and **, it's much easier if you're in a native speaking**
25		**country , where the people really talk English and , you**
26		**can , also ask them about some vocabs or something**
27	Tarmo	yeah , so you find it easier in a native speaking country
28	Monika	**this is- this is much more difficult I think**
29	Tarmo	yeah
30	Monika	because , all of us aren't too well spoken

Interestingly, none of the students who had been working or studying in an English-speaking country (Frank, Monika) or had a lot of international work experience (Noora) mention native-speaker interlocutors' causing a greater threat to proficiency face, although Noora in Extract 42 mentioned that non-understanding would be more likely with native interlocutors. The perceived harshness of native speakers was mentioned by one student who had little experience of practical English usage (Suvi) and, when prompted by me in the interview, by another student with some experience of speaking English both at work and in private life (Jenni). Both Jenni and Suvi also reported overall high proficiency face sensitivity. Due to the small number of informants, it makes no sense to talk about correlations, but it seems that the fear of being criticized by native speakers tends to fade with experience.

In line with BFLPE theory, the perceived low proficiency of non-native interlocutors can give participants the feeling that they can demand less of themselves, so their ought-to language self is eased in this situation. In the following, one participant comments on this phenomenon. The interaction in Extract 51 is from the social services experts' meeting, at a point when some of the participants are clearly struggling to find a suitable expression. Marie, one of the Finnish lecturers, comments on the scene in Extract 52, after having seen the video clip. Jaroslaw is a male L1 Polish speaker, Walentyna and Krystyna female L1 Polish speakers, Otto a male L1 Finnish speaker.

Extract 51 (Interaction data 1.2)

1	Jaroslaw	err we had talking we had talking with they (nn) , about
2		many social problems *(gestures with the right hand)* , err the
3		topic is that , WIDE , and made be equal to many
4		mispathefic(?) *(gestures with the right hand)* issues , err,
5		which , and err the problem is to find the COMMON area
6		*(gestures with the right hand)* in which erm our subject of
7		interest err maybe involved in this common err , common
8		area
9	(pause 2 secs)	
10	Otto	do you mean that we could for example have some
11		common research/ *(gestures with the left hand)* , projects
12		or/ , something like this maybe I think I think that's the
13		main this es- erm , [social]
14	Walentyna	[(nnn)] (Polish) *(speaks aside to Jaroslaw)*
15	Jaroslaw	yes yes
16	Walentyna	we want [research]
17	Jaroslaw	[research]
18	Walentyna	erm different *(gestures with hands)* or , (nnn) *(Polish)*
19		*(speaks aside to Jaroslaw)*
20	Jaroslaw	[(nn) differences] we do , between [[our countries]]
21	Walentyna	[(nnn)] [[social problems]]
22		*(gestures with hands)* (12:56)
23	Jaroslaw	**and I mean Romania Finland Poland and and , err , err**
24	Krystyna	((nn)) (Polish) *(gestures with hands)*
25	Jaroslaw	**err , I think also , err about erm , Latvia , Latvia and**
26		*(gazes Walentyna)*
27	Walentyna	[(nnn)]

Extract 51 shows clearly how Jaroslaw struggles when formulating his co-operation proposal. This can be seen in ample gesticulation (lines 2–6) and numerous 'erms' and 'errs' in his speech (lines 1–6, 23 and 25). Also, Jaroslaw does not immediately answer Otto's question (lines 10–12), but only after negotiation with Walentyna (line 15). The following extract (52) provides Marie's commentary after seeing the clip when I specifically asked about her feelings caused by the word search.

Extract 52 (Interview data 2.2)

1	Tarmo	minkälaisii ajatuksii se aiheuttaa ku toinen yrittää
2		ponnistella siin löytääkseen oikean sanan , reagoiks siihen
3		mitenkää
4	Marie	tottakai et miten mä voisin auttaa, miten me voitais
5		yhdessä löytää se oikea sana siihen
6	Tarmo	joo

7	**Marie**	**mutta tota se on lähinnä enemmänki se on sellanen**
8		**yhdistävä tunne , kun ollaan kaikki ei tota ei-**
9		**natiivipuhujia niin tai tai tällasia ei jatkuvasti työkseen**
10		**englantia käyttäviä niin se on yhteinen haaste et miten se**
11	Tarmo	joo
12	**Marie**	**et miten ne oikeet sanat löytää**
13	Tarmo	sä et sit ku sä, yhdistävä tunne nii sä et tunne sit mitenkää
14		negatiiviseks tunteeks et joutuu välil niit oikeit sanoi
15		hakemaan
16	Marie	eii , en
17	Tarmo	joo
18	**Marie**	**en , päinvastoin se antaa itelleki luvan sit myöskin**
19		**kompuroida sanoissa**

1	*Tarmo*	*what kind of thoughts does it bring to you when the other person*
2		*is struggling to find the right word , do you react in any way*
3	*Marie*	*of course that how can I help, how could we find the right word*
4		*together*
5	*Tarmo*	*yeah*
6	*Marie*	***but well it's more like a kind of feeling of being in it***
7		***together , as we're all non-native speakers or people who***
8		***don't use English all the time so it's a shared challenge that***
9	*Tarmo*	*yeah*
10	*Marie*	***how is it possible to find the right words***
11	*Tarmo*	*you don't then as you , the feeling of togetherness , so you don't*
12		*find it a negative feeling anyway when you need to search for the*
13		*right words*
14	*Marie*	*no:: I don't*
15	*Tarmo*	*yeah*
16	*Marie*	*no,* ***quite the contrary it gives you permission too to***
17		***struggle with words***

In Extract 52, lines 7–10 (Finnish) and 6–8 (English), Marie describes how seeing one's interlocutors struggling with the language leads to a feeling of solidarity, the feeling of being in the same boat with other non-native speakers. She goes on to explain (lines 18–19, Finnish and lines 16–17 English) how this observation makes her feel that the level of language proficiency expected from her is lower. In terms of face, Marie feels solidarity with the other speakers, which is a positive feeling, although the solidarity has derived from others' struggling with the language to achieve communication goals that are probably beyond their skills level. It seems to be particularly the interlocutors' inability that causes the "feeling of togetherness" and makes finding suitable expressions a "shared challenge". In this case, being aware of one's interlocutors' difficulties seems to bring people together. At the same time, it eases the demands on Marie's own ought-to language self.

A similar feeling about others' disfluent performance lowering the demands one puts on oneself is reported by Erich, one of the participants in the student workshop, in Extract 53.

Extract 53 (Interview data 2.1)

1	Tarmo	how you- how you feel like , using English , like in this
2		workshop
3	Erich	oh it's a quite good , err , and erm , it's quite
4		INTERESTING to use it- (?) to to look how err much I err
5		English I can speak now/
6	Tarmo	yeah/
7	Erich	al-already now , but erm **, sometimes I get the- get the**
8		**feeling that my English is not so good as that- as can be/**
9		**as that can be**
10	Tarmo	yeah coming here(?)
11	Erich	and , so I think it's not I using my English , not so so much
12		I would be , **I-I have so many questions in my mind but**
13		**err but I** *(pause 2 secs)* **what should I say , it's quite**
14		**difficult to use this**
15	Tarmo	yeah
16	Erich	**and and and so many questions are , err , are not spoken**
17		**out I think**
18	[…]	
19	Erich	**I'm-I'm really I would said err , {unsicher] (German)**
20		***uncertain* err un-unsafety/**
21	Tarmo	unsafety yeah
22	Erich	I'm a little bit unsafety and so , maybe I think ehh , don't
23		ask this question or
24	Tarmo	yeah
25	Erich	but but yesterday in the in the sauna , there was a- there
26		were two two or maybe three Finnish guys **, their**
27		**English was not so good/**
28	Tarmo	yeah
29	Erich	**maybe good as mine or , or maybe little bit , little bit**
30		**erm , better/ , erm they they also know know every**
31		**word/ to say ,**
32	Tarmo	yeah
33	Erich	**but as it was okay was err a good opinion or good good**
34		**feeling to ask or to speak with them and think that was**
35		**okay**

In Extract 53, Erich describes how dissatisfied he is with his level of English (lines 7–9), how he drops topics because he cannot find the right words (lines 12–17), and how uncertain he feels, in general, using English (lines 19–20). After that, he describes an exceptional scene (lines 29–36) in which he was interacting with

Finnish students in the sauna. Erich's comment in line 30 "they also know know every word to say" only makes sense in this context if one interprets Erich as having omitted the negative and having meant "don't know". He contrasts his own skills with the Finnish students' skills, finds them fairly similar, and concludes that the situation was pleasant ("good feeling to ask or to speak with them"). Erich had earlier (Extract 44, page 138) described his fear of causing misunderstanding. Together with the feeling of insecurity that he reports here, it is reasonable to say that Erich is someone who occasionally feels proficiency face threat when he speaks English. In the situation he describes in Extract 53, however, the perceivedly lower proficiency of his interlocutors frees him from this feeling.

Using some data from outside of the data of this study, I would like to shed further light on this issue, i.e., on how an interlocutor's lower proficiency improves one's self-efficacy belief in the situation and thus diminishes the proficiency face threat that one experiences. Antti Nylen, a Finnish essayist, in an autobiographilcal book *Häviö* (in English: "Loss"), reflects on his experience of being publicly interviewed in French, a language in which he does not feel confident. In Extract 54, he describes his experience at a literary promotion event in Paris (Nylen 2018: 100-101).

Extract 54

1 En mielelläni puhu ranskaa koska en osaa, joten kaksi esiintymistäni
2 olivat säälittävää kiemurtelua, koska oli puhuttava ranskaa.
3 Haastattelijana ollut kirjailija Kira Poutanen puhui sitä kuin
4 Chateaubriand **ja teki parhaansa, että pysyin edes suunnilleen**
5 **ihmiskasvoisena**.
6 Jälkimmäinen juttutuokio jurtassa **sujui hieman sutjakammin**, sillä
7 kanssani esiintynyt Peter von Bagh **rohkaisi minua häpeämättömän**
8 **kankealla esimerkillään.**

1 *I I don't like speaking French because I can't speak it, so my two public*
2 *appearances were miserable squirming, because I had to speak French. My*
3 *interviewer, writer Kira Poutanen, spoke it like Chateaubriand and **did her best***
4 ***to keep me looking human at least more or less.** The second conversation in*
5 *the tent **went more fluently**, as Peter von Bagh, who was on stage with me,*
6 ***gave me courage with his unashamedly clumsy example.***

In Extract 54, the writer gives a very black-and-white description of his language skills (line 1) when he states that he does not know French. This cannot be literally true, as he manages to be interviewed in French in the end, but it does indicate his perceived skill level relative to the demands of the situation. He describes in lines 3–4 how the much more fluent interviewer, who was a Finnish writer who had lived in France for years, managed to keep the writer "looking human-faced" (Finnish "ihmiskavoisena"). It seems that the writer believed that the interviewer, with her ability to support him because of her fluency in the language, had

managed to save him from severe face loss. The word he used suggests that the writer not only felt that he showed himself in a bad light due to his limited language skills, but only just managed to hold his head up as a human being. Thus, limited language skills almost deprived him of his ability to appear as a human being in front of the audience.

The writer compares the two interviews, claiming that the latter "went more fluently" (line 5). The reason he gives for this fluency is that he was on stage with another interviewee, a Finnish movie critic, whose "unashamedly clumsy example" gave him courage (lines 6–7 Finnish/6 English). There are two interpretations for how the other writer, Peter von Bagh's, affected Nylen's proficiency face wants. The first is that von Bagh set the level of what were adequate skills in the situation low enough for him to achieve them, and therefore he confidently fulfilled his own expectations, with no perception that his French skills could be a face issue. In other words, his ought-to and desired language selves here matched with his actual language self. The second is that he was self-possessed enough not to *display* any embarrassment, despite the fact that he perceived that his language proficiency was insufficient for the situation and this insufficiency made him feel vulnerable. In this case, his actual language self would have fallen short of his ought-to language self and desired language self, but he managed to hide the anxiety caused by this mismatch. Whichever explanation of the two was behind his co-interviewee's behavior – whether it was a different view of the necessary proficiency in relation to the situation, or the ability to carry it off - it encouraged Nylen to express himself more openly. His fellow interviewee's attitude seemed to set a different "ethos" for that particular scene (cf. Kádár & Haugh 2013), how well one is supposed to speak French in this kind of situation. While in the first interview the writer suffered severe face loss, from which he only (just) survived with the help of the interviewer, because with her excellent command of the language she managed to cover the writer's inability to maintain face independently, in the second interview the different ethos set by the other interviewee's "unashamedly clumsy example" seemed to remove the source of face sensitivity in the first place. Not only did the writer seem to perceive less face loss, but he commented that the interview "went more fluently". Thus the lack of fear of face loss and presumably consequently the more active contribution that he was able to make, compared with his strongly supported performance in the first interview, made him conclude that the interview went more smoothly. The face-saving took place in two very different ways. In the first scene, the interviewer scaffolded the author with her own proficiency, which gave him the autonomy and competence to survive the situation and thus allowed him to hold his head up. In the later scene, his fellow interviewee lowered the standard for what was an acceptable level of language and, by not allowing himself to be put off, set an example for Nylen to follow; this changed Nylen's ought-to language self in this situation. As his fellow interviewee was evidently communicatively successful enough, Nylen's self-efficacy belief improved. In the first scene, the protective facework done by the interviewer may or may not have been intentional, whilst in the second one, the

facework carried out by his colleague's lowering of the standard required was certainly unintentional.

Another, albeit slightly different, example from a native-speaker environment comes again from my own field notes.

Extract 55 (Introspective data 3)

1	An important boost to my self-confidence as a language user was my work
2	placement in the USA. [...] I also had a native-speaker colleague who was not
3	American, but from another English-speaking country. I had great difficulties
4	in understanding him – and so did the Americans. He could not change his
5	accent to be more intelligible among his new colleagues. Thus negotiations of
6	meaning between him and the American colleagues were much more com-
7	mon than between me and the Americans.

In Extract 55, the proficiency face boost I experienced was caused by my observation that my native-speaker colleague, who spoke with a different accent from the Americans, found himself in meaning negotiations with his local colleagues more often than I did, as the Americans seemed to find his accent unintelligible. Being able to communicate with fewer meaning negotiations than a native-speaker gave me the idea that my image as a speaker of English was implicitly acknowledged or legitimized (although, naturally, in those days I did not verbalize it using such terms). I had no doubt that the non-American native speaker had a somehow limited repertoire, but the proficiency face boost came from the relative understandability of our speech. It therefore reflected Monika's idea (Extract 43, above) that the failure to be able to make oneself understood is embarrassing. In my case, the converse was true: I found that my success in speaking understandably was face boosting.

To sum up the discussion on the four extracts, orienting to others' lack of proficiency and difficulty in expressing what they want to say may raise the feeling of solidarity and lower one's ought-to language self. When a participant perceives that they have lower proficiency than those around them and this causes face concerns, the ought-to language self behind the proficiency face claims can be lowered by finding interlocutors with the same level or a lower level of language than themselves, particularly if the face-owner sees that their co-participant is managing to express themselves well enough despite their limited linguistic resources and does not display shame. In this way, the co-participant manages to change the participant's self-efficacy belief, either with their insouciance if they felt that their skills were not adequate and experienced a proficiency face threat but still carried the situation off, or with their different language concept, i.e., they felt confident in that situation and so there was no proficiency face issue for them. In either case, seeing the other's line of action may free a participant from proficiency face concerns. Another way an interlocutor can affect one's face claims is if one's interlocutor, despite their expected high level of proficiency due, for example, to native-speaker status, fails to communicate smoothly and efficiently with the other speakers.

.

Experience of change in own-face threat over time

Several participants described changes in proficiency face threat over time. In some cases, the change they described was over a fairly short period (days or weeks), while in other cases they referred to long-term changes. It is possible to find two natural explanations for this. On the one hand, the amount of practice one has and/or one's improved language skills diminish the threat to one's own face. On the other hand, one's language concept may change, and this changes the ought-to language self that is behind the proficiency face concerns.

In Extract 11 on page 95, Monika (female, L1 German) described how speaking English had become easier in the workshop and commented on this in the same section of the interview as when she referred to her embarrassment. Noora (female, L1 Finnish) made one comment about reduced face threat in Extract 42 (lines 1–4), above (page 136), when she said that using English a lot had made it easy for her to use the language now. In Extract 56, Frank (male, L1 German) describes his attitude in answer to my question about the stress caused by searching for the right word.

Extract 56 (Interview data 2.2)

1	Tarmo	@yeah right err how did you feel in that situation , can
2		you recall it , when you were in a way in the loss of
3		words , does it cause any stress or frustration or
4	Frank	**no that doesn't cause any stress, anymore , erm**
5	Tarmo	anymore/, do you mean sometimes earlier it has , caused
6	Frank	yes YES in the beginning when err (pause 2 sec) like I
7		have been to Canada for more than like for one year
8	Tarmo	yeah
9	Frank	and Australia for almost half a year , so I am used to speak
10		English in the beginning like
11	Tarmo	yeah
12	Frank	when I came out of school and I had to talk English every
13		day and I had no-one to talk to in German , **caused stress**
14		**to me I couldn't find the right vocabulary and to**
15		**describe everything and**
16	[…]	
17	Tarmo	do you think it's more important to be understandable or
18		to be correct or do you think you cannot separate those
19		two things
20	Frank	**I don't care too much about my correct English**
21	Tarmo	yeah

In Extract 56, Frank says that he found it stressful when he could not find the words he needed to communicate (lines 13–15) after school in an English-speaking country. He claims that he does not find speaking English stressful anymore (line 4), even when he is at a loss for words. While stress is not a

synonym for fear of face loss, Frank's comment in line 20 confirms that the correctness of his speech is not something he worries about. For Frank, the thought that sometimes he may have to search for words has become normalized, and his fear of being evaluated has evaporated. A similar view was expressed by Roope, another student participant, in Extract 57.

Extract 57 (Interview data 2.2)

1	Tarmo	joo , tota , viel sellanen , jos siä aattelet mikä on niinko
2		tärkeetä tai hyvää englantii , onks sun mielipide asiast
3		niiku muuttunu vuosien varrel jotenki että
4	Roope	no **se nyt on ehkä enemmän, enemmän menny siihen**
5		**että, SE VAAN ETTÄ puhuu ja yrittää ilmasta sen asian**
6		nii se on ehkä tärkein **just tälläsis tilanteis** ku ei tarvi
7		tuottaa mitään kirjallista tekstiä eikä muuta
8	Tarmo	joo
9	Roope	se on sit eri juttu , sitte täytyy ehkä miettiä enemmän
10		kielioppia, mut täs nyt kuhan tulee ymmärretyks

1	*Tarmo*	*yeah , well , another question , if you think about what is like*
2		*important or good English , has your opinion about it like*
3		*changed over the years somehow*
4	*Roope*	*well now it's maybe more , **become more that** , **THE THING***
5		***THAT YOU JUST** talk and try to express the idea so that*
6		*is maybe the most important thing in **this kind of situation***
7		*when you don't need to produce any written text or anything*
8	*Tarmo*	*yeah*
9	*Roope*	*it is then a different thing , then you may have to think more*
10		*about the grammar but here it's enough that you're understood*

According to Roope, his attitude is that the most important thing is that one says at least something to try to express one's thoughts (lines 4–5). With "this kind of situation" (line 6), Roope is probably referring to spoken interaction, as he contrasts it to writing, where he considers grammar to be more important. Over the years, then, Roope's idea of a good English speaker, his ought-to language self, which informs one's proficiency face claim, has changed from correctness-oriented to more understandable-oriented.

Roope and Frank are both fairly young, both under 30. The two Finnish social services lecturers, who are already middle-aged, describe the same phenomenon over a longer period of time. The first of them, Otto, describes it in Extract 58.

Extract 58 (Interview data 2.2)

1	Tarmo	no onks sul käsitys , niin paljon joudut käyttää englantii
2		nii tavallaa siitä että mitä on hyvä englannin kieli tai
3		mikä on tärkeää englannin osaamisessa miten se on
4		muovannu sun käsitystä tää runsas käyttö
5	Otto	mä uskon että tavallaan mun kielitaso on **englannin**
6		**keskitasoo parempaa** et mä kuitenki jos jotain,
7		ensinnäkii se että **mä uskallan käyttää sitä ja sitte se et**
8		**jos mä en jotain sanaa just sillä hetkellä löydä niin**
9		**multa löytyy sit kuitenkin semmonen variaatio ja**
10		**kaikkee muuta et mä pystyn selittää sen jotenkin niin**
11		**kun kiertoteillä , sit ei tarvikkaan sitä erikoistermiä**
12		**löytää**

1	*Tarmo*	*well do you have an idea , as you have to use English a lot like*
2		*about what good English is or what is important in knowing*
3		*English how has it shaped your concept that you have used it*
4		*so much*
5	*Otto*	*I believe that in a way my language level is **above average** so*
6		*that I anyway if anything , first the fact that **I dare to use it***
7		***and then that if I don't know some word at a certain***
8		***moment so I can find an alternative and all kinds of***
9		***things so that I can explain it by circumlocutions , so***
10		***one doesn't need to know the specialized term***

Lines 5–12 (Finnish)/5–10 (English) in Otto's comment can be called a description of his self-efficacy belief - i.e., the ability "to organize and execute the course of action required to produce given attainments" (Bandura 1997: 3) – if he finds himself unable to retrieve the ideal lexical item when speaking English. Otto explains that his English is "better than average" (line 5–6 Finnish and line 5 English), he dares to use it (line 7 Finnish and line 6 English), and he believes in his ability to use circumlocutions to the extent that knowledge of a specific term is unnecessary (lines 9–12 Finnish and 8–10 English). Otto seems to believe that his strategic language competence can make up for potential gaps in his lexical competence. Furthermore, in this light, it seems that English language proficiency is not a face issue for Otto. He is confident about his skills and considers them above average, so mostly he does not feel that his image as a language user is vulnerable. Quite the contrary: it could be concluded that his self-efficacy belief that he uses adequate circumlocutions functions as a proficiency face-building element.

Otto's language concept seems to have changed over the years. This also seems to have changed his desired language self, i.e., what kind of language skills he finds desirable. For example, the ability to use circumlocutions instead of knowing the exact lexical referents for things is something he seems to value in his language skills.

Some participants commented on how practice makes one feel less vulnerable to the fear of errors. This could be seen particularly in the two social services lecturers' comments, but also in the comments of those students who had relatively wide experience of using English (e.g., working in an international environment). The following extract, 59, is from an interview with Marie (female, L1 Finnish), the other social services lecturer.

Extract 59 (Interview data 2.2)

1	Tarmo	onks vuosien varrel sun käsitys siit mitä on hyvä englanti
2		tai miten englantii pitää puhuu , nii onks se muuttunu
3		mitenkää kouluajoist
4	Marie	no ehkä sillee et on tullu niinku sillai armollisemmaksi
5		itsellee et **et keskeistä on se että tulee ymmärretyks eikä**
6		**niinkään se että että onko nyt fraasit oikein tai tai näin**

1	*Tarmo*	*over the years has your concept changed about what is good*
2		*English or how English should be spoken , has it like changed*
3		*since your school years*
4	*Marie*	*well maybe in that that I've become like **more merciful***
5		***towards myself so that it's essential that you make***
6		***yourself understood and not so much that if the phrases***
7		***are correct or anything***

For Marie (Extract 59), what is important seems to have shifted over the years from correctness to understandability, like the student, Roope, described in Extract 57. In Marie's comments, the statement "phrases are correct" (Extract 59, lines 5–6 Finnish and lines 6–7 English) can be interpreted as a requirement for idiomaticity, which she reports having given up. Marie's ought-to language self seems to have evolved and has become more relaxed in terms of correctness and idiomaticity. What is worth noting here is that this change has taken place with Marie even though she does not have as much experience of using English as Otto has, or of spending such long periods in a native-speaker environment as Frank. It seems that change can also take place gradually over the years along with a mature person's better self-esteem despite small amount of practice in language.

I have experienced similar development myself, which is seen in Extract 60 from my language memoir, which I wrote in about 2010 describing an experience I had had in the 1990s. The following is a translation of the Finnish original.

Extract 60 (Instrospective data 3)

1	In In my late twenties, when I was working as a teacher of English in a Finn-
2	ish business college, I worked for a few weeks on a work placement at a glass-
3	works. One of my duties was to act as the interpreter between the Irish train-
4	ers and the Finnish mechanics in the commissioning of a new machine. With
5	very little preparation, **I had no idea what to call many of the machine parts**

6	**in Finnish, machine parts that the Irish trainer mentioned**. So, often during
7	the interpreting, I asked the Finnish mechanics what they would call certain
8	components in Finnish. Often they had no ready answer, and it ended up
9	with the mechanics and me putting our heads together and coming up with
10	new terms. I considered this a result of my lack of expertise and English skills.
11	**I was surprised when my supervisor in the glassworks later informed me**
12	**that the mechanics had given positive feedback about me, particularly for**
13	**including them in negotiating what they wanted to call these machine**
14	**parts.** That was actually the only specific detail in the feedback that the su-
15	pervisor mentioned in the short feedback session he gave me, although I had
16	had numerous different duties during the work placement.

In Extract 60, as an appointed interpreter, my ought-to language self and ideal language self informed me that I should have known most of the words I needed in my interpreting job. I was, after all, taken on for the work placement as an English language specialist. Although the words I failed to produce were Finnish, not English (lines 5–6), for me, they were implicitly simply Finnish counterparts of the English words, and so knowing them was part of my English proficiency. The face loss I felt was certainly the result of not knowing enough English and not, for example, ignorance about that field of engineering. After hearing the feedback (lines 11–13), I learned that I had not, after all, lost face in front of the mechanics, but quite the contrary. Although my image as a human dictionary had not been boosted by my action, my language skills had evidently not been what the mechanics had been orienting to; instead, they appreciated the fact that I had included them in a language-related activity, choosing or creating Finnish concepts. My momentary face loss was based on four assumptions: (1) that knowing the English-Finnish names for the parts of the machine was an essential part of my language skills, i.e., they formed part of my language self; (2) that the mechanics also shared this expectation and expected me to translate the names of all of the machine parts fluently and correctly; (3) that negotiating over the Finnish translations with the mechanics indicated my poor language proficiency; and, (4) that in that situation the mechanics would orient to the language particularly from my language proficiency point of view, i.e., they would be paying attention to my language skills. The first of these was based on the ought-to language self of an inexperienced language professional, and the remaining three were based on false assumptions about my interlocutors' expectations. Now, almost three decades later and a more experienced user of English, I understand that the original requirement I had implicitly set myself was unreasonable and even harmful; there is no way that someone who has not studied the stages in glass production could possibly know the right terms for the parts of the machines that are used without having studied the process carefully. My ought-to language self seemed to be very different from the one in Extract 46, above, when I allowed myself as an L2 speaker to experiment with the language in the summer camp with native speakers. At the summer camp, my role was that of a foreigner among native-speaker collegues, while in the glassworks, my role was that of a language expert. This finding is in line with Chick (1996: 36), who found that language teachers do proficiency facework on their own face in the classroom, which I discussed above in Section 2.7.1. Both

my own example and Chick's finding indicate that it is not only one's absolute level of language skills that causes face concerns but also the expectable level in relation to one's role in the situation, i.e., the teacher in the classroom is expected to know much more. This role-dependency of face wants resonates with the above-discussed concept of social identity face (Spencer-Oatey 2002: 540), the desire "to acknowledge and uphold our social identities or roles" (ibid.). One's role in a situation as a language teacher or a language expert sets high requirements for one's ought-to language self. The other half in Spencer-Oatey's model, quality face, which more readily looks a higher-level term for proficiency face, cannot alone explain the difference in my face perceptions between Extract 47, where I felt I was allowed to experiment with the English language, and Extract 60, where not knowing the Finnish terms for glassworks machine parts first seemed to be a proficiency face loss.

In addition, I now understand that what I lacked in the glassworks was rather engineering knowledge and knowledge in Finnish of the names of the components. Thus, over time, both my view of the role of English skills in the situation and my idea of my ought-to language self have changed. Now, when a large part of my work is – and has been for decades – teaching English in engineering degree programs, I have long ago given up the requirement that I should be a human dictionary of specialized engineering vocabulary. If I ended up in a similar situation now, my ought-to language self would be different, and my assumptions of my interlocutors' expectations would also be different.

The experience of using L2 over time thus seems to diminish the face threat one experiences in different respects. First, one's successful experience of using the L2 improves one's self-efficacy belief. Second, in getting this experience, one has been forced to communicate to such an extent that paying constant attention to face concerns linked to the exposure of one's language skills to evaluation has been impossible. Third, this experience has changed one's language concept, i.e., one's concept of what the important features of one's language skills are, which, in turn, fourth, is linked to one's desired language self, i.e., "in what way I want to speak this L2". This new, more relaxed, desired language self is then what lies behind the new, lighter, proficiency face concerns. Experience in using an L2 over time thus works on proficiency face from different directions.

In sum, along with the fluency that comes with experience of L2 use, one's ought-to language self and desired language self move from being formally proficient toward being communicatively competent and strategically wise. Both the changed language self that derives from the experience of successfully communicating and the ensuing different basis for proficiency face make proficiency face overall less vulnerable.

Awkward feelings because of speaking "too well"

A very different source for fear for face loss was reported by a participant in the student workshop where the face threat did not derive from incorrectness of

language but something whose nature seems almost opposite. See Heikki's comment in Extract 61, which comes from the end of his interview.

Extract 61 (Interview data 2.1)

1	Tarmo	mitäs tota sit tota , jos siä itse puhut nii puhut siä
2		tarkotuksellisest hitaammin jos siä puhut englantii nii et
3		toinen ymmärtää, joo
4	Heikki	ihan niinku sellast , emmiätiiä se on vähä , tällänen
5		kulttuurijuttu vai mikä se on mut ei oikee niinku toi
6		**ääntäminen on niiku toisenlaist et miten se pitäis**
7		**ääntää , se tulee vähä niinku suomalaisittain**
8	Tarmo	joo
9	Heikki	nää englannin sanat , **nii tulee vähä sellanen hölmö olo**
10		**ku alkaa niinku ihan tosissaa niiku englantii**
11		**puhumaan silleen niinku sit PITÄIS puhuu**
12	Tarmo	ööhm , mist se hölmö olo johtuu
13	Heikki	en miä nyt tiedä, **kai se on tää ku suomen kieli on tät**
14		**tälläst ja englanti on sit sellast ni**
15	Tarmo	tota , siis se hölmö olo tulee silloin jos niinku äännät ,
16		niinku yrität ääntää tavallaan englantii ihan hyvin
17	Heikki	**ääntää kunnol joo**

1	*Tarmo*	*what then if like , if you speak then do you speak more slowly*
2		*on purpose if you speak so that the other person understands*
3		*yeah*
4	*Heikki*	*just kinda that , I don't know , it's kinda , a cultural thing or*
5		*what it is but not really like the **pronunciation it's like***
6		***different from how it should be pronounced , it comes like***
7		***in the Finnish way***
8	*Tarmo*	*yeah*
9	*Heikki*	*these English words , **so you get that kind of awkward***
10		***feeling when you start seriously speaking English the***
11		***way you SHOULD speak it***
12	*Tarmo*	*ehm , where does the awkward feeling come from*
13	*Heikki*	*I don't really know , **maybe it's 'cos the Finnish language***
14		***is like this and English is like that***
15	*Tarmo*	*well , so the awkward feeling comes when you pronounce , like*
16		*try to pronounce English very well*
17	*Heikki*	***pronounce well yeah***

In Extract 61, I ask Heikki whether he alters the speed of his speech to accommodate his interlocutor (lines 1-2), and in answering he moves on to another topic. He says that his speech on the video is pronounced with a Finnish accent (lines 6–7 Finnish, 5–7 English) and that if he starts pronouncing English more correctly,

he feels "awkward" (line 9 in Finnish "hölmö olo," lines 8–9 in English an "awkward feeling"). We did not elaborate in the interview on what kind of differences he finds between his own way of pronouncing English and the way he considers English should be pronounced. Considering that Heikki's style of speech is very calm and his intonation could even be considered monotonous, he could be referring to a more animated way of using his voice and/or more carefully pronounced sounds. Heikki refers to differences between Finnish and English pronunciation in lines 6–7, 13–14 and 17 in the Finnish version, 4–6, 13–14 and 17 in the English version.

Heikki's comment does not refer directly to his interlocutors, although that was in my original question; he claims that he uses Finnish-style pronunciation to avoid feeling awkward. Heikki's dilemma seems to be that he finds he could speak English more the way "one should speak it," which ought to improve his proficiency face, but such an improvement seems to make him feel awkward, which is why he avoids it. Heikki perceives a contradiction between how he believes English should be pronounced and how he pronounces it. Still, the possibility of pronouncing English in the way that he finds suitable forhimself seems to be more important to Heikki than potential proficiency face loss due to his strange pronunciation. This finding is in line with Virkkula and Nikula's (2010: 262) finding that one Finnish speaker was ambivalent about speaking English in a Finnish way; on the one hand, it was undesirable, but on the other hand, speaking in what seemed to them a fancy way was considered to be pretentious.

5.2 Other's proficiency face

The impossibility of tactful blindness in cases of non-understanding, and other related face concerns

With regard to the other's face, the question of quality of speech or failure to communicate as the source of face threat, which was discussed above in connection to one's own face, is simpler. This is because in most situations, even if we do pay some attention to those features of our interlocutor's speech that we find sub-standard, we tend not to show it, as there is no reason for doing so. Tactful blindness is a default strategy in such cases. With understanding problems, on the other hand, showing that we cannot understand the other's speech may be unavoidable. Depending on the context and the fragility of the situation, we may be able to adopt a let-it-pass strategy and hope that the incomprehensible item is redundant or will become understandable later. If this is not the case, however, we may have to express our non-understanding explicitly. Like with others' speech, another participant may always opt not to show their face threatening evaluation of the speaker's language quality, but if the participant finds the other's speech incomprehensible, revealing one's inability to understand may be unavoidable.

Building shared understanding is a collaborative project and it may not be clear whose – if anyone's –proficiency face is threatened in problems of understanding. Is it that the speaker is failing to communicate well enough, or is it that their interlocutors, with their limited proficiency, are incapable of understanding speech that other proficient speakers would find easily comprehensible (which is what happened in the Russian trade fair incident that I described in chapter 2.2.6, page 32). However, in certain situations, for example, when a participant finds that the speaker's proficiency is lower than their own, the participant might assume that the interlocutor is taking the blame on themselves for any non-understanding.

There was one incident when a participant in the student workshop commented on her fear for other's face if she expressed non-understanding. This is reflected in the following interaction scene, in Extract 62 (which is presented more extensively in Extract 74 and analyzed in more detail in Section 5.4.1 below).

Extract 62 (Interaction data 1.1a)

1	Monika	and I guess those how do we do those@ , ehm
2	Suvi	take how , this dimension
3	Monika	the lower line should be , one with the roof , doesn't it/
4		on those towers
5	Suvi	**what can you say again**
6	Monika	I guess the lower line of the tower, the roof of the towers,
7		it's one with rooftop , of the , main , don't you think/ looks
8		like it
9	Heikki	{Jos mä nyt [ymmärrän]}* (Finnish) *If I now
10		[understand]*
11	Monika	[what] are you saying, I DONT UNDERSTAND one word
12	**(pause 2 secs)**	
13	Suvi	**I'm not sure what you mean now**
14	Monika	I mean , I mean that if one line ehm where the roof starts
15		from the towers , you see [that]
16		*(the situation moves on)*

Extract 63 (Interview data 2.1)

1	Tarmo	okei mitäs siin tapahtu
2	Suvi	@miä en ymmärtä iny yhtää mitä se halus sanoo, miä olin
3		ihan pihal@
4	Tarmo:	[…]minkälaisii tuntemuksii sit tollases tilantees tulee
5	Suvi	no sit mul tuli sellanen, et tai niinku. **niinku miä en kehtaa**
6		**sataa kertaa kysyy silt et mitä koska jos SIL tulee taas**
7		**sellanen olo et se selittää huonost** vaikka nyt **oli varmaa**
8		**vaa ihan täysin siit kyse et miä en ymmärtäny**

1	*Tarmo*	*okay, so what happened here*

2	Suvi	*@I didn't understand at all what she wanted to say, I was totally*
3		*lost @*
4	Tarmo	*[…] what kind of feelings do you get in that kind of situation*
5	Suvi	*well I got the kind of feeling that **I am ashamed to ask her a***
6		***hundred times as because if SHE gets the kind of feeling***
7		***that she is explaining it badly,** although **it was surely just***
8		***the case that I didn't understand***

In Extract 63, starting from line 5 Suvi describes her unwillingness to request a clarification or repetition. In Extract 62, it can be seen that, after all, she repeats the expression of non-understanding (line 14) after a two-second pause in the conversation (line 13). She claims she was unwilling to ask outright because she did not want to show Monika that Monika's language was incomprehensible. Naturally, in line 7, "explains it badly" may refer not to language skills but just to the way she formulated her thoughts.

However, later, I sent this interview clip back to Suvi by e-mail and asked her whether her fear of showing that she thought Monika was "explaining badly" was more about Monika's professional expertise (professional face) or her language skills (language-proficiency-related face). Suvi replied that it was "probably more about the language". At least from Suvi's point of view, her facework was directed toward Monika's face as a user of English, and it was this that Suvi was afraid of threatening by repeating her requests for clarification and her expression of non-understanding, although at the same time she considered her own limited understanding skills to be the reason for her failure to understand (Extract 63, lines 7–8). Despite Suvi's claim that she could not repeatedly ask for clarification without threatening Monika's face as a language user, in the end she was compelled to do so because the communication situation was fragile: Suvi needed to understand in detail how Monika wanted her to change the drawing. Suvi's sensitivity to Monika's face as a language user did not derive from what Suvi claimed to consider the real reason for the non-understanding, i.e., her own understanding skills. Suvi was afraid to let Monika see that she could not understand her because Monika would then come to the conclusion – in Suvi's opinion wrongly –that that she was incapable of expressing herself clearly. Consequently, if we take Suvi's commentary about blaming herself for the non-understanding at face value, it can be concluded that a participant may feel sensitivity for another's face even if they think that the reason for the understanding problem does not lie in the speaker's proficiency.

Another, communication-wise similar piece of interaction is from my field notes, presented below in Extract 64 as a dialogue reconstructed on the basis of my notes, which is why it cannot be taken as an accurate representation of the dialogue. The scene took place in February 2016 in France, where I was doing a teacher exchange. In this scene, I was holding a class on intercultural communication at a French university and the other participants, Student 1 and Student 2, were local students whose mother tongue was French. The situation starts with a question that Student 1 asked me.

Extract 64 (Introspection data 3)

1	Student 1	do you play oki:
2	Tarmo	I'm sorry/
3	Student 1	oki: you play oki: in finland
4	Tarmo	I'm not sure what you mean now
5	Student 1	oki:
6		(pause of several seconds)
7	Student 2	he means ice-hockey

In the above extract, in lines 1, 3, and 5, the word 'oki' that the student uttered is transcribed like it is to depict my perception of the situation; I heard the sounds but I could not make sense of the meaning. I remember feeling embarrassed when I found out what his meaning was that I had failed to grasp. The face sensitivity here was not only that "I don't want to show that I think his English pronunciation is incomprehensible"; that was only part of my embarrassment. Naturally, I realized that the reason for my non-understanding was the student's pronunciation of the word with a missing 'h' sound. However, for me, as a language professional, it should not be surprising if a French speaker fails to aspirate an 'h'. I therefore consider that my feeling of embarrassment was also a feeling of shame at my lack of receptive accommodation skills when, as a language professional, I should have been able to respond to the situation. My role as a language professional set my ought-to language self quite high standards as regards my accommodation skills; I wanted to appear as a language expert who can understand different accents and adapt to them, particularly in a class where the topic was intercultural communication. I also wanted to avoid anyone assuming that I would feign non-understanding of a mispronounced word for pedagogical reasons; i.e., that I would pretend not to understand a mispronounced word even though in reality I did understand it – a teaching method which, as a language teacher, I find counter-productive.

The two examples above show that in a communication situation that is so fragile that revealing one's non-understanding is unavoidable, the face concerns of the interlocutor are more complex than "Her/His speech was too bad to be comprehensible and I feel embarrassed that I have to show him/her that". In Extract 63, the hearer claimed that her own understanding skills were to blame, but still, she considered that expressing non-understanding might cause the other, i.e., the speaker, face threat (although in fact, as will be shown below in Section 5.4, the speaker, Monika, did not feel her face threatened). In the second example (Extract 64), the fear of threatening the other's (speaker's) proficiency face merged with the interlocutor's (the hearer's) own face concerns in that situation. This time the proficiency face concern merged with the professional face concerns of a language expert. In this latter case, then, the face concern had three linked elements: (1) my professional face as a language expert/teacher with (2) an ability to make receptive accommodation, and my fear of (3) threatening the student's proficiency face.

Perceptions of others' proficiency face needs when the other is struggling or reticent

One situation in which a participant reported that they had found the other participant's face needs prominent is when they saw the other struggling to formulate an expression. This was partly discussed in Section 4.1 in connection with the co-construction of turns. Also, in Extract 52 (page 147-148), one participant described how their interlocutors' difficulties caused a feeling of empathy and made the word retrieval feel like a shared project. In the interviews, the participants were specifically asked how they felt about offering support in cases of word search when the interlocutor seemed to be struggling. The answers revealed differences in sensitivity toward others' face needs, partly due to differently perceived roles in the interaction and the ensuing obligation to support others.

In the following, Extract 65, Erich (male, L1 German), one of the participants in the student workshop, describes how he takes other participants into account.

Extract 65 (Interview data 2.1)

1	Tarmo	this unsafety err that you said that you sometimes feel do
2		you , only feel it on yourself or do sometimes also feel-
3		see that other peoples feel the same way
4	Erich	yeah I think so I think so
5	[…]	
6	Erich	and so , I noticed that maybe the English- the Finnish
7		guys , or women
8	Tarmo	yeah
9	Erich	already had-had these problems
10	Tarmo	yeah
11	Erich	this , meaning or , this you-**you see it in their eyes that**
12		**they are a little bit unsafety**
13	Tarmo	yeah
14	Erich	**they they want to say anything but have no words for**
15		**say it**
16	Tarmo	yeah , do you often follow people's eyes when you spoke
17		to them, you said that you see in their eyes that they are
18		unsafe
19	Erich	yeah yeah I think it's important to , when when you when
20		you , DISCUSS or maybe speak with with erm anyone
21		else in the group **it's a erm important to look in your**
22		**eyes , and maybe , can't say ,(nn) find the word in**
23		**English, mimik or kinestik**

In lines 21-23 of Extract 65, Erich describes how he follows his interlocutors' body language when he suspects that they might not understand him (lines 11–12 and 14–15). While the main focus of this kind of observation is on ensuring mutual

164

understanding, it also functions as proficiency facework. As Erich has described above in Extract 44 (page 138), he finds it intimidating when others look at him with a facial expression that shows non-understanding. On the other hand, by following his interlocutor closely, Erich saves the interlocutors from the face threats that non-understanding might cause. Erich seems to assume - rightly - that in many situations people are likely to feign understanding. Observing the interlocutor as he does, Erich seems to aim to integrate different proficiency face needs. He avoids being a source of non-understanding avoids putting the interlocutor in the position of not understanding.

Roope (male, L1 Finnish), on the other hand, as he describes it in Extract 66, seems to fail to understand both others' lack of proficiency, and then their ensuing face protection needs. Roope's proficiency was at a higher level than that of the more reserved students.

Extract 66 (Interview data 2.1)

1	Tarmo	joo , no tuntuuks muuten tota , niiku kielitaidon kannalt
2		sillee ku sä oot itse aika sujuva puhuja että , tuliks sulle
3		semmost mielee missää vaihees et sun pitäis jollain tapaa
4		TUKEE jotain muuta jolla on vaikeempi ilmasta itteään
5	Roope	no en miä tiedä , siis minust tuntu **että kaikki kyl osas**
6		**ilmaista asiasa jos ne halus että**
7	Tarmo	joo
8	Roope	ei ne ois varmaan tarvinnu tukee
9	Tarmo	joo
10	Roope	**ehkä just jotaa sanoi sit jos joku ei tienny nii sit yritettii**
11		**keksii mikä se on**

1	*Tarmo*	*yeah , well do you find that like , like from the language*
2		*proficiency point of view as you are quite a fluent speaker that ,*
3		*did it come to mind at any point that you should somehow*
4		*SUPPORT someone else who has more difficulties expressing*
5		*themselves*
6	*Roope*	*well I don't know , so I think that **everyone could express***
7		***themselves if they wanted to***
8	*Tarmo*	*yeah*
9	*Roope*	*I don't think they would have needed support*
10	*Tarmo*	*yeah*
11	*Roope*	*maybe just some words then if someone didn't know so then we*
12		*tried to figure it out*

In Extract 66, from the student workshop data, Roope is replying to my question about offering help. If he felt that my question (lines 1–4 Finnish, 1–5 English) was an indirect accusation that he should have offered help, referring to others' adequate skills (lines 5–6 Finnish, 6–7 English) may have been a defense. He claims that it was rather a question of willingness than ability. In the next Extract 67

(lines 4–6 Finnish, lines 4-6 English), he mentions courage when referring to some other speakers' passive roles, and also draws attention (Extract 67 from line 8 on) to people's ability to use English in the evening leisure activities.

Extract 67 (Interview data 2.1)

1	Tarmo	oisko sul jotaa. mitä haluisit kommentoida mistään mikä
2		tulee mieleen täs liittyen englannin käyttöö yleensä *[…]*
3	Roope	no , englannin käyttö ehkä että , **se nyt ois varmaa**
4		**kaikkien kannattanu vaa rohkeesti ruveta puhuu et**
5		**varmaa kaikki ois kyl osannu**
6	Tarmo	joo
7	Roope	**sen huomas sitte illalla sitte ku viettettii siel vapaata**
8		**aikaa nii rupes nekii puhuu englantii jotka ei sanonu**
9		**mitää päiväl**

1	*Tarmo*	*do you have anything , that you would like to comment on*
2		*anything that occurs to you about the use of English in general*
3		*[…]*
4	*Roope*	*well , the use of English maybe that ,* ***it just would have been***
5		***better if everyone had bravely started talking as***
6		***everyone would surely have been able to do***
7	*Tarmo*	*yeah*
8	*Roope*	***you could see it in the evening in our free time so the***
9		***people who hadn't said anything during the day they***
10		***also started to speak English***

While in Extract 67 Roope seems to acknowledge that other people might have been passive in the meeting because of their fear of speaking English, he does not acknowledge the difference in participants' levels of proficiency, nor the difference in the atmosphere of the meeting compared with the informal leisure activities, which at the camp also often included the use of small amounts of alcohol. In line with this, he justified his right not to support the other speakers in the meeting (Extract 66, lines 5–6 Finnish, 6–7 English), claiming that everyone's skills were good enough to participate and it was more a matter of courage (Extract 67, lines 4–6).

Somewhat similarly to Roope, Noora (female, L1 Finnish), from the student workshop, comments on supporting less fluent participants. The following long extract (Extract 68) is from the end of Noora's interview, where I had asked her to comment freely on any topic we had discussed.

Extract 68 (Interview data 2.1)

1	Tarmo	joo (pause 2 secs) okei , oisko jotain mitä sul tulee viel
2		mielee […]
3	Noora	ei, kyllä , miä olin iloisesti yllättyny että oli ees joitain
4		toisia suomenkielisiä jotka niiku uskalsi käyttää sitä,
5		niiku vaikka roope , et se oli tosi , mukava ja tuntuu et
6		se , et se ujous on niin suuri et se vaatii sit sen ,
7		humalatilan et sitä aletaan puhua silleen jossaa saunan
8		lauteilla
9	Tarmo	joo
10	[…]	
11	Tarmo	ku on tommosii ihmisii mitkä ei ota osaa ja sä oot itse
12		aika sujuva et tuleeks sul semmost tunnetta sun pitäis
13		jotenki niinku tukee heit siin tilantees tai että , sun pitäis
14		kysellä heilt jotaa , tai selittää heille enemmän tai jotain ,
15		mitä tahansa
16	Noora	no , tämmösissä tilanteissa se ei tuntunu tarpeelliselta ,
17		se että , **jotenki en kokenu olevani vastuussa siitä että**
18		**kaikki ryhmän jäsenet osallistuu**
19	Tarmo	joo
20	Noora	nii sitte että se käy kyselemään suoraan että mitä siä
21		ajattelet nii se on ehkä enemmän semmonen et jos tietää
22		että , pitää jotenki saada se ryhmä yhtee
23	Tarmo	sanot et täs tilantees ei, ei tullu, mis tilantees se vois olla
24		sitte mahdollinen
25	Noora	**no ehkä enemmän sit jos ite ois niinku vastuullinen**
26		**siitä , niinku päävastuullinen siitä miten se projekti**
27		**onnistuu , nii sit niinku nimenomaa siitä et kaikkien ,**
28		**jotenki se , ääni on kuuluvissa**
29	[…]	
30	Noora	ehkä tuoho vois kyllä
31	Tarmo	joo , sano vaan
32	Noora	se et **miä oon ite ollu joskus hirveen ujo ja sit se et joku**
33		**on niinku osottanu minuu suoraa sormella ja sanonu**
34		**että no mitäs siä ajattelet siitä ni se ei oo kauheen tai se**
35		**tekee niiku siitä tilanteesta tosi ahistavan**
36	Tarmo	kyllä
37	Noora	**ja sit jotenki se että , miä luulen et \NIMI\vois ehkä**
38		**reagoida siihe vähä samalla tavalla**

1	*Tarmo*	*yeah (pause 2 secs) okay , is there anything else that comes to*
2		*mind […]*
3	*Noora*	*no , yes , I was positively surprised that there were at least*
4		*some other Finnish-speaking students who like dared to use it*

5		*like for example Roope , that it was really , nice and it seems*
6		*to be that , that shyness is such a big thing that it requires ,*
7		*being drunk before you start talking somewhere like in the*
8		*sauna*
9	*Tarmo*	*yeah*
10	*[…]*	
11	*Tarmo*	*when there are people who don't participate and when you're*
12		*quite fluent yourself do you get the feeling that you should*
13		*somehow like support them in the situation , ask them*
14		*something , or explain more to them , or whatever*
15	*Noora*	*well , in this kind of situation it didn't seem to be necessary ,*
16		*the fact that ,* **somehow I didn't feel I was responsible for**
17		**ensuring that all of the members of the group**
18		**participated**
19	*Tarmo*	*yeah*
20	*Noora*	*so then starting to ask directly what do you think that maybe*
21		*a bit more if you know that , you need to get the group*
22		*somehow together*
23	*Tarmo*	*you say that in this situation no, it didn't arise , in what kind*
24		*of situation might it be possible*
25	*Noora*	**well maybe more then if I myself were kinda responsible**
26		**for , like the main person responsible for the success of**
27		**the project , then like particularly that everybody's ,**
28		**somehow it , their voice should be heard**
29	*[…]*	
30	*Noora*	*maybe I could add there*
31	*Tarmo*	*yeah , go ahead*
32	*Noora*	**the thing is that I have myself been sometimes really shy**
33		**and then when someone has like pointed a finger at me**
34		**and asked what do you think about this that it is not**
35		**very or it makes like the situation makes you really**
36		**anxious**
37	*Tarmo*	*yeah*
38	*Noora*	**and then somehow the fact that , I think that \NAME**
39		**could react to that in the same way**

In Extract 68, in lines 16–18, Noora explains that she felt no obligation to ensure that everyone's voice was heard in the meeting. In lines 25–28, she further explains that she thinks that kind of obligation is connected to her professional role in the situation, whether she is in charge or not, rather than anything to do with language proficiency. Although my question was really about those who were less proficient language-wise than Noora and Noora's role as a more fluent speaker, she chose to justify her communication style in terms of professional roles; it is for whoever is in charge to decide whether or not everyone's voice is heard, and this implicitly seems to include whether or not linguistic support is given to the less fluent speakers.

Interestingly, three participants that I consider fluent, Frank, Roope, and Noora, while they all at some point in the interaction supported other less fluent speakers (for example, Frank through co-operative turn formation, or Noora by patiently repeating her earlier idea), all neither admitted having taken this role (Noora and Frank) nor acknowledged the need for it (Roope). Frank (Extract 31, page 117-118) interpreted my question about helping another participant merely as translation into German, of which he disapproved. Roope denied (Extract 66 and 67) differences in proficiency levels and saw other participants' non-participation rather as a kind of mental laziness, thus largely ignoring the proficiency face needs of his interlocutors and also his own potential for facework. Noora saw a supporting role as more linked to one's professional role in the situation. In addition, Noora described her own experience of being on the receiving end of very direct methods of including less active members (Extract 68 lines 32–35 Finnish, 32–36 English), which she herself had found made her anxious. The three speakers seemed to be unaware of the subtle, monolingual methods that they used (such as co-operative turn formation) to support less proficient participants or the subtle ways that could be used to invite passive members to join in the discussion. In sum, the facework carried out by these more proficient speakers to protect the proficiency face of less proficient speakers seems to have been fairly automatic, and its existence is often not even acknowledged. On a conscious level, they seemed to consider that the social obligation to support a less fluent speaker derived from a professional or other formal role in the situation, and not from the role of a more fluent co-participant.

5.3 Interface of the professional face and proficiency face

In some of the participants' comments, professional expertise and language proficiency seem to interact or even merge in different ways. I briefly discussed above (related to Extract 64, page 163), how my own professional face as a language professional seemed to merge with the need to protect my interlocutor's proficiency face. However, this can be considered a special case of the merging of professional face and proficiency face because language proficiency is closely linked to my profession. These two aspects also seemed to merge in collaborative meaning-making and the use of non-verbal means, which were discussed in Sections 4.1 and 4.2, respectively. In the following, the participants' perceptions of these two aspects are considered in greater depth.

Pride in shared professional expertise overruling language proficiency face threat

In two interviews in the student workshop data, interviewees raised the use of shared professional expertise to create shared understanding even when the conversation was content-wise inadequate. In the first interview extract (70), Monika comments on the messy interaction scene shown in Extract 69 and Figures 23 and 24. Suvi is a female L1 Finnish speaker, Monika a female L1 German speaker, and Mei a female L1 Chinese speaker.

FIGURE 22   In Line 9 Mei says: "Be careful".

Extract 69 (Interaction data 1.1)

1	Suvi	(nn)
2	Monika	but you have-[you have the drawings we need to do it
3		together]
4	Mei	[(nnn)]
5	Suvi	[(nnn)]
6	Mei	{bitte}
7	Monika	I guess we should do it together because you have the
8		drawing
9	Mei	, or the sketch , so
10	Suvi	err
11	Mei	**be careful because**
12	Suvi	uhum@
13	Mei	@ @ @ *(imitates wiping the paper with hand when drawing)*
14	Suvi	okay this

FIGURE 23   In Line 12 Mei imitates wiping the paper with her hand when drawing..

As can be seen, in Extract 69, there are a few untranscribable turns due to mumbling and speaking quietly. In line 9, Mei wants to warn Suvi about smearing the paper but only manages to utter a very vague expression. She then walks up to Suvi and shows with her hand what she means. In Extract 70 (the same as Extract 10, page 94-95), Monika comments on the interaction scene.

Extract 70 (Interview data 2.1)

1	Tarmo	okay
2	**Monika**	**@not too much talking there @@**
3	Tarmo	but you find- you find mutual understanding there , you
4		understand each other [nnn]
5	**Monika**	**yes but we understand each other but erm just talked**
6		**erm three to four words@**
7	Tarmo	yeah
8	Monika	so that's just exactly thing here
9	Tarmo	so how-how do you make the understanding if it's only
10		three or four words
11	**Monika**	**yeah I guess it's because we KNOW what we talk**
12		**about**
13	Tarmo	yeah
14	**Monika**	**and so if one starts a sentence , and the other ehm could**
15		**guess**
16	Tarmo	yeah
17	**Monika**	**what you mean**
18	Tarmo	yeah
19	**Monika**	**because it is , kind of our profession**

Monika mentions the small amount of speech in lines 2 and 6–5 (Extract 70). She goes on to say very emphatically in lines 9 and 12 on that the shared understanding is reached through knowing the topic. She then describes (lines 14–17) collaborative turn formation, and ends the description with a reference to

171

their shared professional expertise (line 19). Like in the other examples in Section 4.2 where gesturing was discussed, non-verbal means, i.e. showing by the hand, is not mentioned in a negative light. Even though it is not at all surprising that in Extract 69 Mei needs to show what she means, given her inability to express herself in English, Monika seems to comment on this kind of top-down processing of understanding with professional pride. (Suvi's interview, too, reveals that in Extract 69 she did not understand what Mei wanted to say but let the situation pass.)

A similar comment on the significance of shared professional expertise is seen in Extract 71, in which Frank comments on the interaction scene presented in Extract 6 on page 91. Extract 71 is partly identical to Extract 7.

Extract 71 (Interview data 2.1)

1	Frank	I think in situations like that you can even like not create
2		new vocabulary re-, like say couldn't find the word for
3		floor plan , **we could just say ground picture or**
4		**something**
5	Tarmo	yeah
6	Frank	and **then for this group it worked like new vocabulary**
7	Tarmo	yeah
8	Frank	**and everyone knows what we're talking about**
9	Tarmo	yeah
10	Frank	even if that's like you look it up in the dictionary it won't
11		be the right word but **everyone around us would know**
12		**what we are talking about , yeah**

In Extract 63, Frank describes how approximation or creative word formation is used (lines 3–4), and how word coinage can be locally adopted (line 6) because the content that it refers to is familiar to everyone (lines 8 and 11–12). The participants seem to have oriented to the situation rather as a professional endeavor than an event in which language issues are prominent in any way. Getting on with the work in collaboration is more important than using accurate, conventionally acceptable language. The comment can be said to derive from a language concept that allows lexical creativity in a situation in which there is no standard expression available to the participants. Thus, shared professional knowledge combined with approximations or non-standard word choices form an acceptable method of communication which produces successful outcomes. From Frank's point of view, knowing the exact, standard vocabulary is irrelevant, and lack of accurate vocabulary does not constitute a proficiency face threat. This attitude is similar to participants' attitude to the use of non-verbal means, discussed in Section 4.2; in both cases, they view them positively.

The sort of situations that are presented in Extract 70 are, to some extent, also possible in L1 discussions, when participants are unable to retrieve the ideal expression, e.g., the exact professional term, because they do not know or remember it. Using approximations in collaborative meaning-making therefore

resembles meaning negotiation whose roots do not lie in participants' limited linguistic repertoires. This kind of shared meaning-making can therefore be considered non-threatening to participants' proficiency face.

In sum, shared professional expertise seems to have different proficiency face-saving functions: it enables the participants in an interaction to do successful guesswork in top-down meaning processing when others use approximations. Later on, these lexical items may be more than approximations; they can become new, imaginative words or phrases that are locally taken into use. When this idea was put to the participants in the interviews, the embarrassment that Frank felt on account of his lack of the precise, standard term in Extract 71 line 6, or that Monika felt becaue she said so little and used pointing, as seen in Extract 70, was merged with the view that the situation was solved by shared professional expertise. This explanation, furthermore, is expressed with pride rather than with embarrassment: pride in the shared professional knowledge seems to overcome the embarrassment felt over the local lack of standard vocabulary.

Merging of the professional face and language proficiency face as the threatened face

In the discussion above, the professional face and the language proficiency face appeared to be different, with the former gaining the upper hand. There are also cases in the data where these two faces seem to merge.

When face threat is perceived, the face-owner or the interlocutor who makes the threat may find it difficult to define whether what is threatened is the professional face or the language proficiency face. This is seen in the following comment, in which a participant expressed sensitivity toward another's face. Extract 72 is a continuation of Extract 63 on page 161-162, where Suvi comments on the interaction scene in Extract 62. In Extract 63, Suvi explained that in the interaction scene, she was unwilling to repeatedly express non-understanding because she did not want Monika to think she was explaining it badly. My questions in Extract 72 aim to make her elaborate on this unwillingness.

Extract 72 (Interview data 2.1)

1	Tarmo	meinaat siä et sen puolee et se ei osais selittää sit asiaa vai
2		et sen englanti ois huonoo vai et
3	Suvi	niin no ehkä molempii sit et se aattelee just jotain tälläst

1	*Tarmo*	*do you mean that because she couldn't explain the content or*
2		*that her English would be bad or that*
3	*Suvi*	*so well maybe both that she would think just something like*
4		*that*

What Suvi feared was giving the impression that her interlocutor was unable to explain what she meant. In Extract 72, line 3, Suvi seems to be unable to locate her concern in either content or language. Later, when I asked her in an email,

she answered that it was probably more the language side. However, in this face-to-face interview she could not separate the two different aspects. Although Suvi had shown sensitivity toward her interlocutor's face, in the face concern, i.e., the interlocutor's inability to express herself, professional expertise and language proficiency seemed to merge. Monika's ability to explain things properly seems to Suvi to be one, unified skill that Monika possesses, rather than two separate skills, professional knowledge and language skills.

This finding can be seen as parallel to participants' seeming to be proud of their professional expertise in overcoming their ignorance of standard vocabulary, or the use of drawings or gesture, discussed above. The ability to communicate professional content is rather one unified skill, and any feature of communication that enables it (gestures, guesswork based on shared professional expertise, drawing, or collaborative turns) is often considered positive. Such features enable the participants to act as professionals. Although the perception of proficiency face threat lurks in the background when one runs up against problems such as a lack of vocabulary or mispronounced words, which are so clearly related to language proficiency, these become irrelevant in the pursuit of communication goals.

Another case, where my own professional face and proficiency face were merged was in Extract 64 (page 163), where the face threat consisted of three components: fear for threatening the other's face, and shame for not understanding, and shame for being unable accommodate to comprehend the mispronounced word despite my language professional status.

Here I am going to include another example from my language memoirs. In this case, my professional or academic role was that of a researcher (rather than a language teacher), and therefore it is more comparable to the students' experience. This is shown in the introspection data in Extract 73. I was attending a conference. This entry in my language memoirs was made a few days after the conference.

Extract 73 (Introspection data 3)

1	I attended a double conference in Lancaster. It was a two-day
2	pragmatics conference with only invited plenarists, followed by
3	a post-graduate seminar on languages and language learning,
4	where I was to give a presentation on my research.
5	Quite soon after the first conference started, I began to feel anx-
6	ious, which was very unusual. Already during the seminar I
7	tried to analyze my anxiety. I felt awkward and sensed some fear
8	of proficiency face loss. Why was that? I tried to analyze my feel-
9	ings and thoughts. Lately I had participated in several interna-
10	tional conferences, many of them with a clear lingua franca focus.
11	The lingua franca focus brought a kind of freedom to speak the
12	kind of language I feel good about. In contrast, the conference in
13	Lancaster seemed to be very British instead of being interna-
14	tional. But still, as a lingua franca researcher, I should believe in
15	my right to speak my kind of English. Furthermore, the content
16	of the presentations made me a bit worried about my face as a
17	serious researcher. I am after all in Lancaster, the place where

18	pragmatics was born, as they say, and my own research was
19	probably too light-hearted or too far removed from "real" prag-
20	matics. Was it even real pragmatics at all – the seminar seemed
21	to be focusing on a quite narrow strand of pragmatics. I was be-
22	ginning to be worried about my presentation. During the two-
23	day seminar I did not ask the presenters any questions.
24	I assumed that most of the participants who were attending the
25	two-day conference would also attend the third day's post-grad-
26	uate conference. On the morning of the third day, I went to sign
27	up for the second conference, as it was a different event, alt-
28	hough on the same campus and advertised together with the
29	first one. To my surprise I noticed that ca. 90 percent of the par-
30	ticipants were different from those in the first two-day confer-
31	ence. This conference was, also surprisingly, bigger than the first
32	one. However, I felt totally relieved and sure of myself before
33	the presentation. The reason was that I also noticed that the other
34	presenters were talking about more varied topics, and not so
35	much around pragmatics in language use, but rather around lan-
36	guage learning. So, my audience did not consist mainly of gurus
37	in a field where I am a novice. Also, instead of native-speaker
38	British professors, the audience seemed to be very mixed, con-
39	sisting mostly of people younger than me, post-graduate stu-
40	dents who, as far I could conclude from their looks and accents,
41	came from all corners of the earth. What happened to my face
42	concerns? They vanished, totally. I could not tell whether I was
43	more relieved by what the international setting did for my lan-
44	guage self, or by the fact that I was a novice researcher among
45	other novices. Both kind face concerns vanished. I gave a presen-
46	tation on my paper feeling confident.

Extract 73 was written when I was already researching this topic. It therefore includes meta-commentary on face issues. As can be seen in lines 5–19, I found both my image as a researcher and my image as a speaker of English vulnerable. The latter seemed to be particularly difficult for me to understand due to my personal belief in the ELF approach to the use of English. Despite conscious attempts to analyze my own thoughts and feelings, I was, however, unable then and there to decide if I was afraid of losing my language proficiency face or face as a researcher, or both. In lines 22–37, where I describe the context of the second conference, I was similarly unable to decide which face threat I had had or, if both, if one had been more prominent than the other. Also, I recall from the conference that while the face threat seemed to develop gradually on the first day of the first conference, the feeling that the face threat was disappearing seemed to come over me quite soon after the start of the second conference; presumably due to the observations I made about the very different circumstances from those of the first conference.

As the examples show, in a participant's mind, having professional (academic) expertise, communicating successfully as a professional, and speaking good L2 in a professional situation, are attributes or skills that seem to form a continuum, with blurred boundaries between the three. Consequently, the faces that one wishes to promote and one avoids threatening, one's image as a professional, one's image as a communicator, and one's image as an L2 user, partly merge or overlap.

5.4 Two pieces of interaction, various participant perceptions

In this section, my aim is to shed more light on the emic nature of proficiency face. I have already mentioned how differently participants feel the face relevance of a particular situation, but in this section I aim to show this variation in more detail. The first case presents different participant interpretations of a piece of interaction in which shared understanding was reached only after a lengthy meaning negotiation. While each of the three participants was aware of the meaning negotiation, their perceptions varied on how marked they found this situation in terms of understanding, and whether this markedness implied proficiency face issues. The second case presents different participant interpretations of a piece of interaction in which the participants differed even in noticing that one linguistically weaker participant's attempts at participation were ignored. They also differed in their reaction to the noticing of this squeezing out. Figures 24–27 illustrate the scene.

5.4.1   Interaction scene 1: Meaning negotiation, its seriousness and ensuing proficiency face threats

In the following, Extract 74, three participants in the student workshop, Monika (female, L1 German), Suvi (female, L1 Finnish), and Heikki (male, L1 Finnish) are measuring a building together to make a rough sketch of it with measurements. Suvi is in charge of the drawing. (Parts of this interaction scene have been discussed above in earlier chapters). Below in Extracts 75–77, all three participants comment on interaction in Extract 74.

Extract 74 (Interaction data 1.1a)

1	Monika	and I guess those how do we do those@ . ehm
2	Suvi	take how , this dimension
3	Monika	the lower line should be , one with the roof, doesn't it/
4		on those towers **(***Figure 24***)**
5	Suvi	**what can you say again**
6	Monika	**I guess the lower line of the tower, the roof of the**
7		**towers, it's one with rooftop . of the . main . don't you**
8		**think/ looks like it**
9	Heikki	{*Jos mä nyt [ymmärrän*]}* (Finnish) *If I now
10		[understand]*
11	Monika	[what] are you saying, I DONT UNDERSTAND one
12		word *(Figure 25)*
13	(pause 2 secs)	
14	Suvi	**I'm not sure what you mean now**
15	Monika	I mean , I mean that if one line ehm where the roof starts
16		from the towers , you see [that]
17	Heikki	[yeah] yeah

176

18	Monika	with the w , and over that , and I guess that's erm the
19		same measurement , from below erm as the top of the
20		roof
21	(pause 3 secs)	
22	Monika	you see/ *(Figure 26)*
23	Monika	THIS , is the same as THIS *(Figure 27)* line you've drawn
24		that differently
25	Suvi	AAH AAH [okay]
26	Monika	[you need] to go up here/
27	Suvi	this line [is]
28	Monika	[no] that line doesn't exist really you got [[to]]
29	Suvi	[[yeah]] and this line is under the double u
30	Monika	right that's under the double u
31	Suvi	okay we need (?)
32	Monika	the line of the roof from the towers
33	Suvi	yeah, oh yeah
34	Monika	yeah . goes like that right
35	Suvi	now I understand what you think@@
36	Monika	and I guess this line should be
37		[the same as that]
38	Suvi	[the same as that] yeah yeah

FIGURE 24   Heikki is on the left, Suvi in the middle, and Monika on the right. Monika
says in line 4: "on those towers".

FIGURE 25 In line 11–12 Monika says: "I DONT UNDERSTAND one word".

FIGURE 26 Monika says in line 23: "you see".

FIGURE 27   In line 24 Monika says: "the same as THIS line".

In line 5, Suvi asks for repetition. Monika rephrases the content of her earlier utterance (lines 6–8), after which Heikki starts a comment in Finnish (line 9), which is cut off by Monika's expression of her frustration at their using Finnish. This is followed by a pause, after which Suvi explicitly expresses non-understanding. The situation goes on for about two minutes as a meaning negotiation between Monika and Suvi, before Suvi claims (line 36) that she understands what Monika means. In this extract, mutual understanding is gained only after several explicit clarification requests, expressions of non-understanding, and finally by non-verbal means, when Monika shows what she means with her hand and studies the drawing, as shown in Figure 27. The detail in the drawing that they are discussing is shown on the left-hand side of Figure 28 and a photograph of the corresponding part of the building on the right-hand side of the same figure.
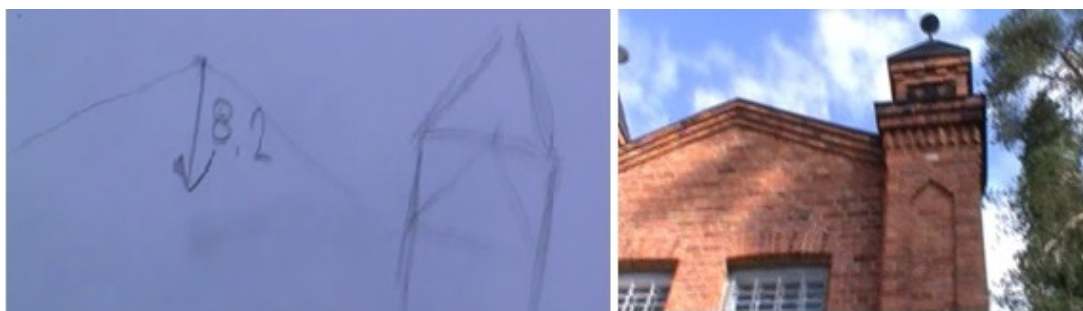
FIGURE 28   The detail in the drawing under discussion and a photograph of the corresponding part of the building

From an analyst's point of view, Heikki seems to be fairly passive in this situation. The pause and Suvi's hesitant tone of voice suggest that she is either processing this hard or is unwilling to admit non-understanding. Monika sounds very

assertive when she explains the problem. In the following extracts (75–78), all three participants comment on the situation after seeing the video clip.

Extract 75 (Interview data 2.1)

1	Tarmo	okei.mitäs siin tapahtu
2	Suvi	**@miä en ymmärtäny yhtää mitä se halus sanoo, miä olin**
3		**ihan pihal@**
4	Tarmo	ymmärsit siä loppujen lopuks missää vaiheesa
5	Suvi	ymmärsin sit sitku se oli hankala ko se oli niin korkee et
6		sit ei pääs näyttämää sit ko mun kuva oli väärä, siis et
7		mitä siä tarkotat, mut ko se kuva oli väärin, nii sit se ei
8		pystyny siitäkää näyttää ja sit se loppujen lopuks se selvis
9		sit ko piirrettii se kuva oikein nii tajusin et se tarkotti
10		niinku et ne on samas tasos mut
11	Tarmo:	[…]minkälaisii tuntemuksii sit tollases tilantees tulee
12	Suvi	no sit mul tuli sellanen, et tai niinku. **niinku miä en**
13		**kehtaa sataa kertaa kysyy silt et mitä koska jos SIL tulee**
14		**taas sellanen olo et se selittää huonost vaikka nyt oli**
15		**varmaa vaa ihan täysin siit kyse et miä en ymmärtäny**

1	*Tarmo*	*okay, what happened here*
2	*Suvi*	***@I didn't understand at all what she wanted to say, I***
3		***was totally lost @***
4	*Tarmo*	*did you finally understand at some point*
5	*Suvi*	*Idid when then it was tricky as it was so high so you couldn't*
6		*show it and my picture was incorrect, I mean I couldn't ask*
7		*what she meant, but she couldn't show it because the picture*
8		*was not right…*
9	*Tarmo*	*[…] what kind of feelings do you get in that kind of situation*
10	*Suvi*	*Well I got the kind of feeling that **I'm ashamed to ask her a***
11		***hundred times as because if SHE gets the kind of feeling***
12		***that she's explaining it badly, although it was surely just***
13		***the case that I didn't understand***

Suvi reports (Extract 75 lines 2-3) that she had totally missed Monika's intended meaning in lines 1–8 in the interaction clip (Extract 74). Her final comment (Finnish lines 12–15, English lines 10–13) suggests that she took the blame for the understanding problem. When I asked about her feelings in that situation, Suvi reported that she could not go on asking for clarification for too long because this might suggest that Monika was "explaining it badly" (Finnish lines 12–14, English lines 10–12). Suvi's hesitation in the interaction video clip and this report of hers support the view that her attention shifted here to the protection of Monika's face as an English user. Suvi thus presents her facework as being directed toward Monika's face as a user of English partly merged with her face as a professional (see discussion above, in Section 5.3). As mentioned above,

Suvi's sensitivity to Monika's face as a language user did not derive from Suvi's claimed perception of what she considered to be the "real" reason for non-understanding (i.e., Suvi's own understanding skills), but from her inability to take Monika's turns as a meaningful contribution. Suvi seemed to become aware that what she was doing would suggest to Monika that Monika has failed to convey her intended meaning.

Monika, in turn, reported in Extract 76 that she had perceived this episode differently, as regards both the reasons for the non-understanding and the proficiency face issues.

Extract 76 (Interview data 2.1)

1	Tarmo	okay
2	Monika	**@there we had it again she just don't understand what**
3		**I meant**
4	Tarmo	yeah
5	Monika	**even though I had a feeling I had put it quite exactly the**
6		**way it was**
7	Tarmo	yeah
8	Monika	**that was quite hard** and then we proceeded to the paper
9		and then just showed it on the drawing board

In Extract 76 (lines 2-3), Monika blames Suvi for this understanding problem. However, she does not comment on the situation in any way that could indicate an orientation to face concerns, nor does she show any reticence in threatening Suvi's proficiency face by e.g., taking part of the blame for herself. Nor does she display any sign of hesitation or uncertainty in the interaction (Extract 74) when they were solving this understanding problem (although I found her original expression that initiated the scene quite unclear, cf. Figure 28).

It can therefore be assumed that Monika does not reciprocally orient to Suvi's face concerns. She does, however, describe the situation as "hard" (line 6). Thus for Monika, the understanding problem was meaningful. Monika's assertive-sounding interaction and her blaming Suvi for the non-understanding can be interpreted as a lack of focus on face matters and a kind of expressive communication logic (see O'Keefe 1988). Admittedly, it could have been defensive facework if she felt, despite claiming otherwise, that the non-understanding was entirely Suvi's fault. Although Monika has elsewhere in the interviews described her insecurity and feelings of embarrassment when using English, here her belief in her own performance seems to remain steady throughout.

This example shows that the markedness of proficiency face in the situation is not experienced in the same way by all of the participants. While for Suvi the fear of insulting Monika's face as a language user seems to have led to her being especially careful, or even – in Gricean terms – led her to consider sacrificing the maxim of clarity, for Monika this scene was another somewhat annoying, difficultcommunication situation with Suvi, caused by Suvi's limited

understanding skills. A third view is put forward by Heikki, who comments on the scene in the following, Extract 77.

Extract 77 (Interview data 2.1)

1	Tarmo	joo , mmites tota TOMMOSIS tilanteis missä tota , ei
2		**niinku sit yhteisymmärryst löydy kovin helpol nii** ,
3		aiheuttaaks se minkäänlaista ahdistust tai stressii sillee
4		vai otat siä yleensä lunkist ja katot et kyl tää täst jotenkii
5	Heikki	**joo siis em ei se nyt ihan heti ala ahistaa et , tossakiin**
6		**vaa annettii niin kauan selittää ja niin monta kertaa**
7		**uuestaa et ymmärs ni kyl se sit perille meni loppujen**
8		**lopuks**
9	Tarmo	joo
10	Heikki	tarpeeks hitaast ja ottaa sit vaikka kuvat käyttöö
11	Tarmo	joo
12		
13	Heikki	**eihän siin mitää ongelmaa ollu sit loppupeleis** , toi nyt
14		oli oikeestaa ainoa kohta just toi noin jos oli niinku
15		jonkinlaist , vaikeuksii oli

1	*Tarmo*	*yeah , so how well in THAT KIND OF situations where well ,*
2		*the **mutual understanding cannot be found very easily***
3		***so** , does it cause you any kind of anxiety or stress or do you*
4		*just take it easy and see that this will be sorted out somehow*
5	*Heikki*	***yeah so well it doesn't make you anxious right away***
6		***so , like there we just let her explain many times again***
7		***and again so it was finally understood***
8	*Tarmo*	*yeah*
9	*Heikki*	*slowly enough and then for example take pictures into use*
10	*Tarmo*	*yeah*
11	*Heikki*	***so there was no problem in the end** , that was actually the*
12		*only part where we had some kind of difficulties*

It is interesting that Heikki, the third participant in the situation, who was mostly silent, claims to have found the situation only slightly problematic in terms of understanding. Heikki denies the interpretation of the situation that I offer him (Extract 77, line 2 "mutual understanding can't be found very easily") by concluding that "eihän siin mitää ongelmaa ollu sit loppupeleis" (line 13 Finnish), "there was no problem in the end" (line 11 English). Compared with Monika, who described the situation as hard, and Suvi, who reported other-face sensitivity on account of the difficulty, Heikki does not seem to perceive that there was any kind of meaningful understanding problem here at all. This means that there cannot have been a serious proficiency face threat, either. Heikki considers that a certain persistence is a normal feature of communication in meaning negotiations and that it is not a cause for anxiety (lines 6–9 Finnish, lines

5–7 English). This implies that in Heikki's concept of communication, meaning negotiations are a normal part of the discussion. It is therefore less likely that Heikki would find this a threat to his proficiency face in the same way as Suvi did. In the next extract, Extract 78, Heikki contrasts pretending to understand and asking for repetition from the face point of view.

Extract 78 (Interview data 2.1)

1	Tarmo	no mitäs sit ku sanoit siit aksentista. että ku saksalaiset
2		puhuu välil. tota semmosel aksentil ettei siit saa selvää
3		siit niitten ääntämisest nii tota. mitens- mitens siä siin
4		tilantees teet sitte niiku et. kysyt siä joskus, pyyät siä
5		sanoo uuestaan tai jotaan
6	Heikki	**on monta kerta sanottu et voit sanoo uuestaa ja**
7		**oommiä pyytän yhtä kaveriaki puhumaan vähä**
8		**hitaamminki**
9	Tarmo	okei joo , se ei oo sinust mitenkää sillee niiku , sä et sä et
10		koe et se on jotenki niiku paha juttu et sä pyydät sit
11		puhuu hitaammin
12	Heikki	ei missään nimes siis
13	Tarmo	eikä se kaveri vaikuttanu loukkaantuneelt
14	Heikki	**siis onhan se nyt. enemmän häpeähän sen on jos miä**
15		**siin kuuntelen enkä miä tajua yhtään mitää mitä se**
16		**puhuu ja miä nyökyttelen vaan kuin sanois et nyt miä**
17		**en tajuu et puhu vähä hitaammi**

1	*Tarmo*	*how about when you said about the accent , that when*
2		*Germans speak sometimes with ehm such an accent that it's*
3		*impossible to understand their pronunciation , what what do*
4		*you do in that situation like do you sometimes ask , ask them*
5		*to say something again or something*
6	*Heikki*	***said many times that could you say it again and I have***
7		***asked one guy to speak a bit more slowly***
8	*Tarmo*	*okay yeah , you don't find it in any way like , you don't , you*
9		*don't find it in some way a bad thing to ask someone to speak*
10		*more slowly*
11	*Heikki*	*by no means no*
12	*Tarmo*	*and the guy didn't appear to be insulted*
13	*Heikki*	***well it surely is , it's more shameful if I listen to him and***
14		***don't understand a word he says and I just keep nodding***
15		***than if I say now I don't understand could you speak a***
16		***bit more slowly***

Heikki considers it quite normal to make requests for clarification or repetition, or to speak more slowly (Extract 78, lines 6–7). He also said that it would be shameful if he was caught pretending to understand (lines 14–17 Finnish, 13–16 English). Heikki's view was rather different from Suvi's when she talked about her reluctance to ask Monika for clarification in Extract 75, and Heikki also showed a very different idea of L2 communication from Suvi's as expressed above in Extracts 17–20. Different concepts of communication may also affect speakers' L2 selves, what kind of communicators they wish to be, and that way, their perceived face claims and sources of face threats.

However, it can be claimed that their interaction in the scene presented in Extract 74 did not match with their commentary, as it was Suvi who attempted to negotiate meaning. In addition to the participants' different concept of communication, their different roles in the situation may also have affected why they perceived the levels of anxiety differently.

Heikki comments on his communication style in the following two extracts. The first, Extract 79, is from an earlier stage of the interview and concerned a different interaction scene, while in the second, Extract 80, we discussed the last interaction scene of Extract 74.

Extract 79

1	Tarmo	tota , pyydän , kommentoimaa
2	[…]	
3	Heikki	**joo ei täs o hirveest , ko on näin paljo naisii omas**
4		**ryhmäs ni kyl ne hoitaa ton puhumisen aika useest**
5	Tarmo	ai jaa siä , tyy-tyydyt niinku tämmöseen sivustakatsojan
6		roolii ihan vapaaehtosest
7	Heikki	joo siis , **muil on niin paljo sanottavaa ni en miä ala**
8		**väkisin ala sinne (pause 2 seconds) omii mielipiteit**
9		**heittämää jos ei oo tarvis**

1	*Tarmo*	*well , I ask you , to comment*
2	*[…]*	
3	*Heikki*	***yeah there isn't much here , when there are so many***
4		***women in my group they do take care of the talking quite***
5		***often***
6	*Tarmo*	*oh yeah you're , you're okay with like this kind of bystander's*
7		*role quite voluntarily*
8	*Heikki*	***yeah I mean , the others have so much to say so I'm not***
9		***going to force my way in there (pause 2 seconds) and say***
10		***my own opinions if it's not necessary***

Extract 80 (Interview data 2.1)

1	Tarmo	joo tää oli viiminen , täst (?) joo , mut tos oli kans se siä
2		annoit naisten hoitaa homman ja
3	Heikki	joo , ihan suosiol olin siin taka-alal

1	*Tarmo*	*yeah this was the last one , here (???) yeah , but here it was the*
2		*case that you allowed the women to do the job and*
3	*Heikki*	*yeah , quite voluntarily I was there on the background*

In Extract 79, Heikki perceives (lines 3–4 Finnish, lines 3–5 English) that "doing the talking" is linked to gender and therefore (lines 7–9 Finnish, lines 8–10 English) he does not contribute unless it is "necessary". In Extract 80, I referred (lines 1–2) to this earlier comment and inquired if this was also the case here. Heikki confirmed this (Extract 80, line 3). This withdrawal or holding back, together with his positive attitude toward meaning negotiations, made proficiency face issues redundant. As Suvi was in charge of the drawing, on the other hand, the communication situation was more fragile for her (cf. Firth 1996; 248), i.e., her exact understanding was immediately visible in the drawing.

A summary of the different interpretations the participants put forward here and of my interpretations of the participants' involvement in this scene based on the interaction is presented in Table 4. On the left-hand side, certain contextual face-relevant features of the scene are listed.

TABLE 4   Roles in the scene, the contextual factors, and proficiency face problems as reported to be perceived by different participants

	Suvi	**Monika**	**Heikki**
Degree of involvement in the situation	*High* (in charge of drawing, understanding-wise fragile task)	*High* (wanted to make a change in drawing)	*Low* (assumed a bystander's role)
Perceived seriousness of communication problem	*Serious* "I didn't understand at all"	*Serious* "The situation was quite hard"	*Not serious* "Finally there was no problem"
Claimed main source of the understanding problem	*Suvi's understanding skills* "was surely just the case that I didn't understand"	*Suvi's understanding skills* "she just don't understand"	-
Claimed attitude towards the meaning negotiation	*Reluctant* "I am ashamed to ask her a hundred times as because if SHE gets the kind of feeling that she explains it badly"	*Implicitly frustrated* "there we had it again she just don't understand what I meant […] even though I had a feeling I had put it quite exactly the way it was"	*Positive* "It is more shameful if I listen there and don't understand anything"
Claimed source of proficiency face threat	Prolonged meaning negotiation threatens Monika's proficiency face.	Suvi's expression of non-understanding strengthened Monika's view of Suvi's low understanding skills but Monika displayed no sensitivity towards Suvi's face needs.	Question of proficiency face is irrelevant because the understanding problem was minor and meaning negotiation is acceptable.
Facework the participant claimed to have done	Hesitation over whether to continue the meaning negotiation to protect Monika's face.	None	None because it's irrelevant (there was no serious communication problem, so no face threat).

As shown in Table 4, the situation is multifaceted as far as proficiency facework is concerned, and looks very different from each participant's point of view. Their role-based involvement in the situation makes the communication differently fragile for each participant. Their different roles, combined with their different language self-concepts (evidently Monika's was stronger than Suvi's), led Suvi and Monika to explain the source of the problem differently. Further, Heikki, partly due to his less involved role, could afford to have a more relaxed attitude toward the meaning-making, which may have made proficiency face issues irrelevant for him in this scene. Finally, as in O'Keefe's (1988) terms, Monika seems to follow either Expressive Design Logic (i.e., focusing on content only) or slightly aggressive facework while Suvi seems to follow Rhetorical Design Logic, (i.e., paying attention to face issues), each of the three participants seemed to have a different perception of the seriousness of the difficulty, the degree of face threat, and the need for facework. The contradiction between Suvi's and Heikki's commentary and their action on the ground, i.e., that Suvi reported unwillingness to start meaning negotiation to protect Monika's face while Heikki saw no face threat, but it was Suvi who explicitly expressed non-understanding while Heikki was silent, can be at least partly explained by the different roles they had in the situation. Suvi's role as the one who was doing the drawing meant that she could not let the misunderstanding pass.

Suvi, above in Extract 19 (page 103), explained that it would be disastrous if she was trying to explain something and the others did not understand it at all because her language skills were not good enough; therefore she might have wanted to protect Monika from experiencing anything similar. Suvi's assumption of Monika's self-protection needs may partly derive from her own experience of proficiency face needs. Although Suvi felt the need to protect Monika's face, she nevertheless persisted with the meaning negotiation, and her hesitation over the proficiency facework did not seem to stop them reaching shared understanding in the end. From Monika's point of view, as we have seen, Suvi's concern seemed unnecessary, as Monika perceived the situation differently.

In sum, a stretch of interaction in which shared understanding is not reached smoothly may be perceived very differently by each participant. The perceived degree of the seriousness of the communication problem, which may be based on different language concepts and ensuing face concerns, may lead to these differences in perception. Furthermore, participants' claimed perceptions of face issues and their interaction in the situation may not be aligned straightforwardly, as other factors, such as their roles in the scene itself, may have an impact on how profoundly they understand their interlocutors.

5.4.2 Interaction scene 2: Exclusion of a participant with lower language proficiency

In the German-Finnish student workshop data, there was one stretch of data, concerned with how the topic was going to be handled, in which an obviously less fluent participant's (Mei's) attempts to express her view were ignored five

times by two of the participants (Monika and Frank). In the interviews, different participants (Erich, Frank, Mei, Roope) reported their different perceptions of the seriousness of this squeezing out and ensuing face threat. Two other participants (Noora, Jenni) reported that they had failed to notice it at all.

This situation is presented below in Extract 81. In this situation, eight students are having a meeting in which they are planning a new use for one of the buildings in the mill museum area. At this point in the discussion, the meeting had been going on for about half an hour, and ideas about using the building as a combination of a paper artist's studio and an open workshop for visitors were taking shape. The positions of the participants are shown above in Figures 5, 6, and 7, on pages 69–70.

Extract 81 (Interaction data 1.1b)

1	Frank	yeah like if he's making good hand-crafted paper , [like]
2	**Mei**	**you can-]**
3	Frank	some special like something
4	Frank	[it's a] bit cooler that's bit cooler like , if you plan a
5		wedding and-
6	S?	[(nn)]
7	Frank	[[print]] a wedding invitation on some handcrafted , paper
8		made at Verla
9	S?	[[uhum]]
10	Frank	>that's bit cooler than< sending an [e-mail]
11	Monika	[definitely]
12	Frank	or buying paper from the store
13	**Mei**	**[(nnn)]**
14	Monika	[also you can] also say you can s-(n) (?) something [[there]]
15		because we have also the storage room
16	Frank	[[yeah]]
17	**Mei**	**so [[[that's now]]]**
18	Frank	[[[I can say]]] like hey I made my own paper for the
19		wedding invitation CHECK THI:S
20	Monika	[yeah]
21	Frank	[that's] pretty cool
22	Monika	I agree [we'll do it]
23	Frank	[yeah I think] that , it should work
24	(pause 2 secs)	
25	**Mei**	**for now [[it's like the]]**
26	Frank	[[maybe like]] back in the old days people from Africa and
27		all over the world come here for s- the paper
28	Monika	@[@]
29	Frank	[@]
30	Jenni	[@]
31	(pause 3 secs)	
32	Monika	for you're thinking grand-scale project

33	Frank	NO THAT WAS when the paper mill still was working
34		they said [they sent]-
35	Monika	[yeah okay/]
36	Frank	the paper to all over Europe and even Africa to cut the
37		land?? (nn) , pretty sure there was (nn)
38	Monika	wasn't there somewhere to bangkok [who (nn)]
39	Frank	[yeah something] like that bangkok or whatever
40	Monika	imported some paper from here [and]
41	Frank	[yeah]
42	Monika	back in the 1990s
43	Roope	[so this-]
44	Frank	[maybe] we can get in touch with those [[people]]
45	Monika	[[@@]]
46	Roope	this handicraft and art could be any paper
47	Frank	yeah I don't think we room to , for
48	Roope	it's kind a bit might be hard if (nnn)
49	Frank	yeah I think it already hard enough to get all the
50		machinery for making the paper in there
51	Monika	so you can you can also say okay in the wintertime and
52		erm they're making a workshop or something maybe erm
53		some artist could also parallelly
54	**Mei**	**[no okay if we make]**
55	Monika	[work and make] some paper for selling
56	Frank	yeah
57	**Mei**	**in winter [no point] no no tourists**
58	Noora	[nn] I think there will be
59	Mei	there will be tourists/
60	S?	*~[nn]~
61	Noora	no not tourists, not very many
62	Roope	(nn you can nn)
63	Frank	so we are pretty much the last tourists for for this year
64	Noora	I don't- do you know Tarmo
65	Tarmo	no
66	Noora	no
67	**Mei**	**so we're just thinking about summertime**
68	Monika	yes but we already thought about [paper]
69	Mei	could have paper over (?) smaller just make paper and just
70		for summertime @@
71	Monika	no the artist could we also say you work as an artist
72	Mei	you need to open this
73	Noora	no I mean in wintertime the artist could work with his own
74		things
75	Roope	yeah yeah
76	Monika	artists'[loft]
77	Mei	[okay]
78	Noora	yeah

In Extract 74, Mei tries to contribute something to the conversation five times, in lines 2, 13, 17, 25, and 54. In the script, square brackets [ ] denote overlapping speech, and it is easy to see how Mei's attempts to take the floor are not respected. She is interrupted three times by Frank and twice by Monika. Mei's fourth attempt (line 25) is after a two-second silence in the discussion, which should be a convenient place for turn-taking, but still she gets interrupted by Frank. When she finally gets to speak, in line 67, it is obvious that she is not now saying what she had tried to say earlier as the discussion has moved on, and instead she contributes to another sub-topic. From the sitting arrangement shown in Figures 5–7 we see that Frank is sitting next to Mei and therefore cannot see her facial expression, especially as he does not turn to Mei any time during this passage, but on the other hand, he should be perfectly able to hear her. Monika, on the other hand, should see Mei's attempts to participate quite well. Mei's facial expression on the video suggests that her anger or frustration grows with every failed attempt to contribute.

This episode can be considered face-intensive, as two speakers repeatedly ignore one participant's attempts to contribute. However, whether the participants consider this episode to be related to language proficiency face depends on whether the squeezing out is considered to be based, even partly, on differences in language proficiency, and whether the difference in language skills is assumed to be a sensitive issue to the weaker participant in the discussion.

The participants' comments on the situation show that they oriented to the situation in different ways. Frank, who interrupted Mei three times, and had been sitting next to her in the meeting, could not have seen her attempts to take part. In the interview, when Frank saw the video clip, I thought that he was slightly embarrassed at how the situation went, which is seen e.g., in his nervous laughter in line 5 of Extract 82.

Extract 82 (Interview data 2.1)

1	Tarmo	okay , erhm what comes to your mind
2	Frank	well mei was trying to say something in the very
3		beginning
4	Tarmo	yeah
5	Frank	**but @I didn't give her a chance to do that actually@@**
6	Tarmo	@ did you notice that you didn't give her a chance I mean
7		of course you couldn't see yourself in the way you see
8		know because you were [both] facing us or
9	Frank	I bet I'm not sure like, I may have noticed that she wanted
10		to say something

Given that, as fellow students, Frank and Mei already knew each other in some way, and given their co-operation in the measuring task and at the beginning of this meeting, Frank must have been aware that Mei's English skills were much lower than many other participants'. However, during the meeting, Frank does

not seem to offer Mei any support but seems instead to focus entirely on the topic. The interview with Frank, shown in Extract 82, continues in Extract 83.

Extract 83 (Interview data 2.1)

1	Tarmo	yeah
2	Frank	**but didn't get that feeling that was like something**
3		**important that she needs enter in right now**
4	Tarmo	yeah
5	Frank	so, yeah nothing **after that I forgot that she wanted to say**
6		**something** , so otherwise I would ask her and, what did
7		you wanted to say
8	Tarmo	yeah
9	(pause 2 secs)	
10	Frank	**and then I STILL don't quite understand what she**
11		**wants , in that situation. like I can't really help her out ,**
12		**or cos I am not sure if anyone really understands what**
13		**her intention is**
14	Tarmo	yeah
15	Frank	cos before that I think we were all on the same page and
16		everyone just was like adding something to that story
17	Tarmo	yeah
18	Frank	and building it up
19	Tarmo	yeah
20	Frank	**she is- I still don't get what her intention to , like yeah ,**
21		**It's-It's hard for me to understand**

In Extract 83, Frank seems to be searching for a justification for having ignored Mei's attempts to get a turn. He claims (lines 2-3) that he cannot understand the importance of what Mei is trying to say. Since Mei was allowed to say just a few fragmentary utterances, there is no chance that anyone could have grasped her intended meaning. From that perspective, it is difficult to see how Frank's criticism of Mei's contribution as lacking relevance is justified, as he cannot know how relevant Mei's contribution would have been. No-one explicitly offers Mei the opportunity to complete her utterance, despite her visible, and failed, attempts to do so. Frank expands his explanation (lines 10–11) with the claim that everyone in the situation must have had a similar view. If Frank was embarrassed to notice his somewhat inconsiderate behavior when he viewed the clip in the interview, denying the potential importance of Mei's contribution might have been some kind of self- justification. It is reasonable to say that in the interaction, Frank used his better proficiency to keep the floor and get the meeting going the way he wanted, although this may not have been intentional.

As discussed several times above, the participants were not participating in the meeting merely as users of L2 English, which is the main viewpoint of the present study, but as future professionals planning a study project. Thus, Mei's failure to participate is not merely, and for participants obviously even not

primarily, a proficiency face loss but rather a professional face loss. The threat that Frank caused to Mei's language proficiency face may have been a side-effect of his own aggressive or dominating professional facework (cf. Domenici & Littlejohn 2006), i.e., Frank's wish to promote his own agenda, even at the risk of excluding other views in a way that might cause offense.

With reference to the discussion in Section 2.7.2, on the idea that a communication strategy can be regarded as either face-saving or face-threatening, depending on the point of view, let us consider Frank's communication posture from the point of view of Mei's proficiency face. Insofar as Frank seemed to orient to the content and did not accommodate to include Mei (or anyone else) in the discussion, he was following a perfectly normal line in regard to others' language skills, assuming that everyone could participate sufficiently, without giving it any special consideration. This assumption and acting accordingly are face-giving as they indicate trust in the other participants' language skills. However, Mei had earlier in the interaction complained that she could not follow the conversation, and Frank's awareness of Mei's inferior language skills might have led to an alternative solution, that is, she could have been given extra attention or support. For example, Frank (or someone else) could have offered Mei the floor in order to include her contribution. If this had been done very explicitly ("Mei, do you understand what we're talking about?"), it could have been face-threatening. However, if it had been done subtly, and if Mei had been addressed indirectly ("Would someone like to add something here? Noora? Mei?"), the face threat would have been nearly non-existent. Offering this kind of help would have given Mei voice, and in this way it would also have promoted her professional face and, by the way, her proficiency face. From the face point of view, this kind of support would have been face-saving and voice-giving in the way that Hynninen (2011) found in her study on mediating, as discussed in Section 2.6.1. In this case, however, Frank followed what seems to be the normal way of interaction, so that no special effort was made to include another, which as a communication strategy choice can be considered face-giving. Since Mei could not participate in the discussion on these terms, this strategy resulted in Mei's exclusion, her loss of voice, and the reduction of both her professional and her language proficiency face.

As can be seen from Mei's comment (Extract 84), when I asked her to comment on the video clip, she focused on the fact of not getting her message through. This clip was shown to Mei only in an e-mail interview, later, so that the situation was less intimidating for her, because I found the clip so potentially face-threatening that I did not like to include it in the face-to-face interview. Below is her answer.

Extract 84 (Interview data 2.1)

1 *(Mei's text in the email answer) Continue to work out the Screenplay. I think I*
2 *was just skeptic about the idea with "Paper make lab", because other groups*
3 *would also have the same idea. But the most people want this. And just for*
4 *summer time is o.k. I need longer for speak and to find the words which I need.*
5 *That why I always have to waited.*

Mei starts the commentary by explaining her view of the topic under discussion (Extract 84 lines 1–2), but in line 3, she claims that she realized she was in the minority and gave up trying to contribute. In lines 4–5, Mei mentions her need for longer to form her turn, which made her wait. According to Mei's commentary, in this situation the others persuaded her to accept the majority opinion. Mei does not explicitly say that the longer processing time that she needed prevented her from voicing her opinion. However, the interaction script reveals that she did try to contribute several times, without success.

Apart from Frank and Mei, three other participants commented on this scene with different views as to its causes and its consequences. The first part of Mei's explanation for giving up, above, that she was content with the majority's decisions, is not entirely in line with how Erich and Noora interpreted Mei's feelings in the situation or with what Roope reported that Mei had said to him. See Erich, Noora, and Roope's comments in Extracts 85–88.

Extract 85 (Interview data 2.1)

1	Tarmo	okay
2	Erich	I think (pause 2 secs) yesterday I noted that- I noticed ,
3	Tarmo	nnn
4	Erich	**okay , the situation , as in my mind already yesterday I**
5		**noticed that , you see , mei maybe get five or four**
6		**startings of the sentence**
7	Tarmo	yeah
8	Erich	and every sentence were breaken so I I thought yesterday
9		that **maybe , know that mei were very angry about it ,**
10		**maybe she she had she had good idea/ and can't say it**
11		**because every sentence are breaken**
12	**[…]**	
13	Erich	I already (pause 3 secs) think about it I noticed that but
14		but
15	Tarmo	yeah
16	Erich	said nothing to to look that(?) said err say or saw , say so
17	Tarmo	yeah
18	Erich	**nothing to that , I only noticed that/ and and look in her**
19		**eyes and and I can saw that she already felt and-angry**
20	Tarmo	yeah

21	Erich	and yeah/ I think there are only one err or maybe two
22		persons are speaking
23	Tarmo	yeah
24	Erich	that
25	(pause 2 secs)	
26	Tarmo	yeah
27	Erich	no no
28	Tarmo	yeah I was thinking ab-about this […]

In Extract 85, Erich says (lines 4–6) that already at the time he noticed that Mei was not given a turn to speak, and he thought that Mei might have been angry at not being given a chance to express her opinion (lines 9–11). Some turns later in the interview, Erich says (lines 18–19) that he could see Mei's resentment in her eyes. When I specifically ask about the significance of insecurity, an idea that Erich had brought up earlier in the interview (Extract 39, page 134), Erich replies as follows, in Extract 86.

Extract 86 (Interview data 2.1)

1	Tarmo	yeah I was thinking ab-about this , being unsure and
2		unsecure , I don't remember which one you used, un-
3		unsafe/ yeah it was yeah , do you think that this could be
4		the reason that Mei was also a bit unsafe about what [nn]
5	Erich	yeah/ when when when you want to say anything , and
6		ehm , and , **begin your sentence and your sentence will**
7		**break**
8	Tarmo	yeah
9	Erich	**you get un-un-unsafety and so you get another try and**
10		**so on erm , and another try and another try and often**
11		**your sentence will break**
12	Tarmo	yeah
13	Erich	erm **you get the meaning that my sentence won't be**
14		**heard now and and and so**
15	Tarmo	yeah
16	Erich	**you won't say anything**

In Extract 86, Erich describes the gradual development of a feeling of insecurity as each successive attempt to contribute comes to nothing (lines 6–11), which ends in one losing hope of ever getting one's ideas heard and therefore ceasing to try (lines 13–16). As can be seen in Figure 5, Erich was sitting opposite Mei and Frank, so he had a clear view of the situation. In Extract 86, Erich goes on to accept the idea of insecurity as an explanation, the same idea he used for himself in the language-proficiency-related feeling of uncertainty. Erich seems to have concluded, then, that Mei's exclusion was related to her limited language proficiency.

The next question is what Erich thinks about the way Frank and Monika interrupted Mei, as shown in Extract 81, and what can be concluded from his comment (Extract 86, lines 11–16) that he had noticed this exclusion of Mei from the discussion and had also judged by Mei's face that she was angry, but that he had done nothing about it. The fact that Erich mentions his own inactivity suggests that he may have felt that, morally, he should have tried to rectify the situation. If the above analysis is correct and Erich thought that the scene was partly due to Mei's lower proficiency, and if Erich assumed that this caused her some kind of negative feelings, we could conclude that, in Erich's opinion, this was a case in which Mei lost her proficiency face, that is, her ability to meaningfully participate in the discussion due to her limited language skills. Another question is, since Erich found that Mei's exclusion was a function not only of her lower proficiency but also of Frank's and Monika's action and also probably of Erich's own reticence, does this scene have moral implications that caused the other participants face loss, too? Erich does not explicitly voice any sense of guilt at not including Mei, but his comment in Extract 85 (lines 21–22) that "there are only one err or maybe two persons are speaking" can be seen as implicitly accusing Frank and Monika of not letting Mei be heard. In that sense, Erich thinks that Frank and Monika used dominating professional facework, which also ends in Mei's loss of both professional and proficiency face.

Like Erich, Noora has the view that Mei's lower proficiency restricted her participation. Noora contrasts Mei's participation with that of Monika, as shown in Extract 87.

Extract 87 (Interview data 2.1)

1	Tarmo	[…] mut tuntuks muuten että täs ois niiku joku jääny
2		niiku kielitaidon takii alakyntee ettei tota , päässy
3		sanomaa kaikkee mitä halus
4	Noora	**no ehkä Mei vähän** koska se, sil oli selvästi vähä että
5		Monika oli paljo innokkaampi en tiiä oliks sillä parempi
6		kielitaito mut se paljo innokkaammin kävi selittämään
7		asioita ja sen ideoita

1	*Tarmo*	*[…] but did you feel otherwise that here someone would have*
2		*left at lower hand due to language skills so that one couldn't get*
3		*her ideas through*
4	*Noora*	***well maybe Mei a little*** *because she , well she clearly had some*
5		*that Monika was much more eager I don't know if she had better*
6		*language skills but she started to explain more eagerly things*
7		*and her ideas*

When I explicitly ask Noora if there is anyone who she thinks came off badly, Noora names Mei, but softens her judgement of Mei's lower skills (Extract 87, line 4) by hedging her statement with "maybe" and "a little". However, she

contrasts Mei's skills to those of Monika, who had been the most active member of the group and had eagerly led the meeting, placing them rather as equals.

Another participant, Roope, evaluated Mei's reticence differently from Noora and Erich in Extract 88.

Extract 88 (Interview data 2.1)

1	Tarmo	elikkä täs on lähinnä Frank, Mei ja Monika
2		okei no siin aika monta kertaa Mei yrittää sanoo jotaa eikä
3		saa suunvuoroo ollenkaa
4	Roope	**joo, se on varmaan yks syy miks se oli vähä pahoilla siin**
5		**jossaa vaihees , jälkeepäin se sano että ei hän ois**
6		**halunnu sit tällee mut se kyl välttämättä saanukkaa**
7		**suunvuoroo**
8	Tarmo	**joo, mistähän se mahto johtuu**
9	Roope	en , en osaa oikee sanoo , et varmaaki **tässäkin Frankilla ,**
10		**nii sil on kovasti siin juttuu , ja se oli just sellainen**
11		**persoona että , sill oli joku juttu ni sit nyt se sano sen**
12		**ettei se oottanu muien juttui**
13	Tarmo	no huomasitsiä täs tilantees tän saman jutun vai tota
14	Roope	kyl no , muu- , JOSSAIN sen kyl huomas että nyt täs on
15		useemmaski vaihees vähä samanlainen tilanne
16	Tarmo	joo , katotaas viel tää loppu
17	*{Videoleikkeen loppu katsotaan}*	
18	Tarmo	**okei , siin meni kaks ja puol minuuttii ennen ku Mei**
19		**sai sanottuu kokonaisen lauseen**
20	Roope	**joo , se on vähän pidättäytyväinen**
21	Tarmo	jo mut sehän yritti sanoo siel välis kuitenkii että
22	Roope	on kyllä että
23	Tarmo	luulet siä et se pidättäytyväisyys voi liittyy siihe sen
24		kielitaitoo jotenkii vai onks se
25	Roope	**en miä tiedä , kylhän se nytkii puhu aika , aika hyvää**
26		**englantii että ei se nyt välttämättä siitkää ollu kii**
27	Tarmo	joo
28	Roope	voihan siin olla kulttuuritaustast kii tai sit , vaikee sanoo

1	*Tarmo*	*so here we have mainly Frank, Mei and Monika*
2		*okay well there are a lot of times when Mei tries to say*
3		*something but she doesn't get a turn at all*
4	*Roope*	***yeah, that was probably one reason why she told me***
5		***afterwards that she was a bit sad there at one point ,***
6		***later she said that she wouldn't have wanted it this way***
7		***but she absolutely couldn't get the floor***
8	*Tarmo*	***yeah , what might have been the reason for this***

9	Roope	I can't can't really say , that maybe Frank had so much to say
10		here , and he was the kind of person that if he had a thing in
11		mind , so he said it and didn't take others' ideas
12	Tarmo	well did you notice in this situation the same thing or well
13	Roope	well yeah , sever- , in SOME I could notice it that now it's at
14		many points a bit the same sort of situation
15	Tarmo	okay , let's see the ending
16		{The end of the videoclip is watched}
17	Tarmo	okay , it took like two and a half minutes before Mei managed
18		to say a complete sentence
19	Roope	yeah , she's a bit reserved
20	Tarmo	yeah but she did try to say in between anyway that
21	Roope	it's that
22	Tarmo	do you think that this reservedness could be linked to her
23		language skills or is it
24	Roope	I don't know , here she does now speak quite , quite good
25		English , so that was possibly not the reason
26	Tarmo	yeah
27	Roope	it could be because of the cultural background or then , difficult
28		to say

In lines 4–7 of Extract 88, Roope reports that Mei told him after the meeting that she was sad that she did not have the chance to express her dissenting opinion. When I ask why Mei had so few chances to express her opinion, Roope suggests (lines 9–-12) that this was because of Frank's interaction style, not taking others' opinions into account, and because Mei was reserved (line 20 Finnish, line 19 English version). Roope seems to find that Frank's communication style included dominant facework. So my description (lines 18–19 Finnish, 17–18 English) of Mei's failure to complete her utterance is in Roope's answer interpreted as a function of her reservedness (line 20 Finnish, line 19 English) rather than the result of others' communication styles. When I suggest that Mei's limited language resources are a reason for her reservedness, Roope disagrees and claims to consider her language skills fairly good (lines 25–26 Finnish, lines 24–25 English). Instead, he suggests (line 28 Finnish, line 27 English) "cultural background" as an explanation. Roope's comment is in line with Sapir's (1949, quoted in Scollon and Scollon 1994: 147) classic view that people tend to regard others' behavior as evidence of their culture, but their own behavior as evidence of their own personality or individuality. In Roope's eyes, consequently, Mei may have lost face as a professional who gets her view voiced, but not as a user of English,

In line with this, when commenting in his interview on another interaction clip in which Mei was included, Roope does not consider Mei's language skills to be a reason for her clarification request. This is illustrated in Extract 89, which follows.

Extract 89 (Interview data 2.1)

1	Roope:	joo tota , tässä nyt on tosiaa tää **tilanne mitä miä äsken**
2		**mietinkii nii** , tää yks tyttö siin
3	Tarmo	mei
4	Roope	mei sano että hän ei, moneen kertaan sano et ku ymmärrä
5		mitä Noora sano siinä
6	Tarmo	joo
7	Roope	**en miä tiiä , miun mielest se oli ihan selkeetä,** jotenkii
8		hän ei pysynyt kärryillä vaa siit vissii […]**en miä tiiä onks**
9		**muilla ollu tos ongelmaa ymmärtää**
10	Tarmo	ei varmaankaa et tota joo
11	Roope	en tiiä et oliko siin sit jotain muuta taustalla
12	Tarmo	joo , mut Mei ei sitten muitten puhetta kommentoinu
13		mitenkää et se ois
14	Roope	**ei , en tiiä oliks siin sitte jotain et ideat ei miellyttäny**
15		**mitä Noora sano ja sitte**

1	*Roope:*	*yeah well , here is the situation I was thinking a moment ago so ,*
2		*this one girl here*
3	*Tarmo*	*mei*
4	*Roope*	*mei said that she doesn't , many times said that like understand*
5		*what Noora said there*
6	*Tarmo*	*yeah*
7	*Roope*	***I don't know , in my opinion it was very clear ,*** *somehow*
8		*she just fell off the wagon I guess […]* ***I don't know if others***
9		***had difficulties to understand***
10	*Tarmo*	*I guess no , yeah*
11	*Roope*	*I don't know if there was something else behind it*
12	*Tarmo*	*yeah , but Mei did not comment on others' speech then that she*
13		*would have*
14	*Roope*	***no, I don't know if there was something like that ideas***
15		***that Noora said did not please her and then***

In Extract 89, Roope says that Noora's speech was quite clear (line 7), goes on to wonder if others had similar difficulties (lines 8–9), and finally suggests (lines 14–15) that it could have been a strategic non-understanding, i.e., she might have pretended not to understand when she did not like the content.

In sum, in the interaction scene, the other members of the group seemed to treat Mei as an equal language user, not modifying their speech because of her or offering her any kind of special support. In this sense, what they did was proficiency face-giving. However, this ended up being a discussion in which Mei's attempt to participate was blocked. Frank did not seem to orient to Mei's language skills in the interview, either. After seeing the interaction clip, Frank could have expressed regret at ignoring Mei's attempts to participate, but there was nothing related to language skills in Frank's commentary. In Mei's own commentary, language skills were mentioned, but she still oriented more to getting her message across. Roope thought that the interaction scene was relevant to Mei's face as Mei did not get a turn, but he denied the relevance for this of Mei's language skills. Thus for Roope, although this scene was about Mei's face, it was not about her proficiency face but rather about her professional face, as Mei could not get a chance to be heard. Erich's answer can be interpreted as considering the episode relevant for proficiency face, because he uses exactly the same expression (*to break sentence)* when describing Mei's unsuccessful attempts as when describing his own experience of feeling anxious due to his limited language skills. Similarly, Noora considered that Mei had difficulties with her language skills.

Table 5 presents the five participants' views on Mei's English language proficiency, the significance of her language proficiency for her exclusion from the discussion, their perception of Mei's emotional vulnerability in the situation, and the face consequences of these perceptions.

Mei was unable to voice her opinion in this case. The participants held different views on the significance of the different language proficiency levels among them. If a participant found no significant difference in the language level, which implied that the exclusion of Mei took place for other reasons, there could not have been a proficiency face threat for Mei. For some participants, the reason for Mei's exclusion was at least partly her language skills. Interestingly, no-one actually voiced the idea that managing to gain a turn would be an aspect of language skills. This was also seen in Extract 87, where Noora contrasts proficiency and initiative when she compares Monika's and Mei's proficiency levels, claiming that Monika was "eager to start"; Noora did not consider that having the courage to start speaking, and thus taking a turn, was part of language skills. This is not in line with the Common European Framework (2001: 86; 2018: 140), which even gives turn-taking in interaction a skill-level scale of its own. Erich was the only one of Mei's interlocutors who thought that the situation arose as a result of language proficiency; he reported noticing resentment in Mei's facial expression during the interaction. Erich seemed to be the only one who saw the potential need for proficiency facework in this situation, although he did nothing in fact to initiate it.

TABLE 5   Summary of different participants' perceptions of the situation

The participants' perception of the scene	Mei	Frank	Noora	Roope	Erich
Mei's lower proficiency was significant	Yes *"I need longer for speak and to find the words which I need. That why I always have to waited."*	(no explicit comment)	Yes *"well maybe Mei a little came off worse because she , well she clearly had some"*	No *"she does speaks now here , quite good English , so that was possibly not the reason"*	Yes *"maybe she she had she had good idea/ and can't say it because every sentence are breaken"*
Exclusion of Mei caused her negative emotions	(No explicit comment)	Only implicitly *"Mei was trying to say something […] but @I didn't give her a chance to do that actually@@[…] but didn't get that feeling that was like something important that she needs enter in right now"*	(No explicit comment)	Yes *"that was probably one reason why she told me afterwards that she was upset there at one point , later she said that she wouldn't have wanted it this way"*	Yes *"I thought yesterday that maybe , know that Mei were very angry about it"*
Nature of face loss, if any	Claimed none	Professional face	If any, proficiency face	Professional face	Both proficiency and professional face

6 DIFFERENT PROFICIENCY FACEWORK POSTURES

As discussed in previous chapters, not only do participants engage in conversation and do proficiency facework in different ways, but their perceptions of contextual features of the interaction also vary. Participants perceive the nature of understanding problems, other participants' language skill levels, and the significance of the skills level difference in interaction differently. In addition, participants may have different conceptions of language, the L2 self, their own proficiency face sensitivities, and awareness of other participants' proficiency face needs. The individual combination of all these differences may result in a more persistent way of doing facework in a certain context. This more persistent way of doing facework, in combination with the above-mentioned underpinnings behind face concerns, I will call here *proficiency facework posture*.

As discussed above, face concerns and facework are situation-specific and can also fluctuate as a situation evolves. Therefore the facework postures described here apply only to one specific communication situation, in Domenici and Littlejohn's (2006) terms, to this one episode, although some of what lies behind them, such as the person's language concept and L2 self, may be more permanent. The context-dependent difference was clearly visible, for example, in my own thinking in Extracts 46 and 56; the former when I allowed myself creative lexical experimentation with the language, the latter when I felt face loss because I did not know the exact terminology. Consequently, by proficiency facework posture I am referring to a larger phenomenon than one instance of facework but smaller than e.g., personal communication style across contexts.

In this study, the proficiency facework posture attributed to four selected participants is based on the demonstration of a certain kind of facework in their L2 interaction, the amount of speech they produced, combined with the views on language, language proficiency, language self-concept and face concerns that they expressed in the interviews. This is done, bearing in mind the reservation that Dörnyei and Ryan (2015: 189) remind us must be made, that language users are not always aware of the beliefs that lie behind their language self-concept. In this way, the concept of proficiency facework posture falls in the intersection of the two research questions of this study, that is, how proficiency facework is

visible in interaction, and what are participants' views on proficiency face. The view of proficiency face that emerges from this, and which the concept of a proficiency facework posture provides, enables us to better view proficiency face as a complex entity in the spirit of complex systems (cf. Larsen-Freeman & Cameron 2008), although it is not my intention to give a full description of proficiency face as a complex system. Also, although the focus in this analysis is on interaction in a one-hour episode, it provides a focus on proficiency face "across incidents" within this episode, the need for which in face studies is emphasized by Wang and Spencer-Oatey (2015: 63).

The student meeting was chosen among the data sets because the participants in this meeting are the most equal from the point of view of both professional status and roles, and commentary is available from all of the participants. The interaction features that were chosen as the components of the posture were based on clear differences between the participants that were observed in their meeting. These features were the amount of participation (in a number of turns) and the preferred styles of proficiency facework. Similarly, the factors chosen in the interview material were where there were clear differences between the participants. These were reported acknowledgment of the significance of different proficiency levels among the participants, reported acknowledgement own proficiency face, and reported sensitivity to other's proficiency face. Finally, the four participants who had the clearest and most systematic differences from each other were selected as epitomizing the four different postures.

In Section 6.1, I will look at the amount of participation, and in Section 6.2 I will present the preferred facework strategies, along with the participants' reported views. The resulting facework postures will be introduced in Section 6.3.

6.1 Amount of participation as a component of the posture

The amount of participation in the student meeting was counted in turns. Figure 29 shows the number of turns used in the meeting by each participant. (It should be noted here that three students who participated in the inventory task, Heikki, Suvi, and Teemu, did not attend the meeting.) Although turns are of different lengths, the number of turns gives a good rough description of each participant's level of activity. The number of turns were counted from the transcript in such a way that turns that consist only of laughter, coughing or physical activity without words were excluded, whereas all other turns, including minimal responses (e.g. 'right,' 'yeah'), were included.
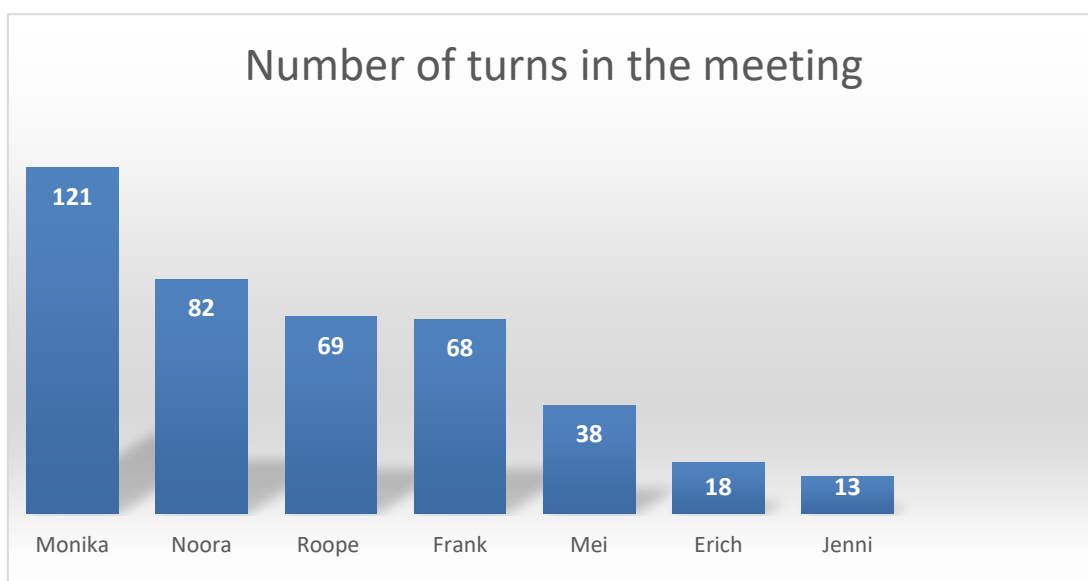
FIGURE 29   Number of each participant's turns used in the meeting

The three participants who used the fewest turns in the meeting, Jenni, Erich, and Mei, all reported concerns about their own proficiency face. They can be said to be less fluent than the other four participants. It can be assumed that the fact that they had fewer turns was not based solely on their avoidance of communication to protect their proficiency face, but probably also on their not being able to process language fast enough to participate, or failing to keep up with the discussion, as they reported in the interviews. Noora, Roope, and Frank, in contrast, were all fluent speakers and did not report any own proficiency face concerns or feelings of anxiety. Their more active participation is in line with this commentary.

Let us first consider the one participant, Monika, for whom the self-commentary does not seem to match the amount of speech produced, if we assume that participants who feel insecure about their language will follow an avoidance strategy which will lead to less participation. Monika was the most active participant, despite her reported "embarrassment for language" (Extract

11). Despite this concern for her own face, and her occasional hesitation and uncertainty in the measuring task, she spoke in this meeting mostly very confidently and eagerly, sometimes overlapping with other participants who were trying to take the floor. Not only did she use more turns than anyone else, but she also produced very meaningful turns, such as the introduction of new ideas ("yeah I think- I think it should be something to do with paper-making or good paper"), control turns to guide the meeting procedures ("okay, so let's write those things down"), and summaries of the discussion ("so meeting room I guess it's also out of the question"). For Monika, avoidance of communication did not seem to be a strategy for facework in the meeting. Quite the contrary. She seems to have adopted the role of unofficial chairperson of the meeting. For Monika, active participation rather seemed to be an opportunity to build her proficiency face, alongside her professional face. She showed that she could act as an efficient ad-hoc chairperson of the working group.

Monika's language proficiency face in the interaction was implicitly acknowledged to be at least comprehensible, because her turns rarely led to requests for confirmation or clarification. Also, the others seemed to quite readily accept the suggestions she made to control the meeting. The interaction indicates that her active participation was adequate for someone who was a well-functioning communicator and even a well-functioning chairperson of a semi-formal meeting. Naturally, it is one thing to understand a speaker and let potential and even disturbing features pass as long as they do not hamper understanding, and another thing to consider the speaker a skillful or resourceful user of language. From the proficiency face point of view, however, any negative thoughts that a participant holds about another's behavior but does not allow to show are not face-threatening; only those negative evaluations that lead to visible features of communication, in this case, e.g., signs that the speaker's turn is not understandable, would be a proficiency face threat. As long as one's interlocutors do not let negative evaluations show, one's face is safe unless one feels there is a threat to one's own proficiency face based on what one thinks one's interlocutors are thinking about one's speech, irrespective of their behavior. In that case, the speaker would have to have enough self-confidence, or poise, to continue their active participation, regardless of what others might be thinking. From Monika's own viewpoint, this is unlikely, as she claimed (Extract 43) to strongly value communicativeness over correctness; considering how successful her communication was in the meeting, it can be assumed that she did not perceive minor faults a face threat.

Like the assignment and the workshop as a whole, this meeting was a chance to promote one's professional face. As far as language proficiency face is concerned, the amount of participation in the meeting can be considered in two ways. On the one hand, active and meaningful participation could promote one's proficiency face because it showed the speaker's ability to function in the language. On the other hand, it exposed one's language to constant scrutiny, and if the speaker had a sensitive image as a language speaker, proficiency face concerns could override some other goals or needs in the interaction.

6.2 Proficiency facework in interaction and the views expressed in the interviews as components of the facework posture

For comparison of the facework postures, four participants in the student meeting were selected on the grounds of differences in the amount of participation, their preferred proficiency facework strategies, the views they expressed on language use, language proficiency differences between them, and their language self. The participants whom I selected were Roope, Jenni, Erich, and Monika. In the following, the facework preferences and commentary of the four participants are introduced one by one.

Roope's turns in the meeting mostly consisted of presenting his own ideas, but partly also of commenting on others' ideas. He did not complete others' turns or support others' word retrievals. Extracts 90 and 91 are examples of Roope's typical contributions to the meeting.

Extract 90 (Interaction data 1.1b)

1	Roope	it just came to my mind that in salmi, this Finnish town
2	Monika	yeah
3	Roope	the building called Kaupunkitalo , and that's like a
4		glasscube
5	Monika	yeah
6	Roope	and there is part of old brick house inside , it's very
7		interesting
8	Monika	I guess so
9	Roope	maybe it's not for this , just came to my mind

Extract 91 (Interaction data 1.1b)

1	Monika	I think , I think they are just artist's shop and the
2		miniature (n)- paper mill@@
3	**Roope**	**yeah**
4	Frank	yeah I would think that the miniature paper mill [(nn)]
5	**Roope**	**[these]** *(makes a mark on the paper with a markerer)* **,**
6		**would be the best ideas , so far**
7	Monika	yeah , I also think they need ,
8		[[good way to work together]] *(pointing to the paper)*
9	**Roope**	**[[these could be included]] some(?)**
10		*(looking towards Frank, away from Roope)*
11	Frank	yea[[[ah]]]
12	Monika	[[[yes]]]

In Extract 90, Roope presents his own ideas (lines 1, 3–4, 6–7, and 9) and gains minimal responses from Monika. In Extract 91, Roope gives a minimal response

to Monika (line 3), summarizes the discussion so far with an evaluative comment (lines 5–6), and speaks simultaneously with Monika (line 9), uttering partly an identical thought as Monika (line 9), thus supporting her on the content level. However, this kind of support cannot be considered language support, as Monika does not seem to have any visible difficulties in expressing her idea. Roope seems to focus on the content without making any attempt to help others with language.

In the following two extracts (92 and 93), Roope comments on the significance of different language proficiency levels in somewhat contradictory ways. In Extract 92, he declares (lines 7–8 Finnish, lines 6–7 English) with some reservations that speaking English is not a problem for him, but he considers that others may leave things unsaid because they have a greater need to process the language (lines 3–5 Finnish/lines 3–4 English).

Extract 92 (Interview data 2.1)

1	Tarmo	tuntuuko et se aktiivisuuden määrä ois ollu ihan sama
2		vaikka tää homma ois ollu suomekskii
3	Roope	**kyl miä veikkaan että se kielitaitoki vaikuttaa tohon**
4		**jottei, etei välttämättä lähe niin herkäst sanomaan sit jos**
5		**miettii että mitenkä siä ilmaset**
6	Tarmo	sul ei tunnu olevan mitää ongelmia asian suhteen
7	Roope	**no EI silleen. jotkut sanat kyllä hukassa mutta , kuitenki**
8		**yritetään selittää asia**

1	*Tarmo*	*do you think that the level of activity would have been the same*
2		*even if this has been done in Finnish*
3	*Roope*	***well I guess the language affect that one does not utter***
4		***their opinions if one has to think how to express this***
5	*Tarmo*	*you didn't seem to have problems with that*
6	*Roope*	***well NOT that way , some words are lost but , anyway I***
7		***try to explain the idea***

Here Roope acknowledges the differences in skills levels and their impact on some participants' activity. In the following Extract (93), he comments on my question about supporting less fluent speakers.

Extract 93, the same as Extract 60 (Interview data 2.1)

1	Tarmo	joo , no tuntuuks muuten tota , niiku kielitaidon kannalt
2		sillee ku sä oot itse aika sujuva puhuja että , tuliks sulle
3		semmost mielee missää vaihees et sun pitäis jollain tapaa
4		TUKEE jotain muuta jolla on vaikeempi ilmasta itteään
5	Roope	no en miä tiedä , siis minust tuntu **että kaikki kyl osas**
6		**ilmaista asiasa jos ne halus että**

7	Tarmo	joo
8	Roope	ei ne ois varmaan tarvinnut tukee
9	Tarmo	joo
10	Roope	**ehkä just jotaa sanoi sit jos joku ei tienny nii sit yritettii**
11		**keksii mikä se on**

1	Tarmo	*yeah , well do you feel that like , like from the language*
2		*proficiency point of view as you are quite a fluent speaker that ,*
3		*did it come to occur to you at any point that you should somehow*
4		*SUPPORT someone else who has more difficulty expressing*
5		*themselves*
6	Roope	*well I don't know , so I think that **everyone could express***
7		***themselves if they wanted to***
8	Tarmo	*yeah*
9	Roope	*I don't think they would have needed support*
10	Tarmo	*yeah*
11	Roope	*maybe just some words then if someone didn't know them so*
12		*then we tried to figure it out*

In Extract 93, Roope may have interpreted my question as a challenge or accusation in the sense of "Why didn't you support the less fluent speakers?" and so his answer can be interpreted as a defense. While in Extract 92 Roope acknowledges the differences in proficiency and their impact on the interaction, in Extract 93 he seems to consider it a legitimate approach that everyone survives on their own resources. The views that he expresses are in line with his way of interacting in the meeting. To conclude, it seems that Roope does not do any own-face proficiency facework because he does not feel the need for it, nor does he do any other-face proficiency facework, as he considers that others do not need it either, although he does acknowledge that lower language proficiency was a barrier to some members of the group taking part in the interaction.

The second participant, Jenni, used the fewest (13) turns in the meeting, six of which are presented in Extract 94, and three in Extract 95.

Extract 94 (Interaction data 1.1b)

1	Mei	so now we have the picture , of this house
2	(pause 3 secs)	
3	Monika	yeah right
4	**Jenni**	**so good you have a computer@**
5	Monika	yes
6	Frank	it's too little
7	**Jenni**	**I need that , smaller**
8	Monika	so , which way do we work
9	Roope	(nnn)
10	Monika	have a pen
11	Roope	(nn)

207

12	Monika	so I think first we should ehm
13	Frank	(nn)
14	Monika	scratch out those , we don't want anymore (gestures with
15		hand), do you think
16	**Jenni**	**yeah**
17	Frank	yeah
18	Monika	what about the café , I think there [already] is one
19	Mei	[no]
20	Frank	yeah yeah
21	Noora	we use (??)
22	**Jenni**	**there is no space for customers**
23	Monika	no [there is no]
24	Frank	[no there]
25	Monika	[[already is a cafe]]
26	Frank	[[already is a cafe]]
27	**Jenni**	**[yes]**
28	Frank	[next] door so
29	Monika	so
30	**Jenni**	**spa**
31	Monika	spa it is @

As can be seen in Extract 94, Jenni expresses her ideas rather briefly (lines 22 and 30), has some side discussion (lines 4 and 7), and gives minimal responses (lines 16 and 27). Jenni does not participate in collaborative turn formation or support other speakers' word searches, complete their turns, or try to help out in other obviously language-based problems.

Extract 95 (the same as Extract 34 above) presents a scene where Jenni expresses non-understanding.

Extract 95 (Interaction data 1.1b)

1	Mei	okay
2	**Noora**	**how do we call this , thing**
3	(pause 3 secs)	
4	Frank	(coughs)
5	**Monika**	**ahh you want [one TITLE on it]**
6	**Erich**	**[name of the] name of the house , maybe**
7	Noora	yeah
8	Noora	what's that
9	Erich	name of the house, maybe
10	Noora	yeah like how do we call our ideas
11	**Jenni**	**alternative or what do you mean**
12	**Noora**	**no I [mean]**
13	**Jenni**	**[I didn't] understand**

14	Noora	no wha- what's gonna be our title for the- how we call
15		this
16	**Jenni**	**aaha**
17	Noora	like it is going to be expedition , something or
18	Roope	so
19	Noora	activity something or
20	Roope	something which explains this
21	Noora	yeah exactly (pause 3 secs) handicraft centre with
22		expedition
23	Monika	mhmm (pause 2 secs) just better one everbody can (nn)
24		@@
25	(pause 7 secs)	
26	Noora	activity gallery something
27	Mei	(n)
28	Monika	ART and activity@
29	(pause 4 secs) *Noora nods*	
30	Noora	handcraft and art very original
31	Monika	yeah (pause 2 secs) it's a working title
32	Noora	it's a working title
33	Monika	handcraft and art we say first and then we can switch
34	Noora	yeah

In line 11, Jenni first misunderstands the previous discussion between Noora, Monika, and Erich. In line 13, she explicitly expresses non-understanding, and after that, withdraws from the discussion. After this scene, she does not say another word in the entire meeting. Jenni's participation can thus be called minimal. In the following, Extract 96, Jenni comments on the general atmosphere of the meeting.

Extract 96 (Interview data 2.1)

1	Tarmo	tota minkälainen mielikuva sulle jäi täst kokouksest ,
2		minkälainen tunnelma ja miten se yhteistyö suju siinä
3	Jenni	mhmm , no aika usein täs ryhmäs oli silleen että oli ne
4		muutama aktiivinen ja sit muut niinku kunteli ja sitte
5		suostu tai ei ja
6	Tarmo	joo
7	Jenni	et siel oli lähinnä sitte no Noora on aika aktiivinen ja
8		frank ja toi , monika

1	*Tarmo*	*well what kind of impression did you get of this meeting , what*
2		*was the atmosphere like and how did the co-operation go there*
3	*Jenni*	*mhmm , well quite often in this group it was like there were a*
4		*few active guys and then the others listened and either agreed*
5		*or not*

209

6	*Tarmo*	*yeah*
7	*Jenni*	*then there were mainly then well Noora is quite active and*
8		*Frank and that Monika*

Extract 97 comes from a few turns later in the interview.

Extract 97 (Interview data 2.1)

1	Tarmo	no , vaikuttiks tää kieli mitenkää asiaa , onks sull
2		sellanen tunne että jos tää olis tehty suomeks ni oisit sä
3		osallistunu enemmän tähä keskusteluu
4	Jenni	@en usko et@
5	Tarmo	et
6	Jenni	en
7	Tarmo	joo
8	Jenni	joo
9	Tarmo	jos on tällanen isompi porukka ni sä et o- sä et o se mikä
10		on siäl ääness
11	Jenni	en oo se , joo en oo kyll

1	*Tarmo*	*well , did the language affect this , do you feel that if this had*
2		*been done in Finnish you would have participated more in the*
3		*discussion*
4	*Jenni*	*@I don't think so no@*
5	*Tarmo*	*no*
6	*Jenni*	*no*
7	*Tarmo*	*yeah*
8	*Jenni*	*yeah*
9	*Tarmo*	*if it's a bigger group like this so you are no- you aren't the one*
10		*who talks all the time*
11	*Jenni*	*that is not me , yeah I really am not*

In Extract 96, Jenni mentions three other students as active participants (lines 6–7) and does not mention the significance of language skills. Jenni was not explicitly asked about other participants' skill levels, nor does she offer any comment on them in any way. Furthermore, in Extract 97 in lines 4 and 11, she denies that the language affected her level of participation; she claims it is her overall communication style and personality rather than the English language that defines how actively she participates. Jenni's few turns and her brevity even when solving an understanding problem (Extract 93) suggest that Jenni minimized her participation to avoid exposing her own speech and being involved in understanding problems. This, allegedly, is in accordance with her own usual, rather reserved communication style. Jenni's overall participation style seems to work as an avoidance strategy. Although she once openly

admitted non-understanding, she withdrew from the conversation after that and did not actively participate in solving the understanding problem.

Like Jenni, Erich's overall contribution is also quite small. Erich used 18 turns, four of which appear in Extract 98.

Extract 98 (Interaction data 1.1b)

1	Erich	maybe we can do erm any sketeches of the: [of] the
2	Noora	[yeah]
3	Mei	maybe we (can)
4	Erich	home , in the room
5	Mei	which function we-
6	Monika	in a room/
7	Erich	room
8	Jenni	or this house
9	Erich	(nn) (German)
10	Monika	in the room/
11	S?	(nn)
12	Monika	th- in a SPACE
13	Jenni	in the space
14	Monika	whatever
15	Frank	entire
16	Monika	what/
17	Frank	entire room or the entire space
18	Noora	I'm sure we can use more space if we
19		need(nnn)something (nnn) have paper

Extract 98 presents a negotiation on what the participants should call the one-room building that they are redesigning. Erich suggests an action in line 1 and goes on to juggle between different words (home, room) in line 4. After this suggestive turn, Monika challenges Erich by repeating the word 'room' with rising intonation (line 6), after which other options ('house,' 'space') are suggested (lines 8 and 12). Between these, Erich utters a turn in German (line 9). Although this negotiation is probably only half language-related, it is initiated by Erich, who suggests two alternatives. Monika utters her suggestion (line 12) very emphatically, and Frank ends the discussion by using two alternatives (line 17). After line 9, Erich keeps quiet. Erich suggests the word choice and plays around with it but is not the one who has the last word.

Erich (Extract 99) also commented on the different skill levels of other participants.

Extract 99 (Interview data 2.1)

1	Erich	yeah was that was err (pause 2 secs) erm the situation I
2		don't know the word in English I can't translate it comes
3		in my mind (n) so I often , erm ask German erm Frank/

4	Tarmo	yeah
5	Erich	be-because he-he had a good English I think/

As seen in Extract 99, asking a more proficient speaker for help seemed to be a strategy in line with Erich's L2 self: he did not mind asking for help, but hated being the source of non-understanding. In Extract 100, Erich describes his own anxiety with understanding problems.

Extract 100 (part of Extract 44) (Interview data 2.1)

1	Erich	**the worst case is already to erm when they- when they**
2		**look at you , and you see the , {die fragezeichen}**
3	Tarmo	yeah the question mark
4	Erich	**question mark on on on their head and then you begin**
5		**and the words are losing and , you can't find the**
6		**sentences or words and so can't complete your your**
7		**your question or your sentences or what else you**
8		**wanna say , then it's quite difficult**

Erich seems to acknowledge communication anxiety and a feeling of insecurity when speaking English. As seen in the interaction clip, Extract 98, he nevertheless makes a suggestion and carefully initiates the solving of a vocabulary problem, thus actively participating in joint meaning-making. In Extract 101 he describes the effects of uncertainty in English.

Extract 101 (part of Extract 49)

1	Erich	and , so I think it's not I using my English , not so so much
2		I would be , I-I have so many questions in my mind but
3		err but I *(pause 2 secs)* what should I say , it's quite difficult
4		to use this
5	Tarmo	yeah
6	Erich	and and and so many questions are , err , are not spoken
7		out I think
8	[…]	
9	Erich	I'm-I'm really I would said err , {unsicher] (German)
10		*uncertain* err un-unsafety/
11	Tarmo	unsafety yeah

Erich is well aware of his own feeling of uncertainty, as seen in Extracts 100 and 101, but also that of others, which can be seen in his earlier comments on the scene in which Mei was excluded, in Section 5.4.2. The same thing is evident in Extract 102.

Extract 102 (part of Extract 59)

1	Erich	and so , I noticed that maybe the English- the Finnish
2		guys , or women
3	Tarmo	yeah
4	Erich	already had-had these problems
5	Tarmo	yeah
6	Erich	this , meaning or , this you-**you see it in their eyes that**
7		**they are a little bit unsafety**
8		[…]
9	Erich	yeah yeah I think it's important to , when when you when
10		you , DISCUSS or maybe speak with with erm anyone
11		else in the group it's a erm important to look in your eyes ,
12		and maybe , can't say ,(nn) find the word in English,
13		mimik or kinestik

Erich seems to be quite active but very careful in his turns, being aware of uncertainty not only in himself but also on the part of his interlocutors, which can be interpreted as an acknowledgment of proficiency face sensitivity. Another participant, who knew Erich from before, mentioned in the interview that they found that Erich was not restricted by his language skills but found what he needed in order to express himself in English. In these ways, although Erich's overall number of turns is not much higher than Jenni's, his way of participating in meaning-making is different from his attitude toward language difficulties and the ensuing face problems.

To move on to the last of the four participants, Monika, the first thing to mention is that Monika did pay attention to different proficiency levels in the interview, like we see for example in Extract 103, where her comment came unsolicited immediately after seeing an interaction clip.

Extract 103 (Interview data 2.1)

1	Tarmo	okay/
2	Monika	okay his /Frank/ language- his English is much better than
3		most of us , because I guess he already , spent some time
4		abroad

Examples of Monika's participation are presented in Extracts 74 (page 176-179), 81 (pages 188-189), 90 (page 205) and 91 (page 205). As described in connection with Figure 28 in Section 6.1, Monika contributed to the meeting not only actively but also significantly in terms of the content of the discussion. She seemed to take a leading role in the meeting, despite the embarrassment about using the English language that she describes in the following, Extract 104.

Extract 104 (Interview data 2.1)

1	Monika	I've got a feeling that erm (pause 3 secs) not just for me
2		but for all of us errm the language becomes , easier and
3		each day
4	Tarmo	yeah
5	Monika	we use it again , because before we , very seldom talked
6	Tarmo	yeah
7	Monika	in English , and so I think , it's also a little bit of problem
8		because we maybe a little EMBARRASSED about your
9		language
10	Tarmo	yeah
11	Monika	and so , you just , don't talk as much you WANT to so
12	Tarmo	yeah
13	(pause 1 sec)	
14	Monika	it becomes just just easier

Monika had also earlier commented on there being various levels of language proficiency among the members of the group, so she does acknowledge this although, somewhat similarly to Roope, she does not seem to orient to supporting weaker speakers. Monika acknowledges feeling embarrassment about using the language, but this does not really show in the meeting. On the other hand, in Extract 43, she underlines how to her the correctness of her speech is not important as long as others understand it. In the meeting, she seems to follow the strategy that she describes in Extract 43, "we just say it." It might be the case, as she comments in line 2, that speaking English has become easier, but this is also a side effect of her self-confidence as the unofficial chairperson and her strong orientation to the content of the meeting and achieving their goal. She trusts that she will be understood if she "just says it" and has overcome her potential embarrassment; as the "new captain of the ship" she does not show her uncertainty if she feels it, but keeps calm and composed.

What has to be considered is that despite this active role and her participation in the collaborative meaning-making, she offered little clearly language-related support to those who needed it. In Section 5.4.2, the interaction chunk in which her ignoring of Mei's attempts to contribute was discussed, and in Extract 36 (page 128-129), in which Mei expressed non-understanding, admittedly mainly to Noora, but in a discussion that had mainly been a dialogue between Noora and Monika, Monika offered no support. Despite her own uncertainty, she does not seem to have engaged in the language-oriented collaboration in the discussion, apart from the room/house discussion in Extract 95, which she concluded by saying "whatever". But the choice between 'room' and 'house' is hardly predominantly a language-based problem. Rather it was a matter of conceptualization, depending on whether they were looking at the space from the outside (house) or the inside (room). Monika's attitude is like Roope's in that she ignores the language support that others might need, but it is

different in that Roope is confident himself, whereas Monika reported proficiency face concerns.

6.3 Proficiency facework postures

Based on the four factors described above - (1) the amount of participation, (2) instances of facework in interaction, (3) the reported acknowledgment of language skill differences among the participants, and (4) the reported own and other's proficiency face sensitivity - the four participants are presented in Table 6 as examples of holders of different facework postures. The facework postures are in the table in ascending order of the amount of participation.

Jenni's facework posture is characterized by very few turns and minimal participation. She uses the fewest turns and withdraws after the non-understanding scene. There is therefore no way she could have displayed active support for others, language-wise. Proficiency face-wise it may not have been a successful overall strategy. Another participant falsely remembered that Jenni had said nothing in the whole meeting, concluding that she was reluctant to use English. Another participant considered that it was particularly language that prevented Jenni from participating more, which was contrary to Jenni's own view of her participation: she reported that she would have participated just as much or as little even if the meeting had been conducted in her mother-tongue Finnish. Jenni's minimal participation, her withdrawal after the understanding problem and her failure to attribute any significance to proficiency face could be called as *Hiding in the Shadows.* Her language was not exposed much to evaluation on account of her minimal participation. On the other hand, that gave her very little voice in the meeting, which was in line with her overall participation style but did not help her improve her image as a language user in the eyes of the others.

Erich reported high sensitivity to his own and others' proficiency face in interaction. However, particularly with regard to this meeting, Erich reported that this brainstorming type of interaction made him forget his proficiency face concerns and focus on the topic. Still, Erich's participation in the meeting was also minimal; what he did do was carefully suggest the use of the term that led to the negotiation. Erich seemed to have been *Tiptoeing* toward their common goals, paying attention to both his own and others' face sensitivities.

Although Roope acknowledged both others' reticence in the situation and the effect of the participants having different levels of language skills, he claimed that he did not think that those with lower proficiency needed support. This was also evident from his way of participation: he did not ask anyone's opinion, did not ask for clarification, rarely negotiated over meanings. Roope seemed to utter what he had in mind and pursue his goals, paying little attention to others' face needs, i.e., he followed expressive design logic. With his good English skills, this could be described as the *Live and Let Die* posture.

Monika reported proficiency face sensitivity and that she had sensed that in others too, but this did not show in the meeting interaction. She was the most active participant in the meeting, led and guided the conversation, and collaborated to negotiate the content, but not the language. Like Roope she partly used expressive logic, but in some ways her communication style can even be described as aggressive, as in Extract 81, when Mei's attempts to get a turn were ignored. Uncertainty or embarrassment with regard to language were not evident in Monika's participation; if they existed, she showed good poise. Monika's proficiency facework posture can therefore be described as the *New captain of the ship.* A summary of the facework postures of the four participants is presented in Table 6, below.

I make no claim that this is an exhaustive list of possible facework postures. Instead, this analysis simply aims to give examples of possible facework postures as combinations of facework and the attitudes and perceptions behind facework tendencies.

TABLE 6   Proficiency facework postures of four participants in the student workshop meeting

Amount of participation (no of turns)	Visible proficiency facework in interaction	Assessment of significance of differences in proficiency levels on face	Reported acknowledgment own & other proficiency face sensitivity		Proficiency facework posture	Participant
– (13)	Avoidance	––	none		"Hiding in the shadows"	Jenni
– (18)	Suggestive turns	+	own and other		"Tiptoeing"	Erich
+ (69)	None (expressive logic)	+	other		"Live and let die"	Roope
+ + (121)	Own: showing self-confidence. Other: somewhat aggressive facework	+	own and other		"New captain of the ship"	Monika

7 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

7.1 Discussion on the findings

In the following, the findings are discussed in the light of each research question, that is, the engagement in proficiency facework, and perceptions of proficiency face. The findings are also discussed in relation to the facework postures, which are located at the intersection of the two research questions. Subsequently, conceptual, methodological, and pedagogical conclusions are presented, the present study is evaluated, and suggestions are made for further research.

7.1.1 Discussion findings related to RQ1: How do participants engage in proficiency facework in L2 interaction

In the spoken interaction data, one type of proficiency facework was the co-construction of turns. Although a common feature of L1 interaction as well, co-constructed turns have in L2 interaction an additional, proficiency face-saving aspect, of which the participants reported that they were sometimes aware. When one L2 speaker starts a turn and displays an inability to finish it, an interlocutor may complete it. There is similarity to an L1 collaborative dialogue in which the collaboration focuses on formulating ideas and finding the most appropriate words to express them, but it is different in that in an L2 dialogue the collaboration over an unfinished turn may take place to cover up shortcomings in the language resources of one of the speakers. In the L2 interaction in the data, negotiating over the correct English word was merged with negotiating over the content matter and did not necessarily look like solving a language problem.

Collaborative turn formation shortened the amount of time that might have focused on and therefore highlighted the inadequacy of a speaker's linguistic resources. Sometimes collaboration was preceded by a clearly noticeable gaze, which can be interpreted as a signal of an implicit request for help. Alternatively, the interlocutors reacted to pauses in the speaker's turn, in some cases, with gesturing. It has been earlier suggested (e.g., Cogo 2012: 289) that participants in

ELF interactions have a tendency to collaborate in meaning-making because they are aware of each other's ELF-speaker status. However, as was shown in Section 5.4, this sort of co-operation cannot always be found. When a turn is produced in collaboration, there is often some signal that collaboration is needed, such as a disruption (discontinuity, long pause) in one speaker's turn that encourages the others to collaborate. Sato et al. (2019) reached a similar conclusion with reference to low-proficiency speakers. When the handling of the topic proceeds smoothly, collaboration needs and related proficiency face needs seem to be backgrounded. Collaborative turn-formation – offering completion of another's unfinished turn or accepting completion by others of one's own turn – gives mutual protection of participants' faces, and integrates facework on one's own face and the other's face.

Collaborative meaning-making enables participants to function in a way that not only allows them to achieve their current goals but also hides or at least minimizes others' attention to gaps in their linguistic repertoire. Co-constructed turns, which the participants of this study welcomed, offer a way to proceed in the interaction toward the content goals. The participants' positive attitude can probably be explained not only by this content-driven efficiency but also by the fact that it camouflaged the handling of potential gaps in language proficiency as content-based phases of collaborative interaction.

Drawings can be used for all kinds of clarifications, some of which have nothing to do with speakers' limited language resources. It may be an exaggeration to claim that this way, participants can mask a language problem as a content problem to save face; they are unlikely to be in a position to do this deliberately, but this may be how it will turn out in the end. This is in line with Dalton-Puffer's finding (2007: 242–244) that to solve an understanding problem, participants may mask it as a less face-threatening problem. The participants' views on these matters are discussed in the next section.

Gestures can also be used to express a part of the turn content and thus help speakers avoid appearing unable to express their intended meaning. The participants approved of using gestures and other non-verbal means, including drawings, and they did not find them face-threatening.

In the student data, there were no metalinguistic comments. The absence of metalinguistic comments can be seen as proficiency facework as it works as a normalizer of the interaction: it indicates that the participants are focusing on the content, and that they trust that the communication goal can be reached together without the need to foreground the L2 nature of the situation. Orienting to the content implies that everyone's proficiency is sufficient for handling the task at hand. This strategy that could even be called "metalinguistic silence", i.e., not uttering any metalinguistic comments even when they might be helpful, can thus be considered both indexical of the normality of the L2 nature of the situation and tactful blindness to potential inadequacies in participants' L2 skills (cf. discussion in Section 2.6.2 based on Ellis 1998: 526). While in most interactions the absence of metalinguistic comments is not a marked feature, in a context where participants occasionally function at the extremes of their L2 competence,

their use might be expected to better reach mutual understanding. Thus absence of metalinguistic comments may indicate that the participants are focusing on the main content goal with a positive self-efficacy belief in the situation, which includes being able to solve communication problems with more subtle means than metalinguistic comments. This is a mutual, collective form of what Haugh (2009: 14-15) has described as the presupposition, to which all of the participants orient, of a participant's positive image as a language user.

In the social expert data, metalinguistic comments had various functions. In one case, a more fluent speaker made a metalinguistic comment that finally emerged as a collective face threat. In another case, a metalinguistic comment was used to hedge the speaker's own difficulties, and in such circumstances it can have two functions in terms of proficiency face: on one hand, it highlights the speaker's difficulties and is a face threat rather than facework, but on the other it shows the speaker's agency and control, from which angle it could be interpreted as facework. Why metalinguistic comments were used in the social expert data and not in the student data can be explained by two factors. First, in the social expert data, the proficiency levels of the participants who used it to hedge their difficulties were lower than were found in the student data. In addition, the metalinguistic comments were used when the speaker's inadequate linguistic resources had already become evident, so the face-threatening function of the metalinguistic comments was presumably minor. Second, the participants in the social expert data were more mature and experienced professionals, for whom explicitly referring to language difficulties might not be such a threat to the entire face in the same way. Quite the contrary, it was evident from other features of the situation that the speakers who sometimes used metalinguistics comments to hedge their utterances had to make a great effort to make themselves understood. In this light, the metalinguistic comments could be interpreted as signs of agency and control, and would therefore be face-giving. Although declaring their inability does not in itself give face-holders any credit for lacking language skills, it does at least show that the speakers are aware of their limitations and are prepared to acknowledge them.

When a participant expresses non-understanding after realizing that he or she is the only one not to understand an L2 conversation between several other people, it is primarily the expresser of the non-understanding whose face is at risk. In the student data, two different ways were found for processing the situation after an expression of non-understanding. In one case, the participant minimized her participation. Such a strategy choice showed little control of the situation, and her interlocutors' comments supported the idea that this was unwise in terms of proficiency face. Another participant took an active role in the reformulation of the original speaker's idea. This seems to have indicated more agency and control and seemed to improve the participant's image as an L2 user.

The role of code-switching was not particularly evident in the interaction data of this study. Code-switches were mainly done to have side conversations with fellow L1 speakers, and their face relevance was rather linked to the idea of avoiding exclusion. In the introspective data, however, a finding consistent with

Auer and Eastman (2010: 100) was found. Code-switching can be experienced as a face threat by an L2 speaker in a native speaker-non-native speaker situation. When an evidently more fluent speaker or a native speaker switches to a language in which the evidently less fluent or non-native interlocutor is assumed to be stronger, the interlocutor may find this switch proficiency face-threatening if the need for it does not match with the interlocutor's L2 self.

Despite the evident differences in participants' language skill levels, there were no instances in the interaction data of the direct repair of others' speech. This finding is in line with the findings of Mauranen (2006) in ELF conversations, but it means that the consequences for face cannot be compared with Kurhila's (2006: 222) findings on correction or the claims made by Haugh (2009: 14–15), both drawing on NS-NNS settings. The lack of outright corrections in my data can be assumed to be a result of the lingua franca nature of the settings; probably no-one felt that they had the right to offer corrections. In addition, as long as errors were not a barrier to mutual understanding, the participants seemed to ignore them.

7.1.2 Discussion findings related to RQ2: How do participants perceive proficiency face

Two kinds of perceived shortcomings lay behind participants' own proficiency face threat. For some, it was their own speech that they considered to be inferior. For others, the fear of face loss was based on the functional aspect of language, the fear of being involved in an understanding problem, either as a speaker whose speech others could not understand or as a hearer who could not understand others. In addition, participants had different views on how closely they found these two aspects of correctness and understandability to be interconnected or merged.

The quality of one's language can be linked to one's roles in a situation: whether or not one's role requires language proficiency. The language level of one's audience or interlocutors also seems to be significant, which is in line with findings on the big fish in a small pond (see Marsh 1984; Fang et al. 2018). If others show low proficiency in their speech, this may make a participant perceive a lower ought-to language self in this particular situation. This is partly related to the opposite situation, speaking as a non-native to a native speaker and being afraid of the native speaker evaluation. In the data of this study, this fear seemed irrational because the fear seemed to persist despite the participant's belief in native speakers' ability to receptively make an accommodation and despite his being used to L2 speakers' non-standard language, or even despite the speaker's ideological discarding of the native English speaker ideal. One participant felt that her proficiency face was threatened by others judging her errors, while she claimed not to have a similar attitude toward others' speech. The same contradiction between the emotional fear of native speaker judgment and the rational thought that non-native speakers have a right to their own ELF variant was visible in my own introspective data. This contradiction is in line with earlier findings by Hynninen (2010: 40), who found a mismatch between the "rational"

view that following a native standard and being grammatically impeccable is irrelevant and the "emotional" view that one fears being negatively evaluated for one's errors.

As far as understanding problems are concerned, it needs to be mentioned that the participants in the interaction data seemed to have adopted what could be called an intention-based model of communication. In their metalinguistic commentary, communication was not seen as a joint collaboration, but a process that involved an intended meaning that one participant aimed to express, which the others succeeded in grasping or failed to grasp.

A more collaborative view of communication was seen when participants discussed their collaboratively produced turns. One person starting a sentence and another finishing it or guessing the rest without wating for completion was seen as a feature of collaboration that was enabled by the participants' shared professional expertise. From the language proficiency point of view, needing help to participate in the interaction is an A2 level feature in the Common European Framework (Council of Europe 2001: 70), which is not a very high level for the participants in this study. Nevertheless, participants did not make any negative comments about accepting help, but rather welcomed it as a feature of collaboration. The reasons for this finding were discussed above, in Section 7.1.1.

When professionals in natural interaction engage in a professional task, it is assumed that they will focus on the task and get the job done. In that sense, if there are situations when the face goal overrides the content goal, it is often particularly the professional face that is relevant. Being engaged in the task in an L2 may make the proficiency face relevant, but participants find that these two aspects of face merge or overlap. This could be seen in one participant's vagueness as to whether her sensitivity to another participant's face was a threat to her professional face or her language proficiency face. Similarly, I was myself unable to analyze whether my fear of face loss and the anxiety it caused in a conference was about professional/academic face or language proficiency face. Perceptions of the boundaries between different aspects of face can thus be blurred in both the holder's mind and the face-worker-cum-interlocutor's mind.

Shared professional expertise enables collaborative meaning-making, which was found by the student participants to be a positive thing. Not only did their shared professional expertise enable them to find shared understanding when the explicit verbal message failed to get through, but it was even commented on very positively; it was considered a reason for professional pride rather than an indicator of poor language skills. This was the case even when participants reported that they had perceived the problem as related to language resources rather than to content. This interesting finding suggests that the language proficiency face often is, understandably, fundamentally secondary to the professional face. Nevertheless, it should be remembered that these two aspects of the face can be inseparable in many jobs where communication is considered an inherent element of professional expertise.

In line with expectations, more experienced speakers in the interaction data seemed to have fewer own face concerns than less experienced speakers. This

was due to their stronger self-efficacy beliefs in their strategic skills and also in their ought-to language self; the more experienced speakers felt that they became more merciful toward themselves over time. Still, the absolute level of language skills is not the only predictor of proficiency face fears; role expectations or other contextual features may set the ought-to language self higher than the actual L2 self, which in turn results in perceived face loss.

Participants may view the proficiency face relevance of an interaction episode differently because they have different perceptions of the episode. Even when they have a similar understanding of what is going on, they may interpret the face-relevance of features of the interaction differently. The emergence of a proficiency face threat requires that proficiency is somehow particularly brought to the participants' attention as, for example, when there is a meaning negotiation. In one extract in the data, one participant considered the meaning negotiation a normal feature of interaction, a normal exchange that does not highlight language skills in any way. Meanwhile for others, this particular meaning negotiation was marked and very closely related to language proficiency, and therefore proficiency face-threatening. Participants' different views about whether someone's proficiency face is in danger and, if so, whose face it is, are based on their different concepts of language and communication and their different roles in the situation. Similarly, in another interaction scene, participants reported different views about whether a participant was ignored and, if so, if the participant's language proficiency was relevant.

Similarly to different perceptions of what happened in an event, speakers and interlocutors may have very different views on the evaluation of an individual's performance. In one incident, a participant reported that she was afraid that other participants would evaluate her speech, and that she was anxious because she could not find words in the interaction. In contrast, her interlocutor commented on the same interaction clip that the participant seemed to have mastered the situation well. While in the speaker's own perception the local difficulties in the word search and the fear of being evaluated for errors were highlighted, her interlocutor's comment focused on the situation as a whole and the participant's success in getting her meaning across.

Participants' positive views on collaborative meaning-making and non-verbal means, such as gesturing and using pictures, can be interpreted in two ways. The etic interpretation is that these features of interaction are part of language proficiency, so participants welcome them as part of language use. The emic interpretation is that participants welcome those features of communication as communication strategies that are not an aspect of language proficiency, and their use is welcome because they save the language user from displaying incompetence. In the data, these strategies shortened problematic turn exchanges in which language was somehow prominent and, overall, enabled the participants to move on with the main content topic. The same applies to active turn-taking: from the researcher's point of view, more active turn-taking could be interpreted as a proficiency face-boosting communication strategy and, as such, an element of good language proficiency, if language proficiency is

understood broadly as communicative competence (cf. Canale and Swain 1980; Bachman and Palmer 1996) or as it is described in the European Framework (Council of Europe 2001, 2018). However, from an emic point of view, a participant who does not consider active turn-taking to be part of language proficiency only considers that the interlocutor is taking turns actively *despite* their poor language proficiency, and this active communication style will not improve the image that the other language user has of them. For this participant, the other's active turn-taking does not act as proficiency facework that is attempting to display language proficiency, but rather as proficiency facework that is aiming to hide shortcomings in their proficiency behind something else, i.e., their active turn-taking.

The social services lecturers, being older and more experienced professionals, highlighted the need to be merciful toward one's own language skills – in other words, not to demand too much of oneself. In this more mature language concept, communicativeness was considered more important than perfect grammar. This attitude was further supported by strong self-efficacy beliefs in one's strategic skills, e.g. the belief that one can use circumlocutions or other communication strategies when one is at a loss for words. Still, role expectations in a particular situation can make even a fairly experienced language user, such as myself, feel a face threat, despite being aware of the irrationality and unreasonableness of the ought-to language self that lies behind this face threat.

Fear for the other's face is linked mainly to not understanding what the other person is saying. A participant can overcome the face-threatening features of the quality of the other's speech, whatever they are, by tactful blindness as long as the speech is comprehensible. When understanding problems arise, they force a participant to express their failure to understand the interlocutor's speech, unless the participant is able and willing to feign understanding. An expression of non-understanding is a potential proficiency face threat. While understanding always takes two, a participant may particularly be afraid of insulting the other's proficiency face, whether this fear is justified or not.

Although participants occasionally commented on language proficiency of the group, they never mentioned pride in or shame about the language proficiency of the group they belong to (e.g., Finns, Germans, students). However, there were some comments which could be interpreted as instances of pride in collective professionalism. This finding is consistent with Leppänen et al.'s 2011 study, in which only a small minority of participants reported those kinds of feelings. In this study, group or community proficiency face was invisible in the participant interviews.

7.1.3 Discussion on the intersection of RQ1 and RQ2: proficiency facework postures

Proficiency facework posture is a novel concept that I wish to introduce here. This posture is a combination of one's reported attitudes and actual evidence of one's facework in interaction. The posture includes how far participants are

willing to acknowledge that different participants have different levels of language skills, and to what extent they acknowledge the significance of these differences in each participant's access to interaction. The amount of awareness of and attention to one's own and another's face needs varies.

It needs to be highlighted that the four posture types that were identified are not presented as an exhaustive list of possible types, but as exemplary combinations of language concepts, sensitivity to proficiency differences and facework preferences.

7.2 Conclusions

7.2.1 Summary of the results

This study set out to apply the concept of face to an exploration of a person's vulnerable image as a proficient L2 speaker, and the same vulnerability that one assumes one's interlocutors have. The first research question aimed to study how participants engage in facework to protect L2 speakers' image as language users in an interaction context that could be described as professional. The second research question addressed L2 speakers' perceptions of the essence of this vulnerability; what it is in the language proficiency that they think is threatened, and how. The concept of (language) proficiency face was defined in advance, based on face theory and language self-concept or L2 self.

Findings related to RQ1 showed that proficiency facework was sometimes conducted as the co-construction of turns and by using non-verbal communication, which enabled participants to treat language problems like content negotiations. Communication strategies that enabled participants to control the communication situation and proceed with the topic, such as gestures and the use of pictures, functioned as facework. They did not improve the speaker's image as a proficient user of the L2 repertoire, but rather as a communicator.

The study also revealed the different kinds of facework that were involved in participants' attempts to solve understanding problems. After non-understanding, reticence or avoidance were not as successful as active participation in the sense-making.

In the social experts' data, the metalinguistic comments functioned as facework to display agency in that situation; they boosted the speaker's autonomy face when the de facto insufficiency of their language repertoire had become evident.

As for RQ2, about the perception of proficiency face, the study indicated that participants have different perceptions of the face relevance of various aspects of language and interaction. While for some participants face threat was closely linked to not understanding the other or causing non-understanding, for others, exposure of one's perceivedly weak language skills was a face threat because they feared others' evaluation. Participants also had different

224

perceptions of the seriousness of communication problems, the origins of these problems, and the resulting consequences for proficiency face.

Others' face was partly protected by the aforementioned collaborative means. There were differences in the participants' orientation to interlocutors' proficiency face needs. The attention paid to others' face, the amount of participation in the interaction, participants' claimed sensitivity, and their acknowledgment of the significance of different skill levels among the participants, and their preferred facework strategies in interaction, all constituted the participant's proficiency facework posture. Four different postures were identified, which were given the names *Hiding in the Shadows*, *Tiptoeing*, *Live and Let Die*, and *New Captain of the Ship*. These postures should be regarded as the result of a preliminary, exploratory study rather than as an exhaustive list of different types.

7.2.2   Conceptual, methodological and pedagogical implications

This study identified several means of protecting language proficiency face. The participants found that features of interaction such as accepting help in the formulation of turns or using gestures were face-giving, although they might be considered signals of insufficient linguistic resources to meet the demands of the situation. The idea of being a resourceful professional communicator who can fluently handle a situation seemed to override the narrow idea of mastery of the linguistic code as a face giver. Failure to understand may force a participant to pay particular attention to language. In that case, there was some evidence that actively participating in the meaning-making that follows the expression of non-understanding is face-giving than downplaying the incident by minimizing participation.

The concept of proficiency face was found to have emic relevance in that the participants, although they verbalized the phenomenon without the word 'face', used other words to report that its existence was a relevant feature of interaction. In the interviews they proposed several elements that lie behind proficiency face as being relevant, in their view, in interaction, such as being afraid of being evaluated for their lack of L2 proficiency giving the others grounds to think that their L2 speech was not good enough. In this sense, my concept, proficiency face, as the analyst's conceptualization is, as suggested by Haugh (2009: 7-8), "analogous – although not necessarily synonymous" with the participants' views (see also the discussion in Section 3.1). Consequently, proficiency face has the potential to function as a central concept in participants' perceptions of images of themselves and their interlocutors as language users in interaction. Similarly, the concept of proficiency facework can be used to describe and explain the features of interaction in which this image as a language user is maintained, threatened, or protected. In the triangle of L2 interaction goals - content goals, relational goals and face goals - language proficiency face goals have been proved to be a significant driving factor among other face goals, sometimes merged in or consonant with other face goals, at other times separate from them.

This study found that the participants, generally speaking, have different perceptions of the face relevance of the different features of interaction. These findings strengthen the idea that face, including proficiency face, always needs interpretation (see Spencer-Oatey 2013: 150). The face relevance of a feature of communication is primarily in the eye of the beholder. Face is an emic phenomenon, most fruitfully studied by triangulating the researcher's view with the views of the study participants. Relying merely on the researcher's observation cannot fully reveal the proficiency face relevance of a situation to the participants.

As for the position of proficiency face vis-à-vis other divisions of face, proficiency face seems to be overlapping with several aspects of face in each paradigm rather than being neatly included under any one of them. In the framework of Lim's autonomy, fellowship, and competence face, while the overlap with competence face is self-evident, proficiency face can also be seen as part of fellowship face as was the case in the discussion where the language environment of one of the participant's home country was hinted as having potentially negative impact on being a desirable exchange partner (Extract 28). As pointed out by Domenici and Littlejohn (2006:10), competence gives resources to be autonomous, and thus there is inherent overlapping between competence and autonomy faces. If autonomy face is understood in the language proficiency context as self-sufficiency in linguistic resources, its role was sometimes played down by participants of this study who rather emphasized the positive experience of collaboration in meaning-making rather than self-sufficiency. On the other hand, in some situations, participants could manifest their control and agency in the situation, i.e. autonomy, by the use of metalinguistics comments. In relation to Spencer-Oatey's division into quality face and social identity face, in turn, proficiency face self-evidently overlaps with the former. However, it also had a clear connection to the latter as was seen in cases (Extracts 32 and 64) where proficiency face claims were based on the face-owner's need to uphold the professional role.

Because a person's own proficiency face concerns, their (possibly) false assumptions about others' face sensitivities, and their failure to notice a meaningful face threat to the other may become significant obstacles to the development of one's L2 communication skills, questions of proficiency face should be incorporated in language pedagogy. It would be helpful, for example, to encourage a concept of language that helps eliminate face needs that are based on unnecessary or unrealistic ought-to L2 selves. Students or pupils should be taught that meaning negotiations are a positive feature of L2 communication rather than an indicator of poor language proficiency, even when the focus of these negotiations is on questions of language. Admitting non-understanding, or at least expressing uncertainty, should be approached with an air of "frivolity rather than unmentionality" (cf. Ellis 1998: 526). Learners should be encouraged to build their self-efficacy beliefs and be told that active participation in the interaction with all their potential slips and deviations from norms may still build face better than being shy and holding back; the overall content of the

communication may be what counts in others' eyes rather than local errors or difficulties. This means that imagination in creating new words, – which at least in many lingua franca contexts might be necessary for reaching mutual understanding – should be encouraged in language learning at the expense of lexical normativity (cf. Vetchnnikova 2015).

In addition, while "metalinguistic silence" may be a successful way of giving face mutually in L2 interaction as an indicator or trust in all participants' language proficiency, accepting metalinguistic comments as part of normal L2 interaction might not only improve mutual understanding but also enhance awareness of the significance of language and abolish unncesssary concerns about proficiency face.

7.2.3   Evaluation of the study

The present study had certain limitations. Some of those that are connected with the method were discussed in Section 3.3.2. Another methodological problem derives from the language of the interviews: the Finnish participants were interviewed in their mother tongue, while with the others the language was their L2 English. This difference in language might have affected not only the level of detail in which the participants were able to analyze and express their thoughts, but also the content of their ideas (see Cross & Gore 2003: 555, cf. also Kramsch 2009: 201).

As for the other limitations, the first was ignoring cultural variation in the perception of proficiency face. One of the students who was interviewed was born in China and her mother tongue was Chinese, while the other interviewees were either German or Finnish. The Chinese student's answers did not reveal any findings that would have made it possible to reach any conclusions about the impact of culture. Similarly, no differences were found in how the German and Finnish students responded or in their way of interaction, apart from one point about facework postures, which was discussed in Section 6.3. Thus Croucher et al.'s (2015) finding that Finns feel more apprehensive than Germans in interaction in their own language could not be assessed in the L2 setting of this study.

As regards the data from the social services experts' meeting, the Romanian and Polish participants were not interviewed, which made consideration of cultural differences impossible. The fact that mainly only German and Finnish participants were interviewed in this study, despite the significance of culture as a definer of face, means that due to the limitations described above, the viewpoint remained very Northern European.

Another limitation was methodological. With the first data set, I had just two nights (for the student inventory data) and one night (for the student meeting data) to decide, on the basis of 2–3 rounds of viewing the video-recorded data, which interaction chunks to discuss with the interviewees, because the German students were going to depart early. Therefore I obtained no comments on some interaction extracts about which the participants' own comments would have been very useful. Also, my attempt to obtain further comments from the participants by sending them selected videoclips and further questions by email

was largely unsuccessful because most participants did not respond. The second data set, the social services experts' meeting, would have benefited from a chance to interview more than just the two most fluent participants.

As for the theoretical framework, one might argue that this study is inconsistent in its definitions of communication and understanding. In some cases, understanding in interaction is clearly discussed in the context of an intention-based, transmission model of communication. This is the case when, for example, speakers' concern with the intelligibility of their speech and its face relevance are discussed, and communication is considered one-directional. In other cases, however, the approach is more social constructionist, so that communication is seen as a joint and collaborative activity. For example, this happened when the discussion turned to participants' positive commentaries on the joint meaning-making in the interaction. This theoretical inconsistency with regard to communication, however, derives from the attempt to define and elaborate the essence of proficiency face emically, to identify what are for participants the elements in communication that threaten or support proficiency face. The participants' views on communication that emerge from the interviews were not consistent with either scholarly view of communication, but rather hybrids of the two. The participants' hybrid, emic view of communication was therefore reflected all through this thesis.

Despite these shortcomings, this study offers some insights into how language proficiency facework functions in tandem with other features of L2 interaction and how L2 users' perceptions of their roles in communication, their view of language and communication, and their ensuing face concerns all vary.

7.2.4 Suggestions for further research

In this study, the participants in the interaction data varied from inexperienced to moderately experienced users of English as a lingua franca, and their language skills levels in interaction were probably at the A2–B2 levels on the scales of the European Framework. However, as shown in the introspective data of this study and in earlier classroom research, even more experienced users may experience proficiency face threats in certain roles and situations. More research is needed to explore how fluent speakers of an L2 perceive proficiency face threat, and how they perceive the need to protect another equally competent L2 speaker's proficiency face when an understanding problem arises or when obvious errors need to be corrected.

In the present study, the role of meta*language* was discussed. What would also be of interest from the proficiency face point of view is a discussion of meta*discoursal* elements in the broader sense. Metadiscoursal elements have been found to be as significant in a lingua franca setting as in any other language setting (see Mauranen 2012: 168–199). In addition, the role of metalinguistic comments as facework or face threat needs further research.

The topic of proficiency face might also benefit from different research settings. These could include the face issues of one participant across different situations. This could reveal the dynamics of the same person's different

proficiency facework postures in different repertoires of language use (cf. Räisänen 2013). Similarly, longitudinal studies of perceptions of face or facework postures would help us to understand the topic better.

While in this study the main focus has been on lingua franca interaction, in a setting in which a non-native speaker is permanently in a native-speaking environment as a result of immigration proficiency face would presumably have different characteristics and social underpinnings. The immigrant non-native speaker's proficiency face is also partly interlinked to another relevant field, knowledge work in interaction, and its moral extensions (cf. Stivers et al. 2011; Izadi 2018). This would include a study of knowledge work in interaction in social and professional settings in an L2. Topics such as access to knowledge or the authority of knowledge, and rights and obligations with respect to knowledge, all relate to face issues. In L2 interaction, these face issues incorporate language proficiency face.

This study showed that the relationship between a person's concept of language, their L2 self, and their sensitivity to proficiency face is not straightforward. A more detailed understanding is needed of how L2 selves - the ought-to, feared, and desired language selves - underpin proficiency face wants. The pedagogical consequences of all of these would be another topic worth further exploration.

On a larger scale, a systematic application of the complex systems approach, as described by Larsen-Freeman and Cameron (2008), might be able to give us different insights into L2 interaction and the role of proficiency face in it. The complex systems approach might be particularly fruitful in the study of facework postures, which incorporate components from different paradigms, such as user's sensitivity to skill level differences, acknowledgment of proficiency face concerns, and facework in interaction. In addition, the role of language users' L2 self in this system might be incorporated with the complex systems approach.

Furthermore, this study focused on a culturally quite small region. Studies of proficiency facework and face perceptions in culturally different settings would be fruitful, as well as studies focusing on cross-cultural differences on these issues. The values, beliefs and social practices that constitute the thin and fluid layer of culture on the one hand, and language policies, conceptualizations of language and language proficiencies, and the dominant language pedagogies in a country, region or institution, on the other hand, will all evidently have an impact on how the members of the community perceive language proficiency, proficiency face issues, and facework preferences.

Although the face threat that a participant in L2 interaction might perceive is not synonymous with the feeling of anxiety, experimental approaches deploying methods of neuroscience might reveal some anxiety-raising incidences of proficiency face threat that will remain undiscovered if reliance is placed only on participant commentary and researcher observation (cf. Dörnyei & Ryan 2015: 189 on participants' unawareness of their beliefs).

Finally, as many L2 learners suffer from anxiety caused by proficiency face threat, a study on how to encourage learners to address proficiency face problems

would be beneficial. The benefits of various pedagogical strategies to improve learners' confidence in their own skills, the avoidance of unnecessary or harmful features of our L2 selves, and instruction in what would be a reasonable - neither over-sensitive nor ignorant - attitude to others' proficiency face wants, should be some of the main topics.

YHTEENVETO

Kielitaitokasvojen kasvotyö ja käsityksiä kielitaitokasvoista vieraskielisessä vuorovaikutuksessa

Tutkimuksen tavoite ja teoreettiset lähtökohdat

Mitä muut ihmiset ajattelevat meistä ja mitä me paljastamme siitä, mitä ajattelemme muista, on olennainen osa inhimillistä vuorovaikutusta. Osa mielikuvista, jonka muodostamme muista ja jonka muut muodostavat meistä, koostuu taidoista ja kyvyistä, joita on mahdollista havaita ja joita tiedämme itsellämme tai muilla olevan. Näihin taitoihin kuuluu myös vieraan kielen taito.

Aina, kun viestimme muiden kanssa, on erotettavissa ainakin kolmenlaisia tavoitteita (Domenici & Littlejohn 2006: 68). Ensimmäiset ovat sisällöllisiä tavoitteita, toiset ovat suhdetavoitteita, esimerkiksi tavoitteet suhteen ylläpitämiseksi tai parantamiseksi muihin osallistujiin (vrt. Spencer-Oatey 2008: 32), ja kolmannet kasvotavoitteita, joilla pyrimme säätelemään sitä kuvaa, jonka muut meistä saavat sekä sitä, mitä paljastamme ajattelevamme muista. Vuorovaikutuksen taustalla on siis mutkikas verkosto erilaisia tavoitteita ja tarpeita, jotka ovat keskenään osin sopusoinnussa ja osin ristiriidassa. Klassisen Goffmanin (1967:5), määritelmän mukaan, *kasvot* ovat julkinen minäkuva (engl. *public image of self)*. *Kasvotyöksi* (engl. facework), sanotaan kaikkia niitä tiedostettuja ja tiedostamattomia vuorovaikutuksen keinoja, joilla tähän kuvaan yritämme viestiessämme vaikuttaa, niin omaan kuvaan kuin toisen kuviin (Spencer-Oatey 2007: 644). Erotuksena muihin yksilöä kuvaaviin lähikäsitteisiin, kuten *identiteetti* tai *minä*, kasvot pohjautuvat lähtökohtaisemmin kanssaihmisten antamaan tunnustukseen niiden olemassaolosta. Kasvoille on myös ominaista, että ne "syntyvät" vasta kun joku kasvoihin liittyvä attribuutti, kuten taito tai osaaminen jonka haltijana haluamme näyttäytyä, on haavoittuva kasvojen omistajalle. Toisen osaamiskasvoista tehdään samalla tavoin oletuksen pohjalta johtopäätös, uskotaanko toisen kuvan taidon osaajana hänelle itselleen herkkä tai haavoittuva asia.

Tämän väitöskirjan aiheena on erityinen osa kasvoja ja kasvotyötä: kuva ihmisestä vieraan tai toisen kielen osaajana ja käyttäjänä. Monella vieraan kielen käyttäjällä on kokemuksia kielteisistä tunteista liittyen erityisesti vieraalla kielellä puhumiseen. Tunteisiin voi liittyä arvioiduksi tulemisen pelko tai pelko joutua viestintätilanteeseen, josta ei selviä. Ihminen voi tietoisesti tai tiedostamattaan havaita tai olettaa vastaavia tuntemuksia ja ajatuksia puhekumppaneissaan, ja siksi muuttaa toimintaansa. Kielitaitoon liittyviä tuntemuksia ja sen seurauksia vuorovaikutuksessa ei ole aiemmin systemaattisesti tutkittu kasvojen käsitteen viitekehyksessä, vaikka kielitaitoon liittyen kasvoista on tehty havaintoja muiden tutkimusaiheiden yhteydessä niin kielenkäyttötilanteissa (ks. esim. Auer and Eastman 2010: 100; Haugh 2009: 14–15; Kurhila 2006; Hynninen 2011: 971; Ahvenainen 2005: 101, 114, 118) kuin kielenoppimistilanteissa (ks. esim. Markee 2000: 142; Dalton-Puffer 2007: 239–244; Chick 1996: 36; Nikula 2010: 119). Kasvoteorialla on kuitenkin selityskykypotentiaalia, koska se tarjoaa kehyksen tarkastella

edellä mainittuja ilmiöitä vuorovaikutuksen osana sekä puhujan itsensä, että puhekumppanin näkökulmasta. Aiemmin vieraalla kielellä puhumiseen liittyviä emootioita on tutkittu *viestintäahdistuksen* viitekehyksessä (engl. *communication anxiety* ks. Dewaele 2007; Dewaele & Dewaele 2017; Horwitz et al. 1986; Yan & Horwitz 2008) tai *kieliminän* (engl. *language self belief* Mercer 2011 tai *L2 self* Dörnyei 2005, 2009) kannalta, jolloin kolikon toinen puoli, puhekumppanin kieliminän huomioon ottaminen, ei ole ollut mahdollista. Kasvoteorian avulla voidaan tarkastella sekä kielenkäyttäjän omaan kieliminään pohjautuvia toimintoja ja ajatuksia, että sitä miten hän toimii puhekumppanilla olettamansa kieliminän suhteen.

Kasvot ovat lingvistisen pragmatiikan ja monen muun tieteenalan peruskäsite. Tässä tutkimuksessa se käsitetään potentiaalisesti haavoittuvaksi kuvaksi itsestä, jonka omistaja haluaa muiden tunnustavan, tai vastaavaksi kuvaksi jonka viestijä olettaa puhekumppanillaan olevan. (ks. Spencer-Oatey 2007: 644). Huolimatta Brownin ja Levinsonin (1978) vaikutusvaltaisesta kohteliaisuusteoriasta, joka käsitti kasvotyön ja kohteliaisuuden pitkälti synonyymeina, viimeisen kahdenkymmenen vuoden aikana kasvoja ja kohteliaisuutta on ryhdytty tukimaan erillisinä ilmiöinä (ks. esim. Kádár & Haugh 2013: 51-52; Garcés-Conejos Blitvich 2013: 1). Eri teorioissa on kasvoille ehdotettu osia kuten kykykasvot (engl. *competence face*, Lim 1994: 210-211) tai laatukasvot (engl. *quality face* Spencer-Oatey 2002: 522), jotka kuvaavat haltijansa kuvaa kyvykkäänä ja pystyvänä yksilönä. Tässä tutkimuksessa luotu pääkäsite k*ielitaitokasvot* (*proficiency face*) oli tutkimuksen alussa määritelty potentiaalisesti haavoittuvaksi kuvasta itsestä vieraan kielen käyttäjänä, jonka kasvojen omistaja haluaa muiden tunnustavan.

Kasvotyö (engl. *facework*) on määritelty kaikeksi toiminnaksi, jolla viestijä tiedostaen tai tiedostamatta säätelee oman tai puhekumppaninsa kasvoja silloin kun pitää näitä emotionaalisesti sensitiivisinä (Spencer-Oatey (2007: 644). Näin ollen kielitaitokasvojen kasvotyöksi lähtökohtaisesti määritellään toiminta, jolla säädellään omaa tai puhekumppanin kielitaitokasvoja, esimerkiksi säilytetään ne, parannetaan niitä tai jopa tarkoituksellisesti uhataan niitä. Kasvotyötä voidaan tarkastella yhden puheenvuoron sisällä tai pidemmän ajanjakson aikana. On havaittu (ks. Domenici ja Littlejohn 2006: 11), että ellei viestinnän osanottajien välillä ole konfliktia, osanottajan pyrkivät integroituun kasvotyöhön, jossa tasapainoillaan oman ja toisen kasvojen suojelun välillä. Kielitaitokasvotavoitteiden lisäksi viestijät integroivat keskenään muita tavoitteita kuten sisältötavoitteita, suhdetavoitteita ja muita kasvotavoitteita. Kasvotavoitteiden osana voivat olla ammatilliset kasvot (engl. *professional face*, ks. Charles 1996).

Sosiaalipsykologisessa tutkimuksessa on havaittu (Schlenker & Pontari 2000), että vuorovaikutuksessa yksilö pyrkii antamaan muille itsestään kuvan, johon hän itse aidosti uskoo, tosin hieman kiillotettuna (Schlenker 2003: 495). *Kasvotoive* (engl. *face want* tai *face claim*), kuva itsestä jonka toivomme muiden tunnustavan, perustuu osin tälle kuvalla. Kielitaidon osalta kasvotoiveen voidaan katsoa osin perustuvan edellä mainittuun viestijän kieliminään (engl. *language self-belief* tai *L2 self*). Osa kieliminään liittyvistä uskomuksista voi olla tilan-

nesidonnaisia ja rajattuja *minäpystyvyysuskomuksia* (engl. *self-efficacy beliefs*, Bandura 1997), esimerkiksi se, että uskoo pystyvänsä kirjoittamaan sähköpostiviestin tietyllä kielellä tietystä asiasta; osa taas yleisluontoisia ja pysyvämpiä, esim. 'osaan liian huonosti saksaa'. Kieliminään osaltaan vaikuttaa viestijän käsitys kielitaidosta, mitä on kielitaito ja millaista on tavoiteltava kielitaito yleensä ottaen. Kun englantia käytetään lingua francana, voidaan erottaa tutkijan kannalta ainakin kahdenlaisia kielikäsityksiä, niitä jotka perustuvat syntyperäisen puhujan ihanteeseen, ja niitä joissa lingua franca -viestintää arvotetaan sen omista lähtökohdista käsin (vrt. Seidlhofer 2009). Näistä lähtökohdista tälle tutkimukselle määriteltiin kaksi tutkimuskysymystä: (1) millaista kasvotyötä kielitaitokasvojen suhteen osanottajat tekevät L2-vuorovaikutuksessa ja (2) millaisia näkemyksiä vieraan kielen käyttäjillä on kielitaitokasvoista vieraskielisessä vuorovaikutuksessa.

Laajemmassa ontologisessa kehyksessä tämä väitöstutkimus on sosiokonstruktivistista tutkimusta (Andrews 2012), jossa sosiaalinen todellisuus nähdään intersubjektiivisena vuorovaikutuksessa muodostuvana konstruktiona. Epistemologisesti tutkimusta voidaan pitää etnografisella otteella tehtynä subjektivistisena tutkimuksena, koska yksilön kokemuksen näkökulma on tutkimuksessa merkittävä (Burrell & Morgan 1979). Tutkimuksen pääkäsitteen, *kielitaitokasvojen*, vieraan tai toisen kielen käyttäjän haavoittuvan kuvan itsestä jonka muut vuorovaikutuksessa tunnustavat, voidaan katsoa perustuvan "länsimaiseksi" kutsuttavaan minäkäsitykseen (ks.Cross & Gore 2003: 542-543), jonka mukaan yksilöllä on tunnustettuja oikeuksia, jotka on erotettavissa yhteisön edusta. Näin ollen tutkimuksen tulokset kuvaavat kielitaitokasvoja nimenomaan omassa kulttuurisessa tutkimuskontekstissaaan, eli eurooppalaisessa kontekstissa, joka pitää luonnollisesti ymmärtää häilyvärajaiseksi määritelmäksi. Suppeammassa viitekehyksessä tämä tutkimus on lingvististä pragmatiikkaa, joka hyödyntää diskurssianalyysin ja sisällönanalyysin keinoja. Kielitaitokasvotoiveen taustalla olevaa kieliminää ja sen lähikäsitteitä valotetaan sosiaalipsykologian lähteiden avulla siinä määrin kuin se on tutkimuskohteen kannalta relevanttia.

Tutkimusaineisto ja -metodit

Tutkimusaineiston ensimmäinen osa koostui kahdesta videoidusta ja osin litteroidusta vuorovaikutusaineistosta, joista toisessa saksalaisen ja suomalaisen ammattikorkeakoulun insinööri- ja arkkitehtiopiskelijat toimivat oman alansa nelipäiväisessä työpajassa, toisessa taas sosiaalialan asiantuntijat Romaniasta, Puolasta ja Suomesta keskustelivat mahdollisesta yhteistyöstä kokouksessa. Kaikessa vuorovaikutusaineistossa englantia käytettiin lingua francana, ts. se ei ollut kenenkään osallistujan äidinkieli. Molemmat tilanteet olivat myös aitoja työelämän tai muun aiheen kuin kielen opiskeluun liittyviä vuorovaikutustilanteita, eivät kielenoppimistilanteita. Toinen osa aineistosta koostui vuorovaikutusaineiston tilanteisiin osallistuneiden äänitetyistä ja litteroiduista haastatteluista.

Suomea puhuvien osallistujien haastattelut toteutettiin suomeksi ja muiden englanniksi. Kolmas osa aineistosta oli tutkija oma introspektiivinen kielenkäyttöelämäkerta ja kenttätyömuistiinpanot. Haastatteluaineistossa sekä tutkijan introspektiivisessa aineistossa huomioitiin lingua franca -tilanteiden lisäksi esiin nousseet vuorovaikutustilanteet syntyperäisten ja ei-syntyperäisten puhujien välillä.

Aineiston analyysia varten määriteltiin, millaiset vuorovaikutuksen ominaisuudet ovat kielitaitokasvojen näkökulmasta tunnusmerkillisiä, esimerkiksi puheenvuorojen keskeytyminen, ymmärtämisongelmat ja metakielelliset kommentit. Vuorovaikutusaineiston tunnusmerkillisiä katkelmia arvioitiin diskurssianalyysin keinoin. Yksilöllisissä haastatteluissa osallistujille näytettiin videokatkelmia vuorovaikutustilanteista ja heitä pyydettiin kommentoimaan niiden aiheuttamia ajatuksia ja tuntemuksia. Haastattelussa kysyttiin myös osallistujien englannin käytön historiasta ja yleisluontoisemmista ajatuksista liittyen vieraiden kielten osaamiseen ja käyttöön. Tutkijan havaintoja vuorovaikutusaineistossa havaitusta kielitaitoakasvojen kasvotyöstä tranguloitiin näin saadun haastatteluaineiston ja tutkijan oman introspektiivisen aineiston kanssa. Näin pyrittiin löytämään vastaus siihen, millaista kielitaitokasvoihin kohdistuvaa kasvotyötä tapahtuu vieraalla kielellä viestiessä ja millaisia käsityksiä osallistujilla on seikoista, jotka vaikuttavat kielitaitokasvoihin, esimerkiksi mikä on käsitys hyvästä kielitaidosta tai omasta roolista vuorovaikutustilanteessa.

Keskeiset tulokset ja johtopäätökset

Ensimmäiseen tutkimuskysymykseen eli vieraskielisen viestinnän kielitaitokasvotyöhön liittyvät tulokset osoittivat, että kielitaitokasvojen suojelua tehdään toisinaan puheenvuorojen yhteisen rakentamisen avulla ja ei-kielellisen viestinnän avulla, jotka mahdollistivat osanottajien käsittelevän kielellisiä ongelmia sisältöongelmien tapaan. Viestintästrategiat, jotka antoivat osanottajille mahdollisuuden hallita viestintätilannetta ja edetä aiheen käsittelyn kanssa, kuten eleiden ja kuvien käyttö, toimivat kasvotyönä. Ne eivät kuitenkaan lähtökohtaisesti parantaneet käyttäjän kasvoja kielellisen repertuaarin käyttäjänä, vaan pikemmin viestijänä yleensä.

Tutkimus myös paljasti, millaista kasvotyötä liittyi osanottajien yrityksiin ratkaista ymmärtämisen ongelmia. Esimerkiksi sellaisen tilanteen jälkeen, jossa osanottaja ei ymmärtänyt toista, vetäytyminen ei parantanut kielitaitokasvoja samalla tavoin kuin aktiivinen osallistuminen merkitysneuvotteluun.

"Metakielellinen hiljaisuus" opiskelija-aineistossa toimi viestinnän normalisoijana. Se antoi signaalin, ettei tilanteen vieraskielisyyttä tarvinnut eksplisiittisesti mainita, ja sitä saattoi siksi pitää keskinäisenä kielitaitokasvotyönä. Sosiaalialan asiantuntijoiden aineistossa metakielelliset kommentit toimivat kasvotyönä, jolla osoitettiin tilanteen hallinta ja autonomiaa tilanteissa, joissa puhujan kielellisen repertuaarin riittämättömyys viestintätarpeisiin oli selkeästi näkyvillä.

Toisesta tutkimuskysymyksestä, osanottajien kielitaitokasvokäsityksistä, tutkimus osoitti, että kielenkäyttäjät kokevat kielen ja vuorovaikutuksen eri piirteiden merkityksen kielitaitokasvoissa eri tavoin. Kun toisille kasvojen uhka liittyi läheisesti ymmärtämisongelmiin, toisille pelkkä oman puutteelliseksi koetun puheen altistaminen muiden arvostelulle oli uhka kielitaitokasvoille. Lisäksi osallistujilla oli erilaisia käsityksiä viestintäongelmien vakavuudesta, niiden alkuperästä ja niiden seurauksista osallistujien kielitaitokasvoille. Tilannesidonnasen roolin merkitys kielitaitokasvoille osoitti, etteivät kielitaitokasvot liity pelkästään Spencer-Oateyn laatukasvokäsitteeseen, vaan myös sosiaalisen identiteetin kasvojen käsitteeseen.

Tutkimuksessa havaittiin myös, ettei kielitaitokasvojen erottaminen kasvojen muista elementeistä, esim. ammatillisista kasvoista, ollut aina yksiselitteistä tai edes mahdollista.

Toisen kasvoja suojeltiin edellä mainituin yhteistyön keinoin. Osallistujan toisen kielitaitokasvoihin orientoitumisen aste vaihteli. Toisen kielitaitokasvojen huomioon ottaminen, keskinäisten kielitaitoerojen tunnustaminen, ja käyttäjän suosimat kasvotyöstrategiat olivat perusteena neljälle eri "kielitaitokasvoasennolle". Asennoille annettiin nimet (1) Varjoissa piileskely, (2) Varpailla eteneminen, (3) Elä ja anna toisten kuolla, sekä (4) Laivan uusi kapteeni. Näitä kielitaitokasvoasentoja voidaan pitää eksploratiivsen prosessin tuloksena pikemmin kuin tyhjentävänä luettelona mahdollisista asentotyypeistä.

Tutkimus osoitti, että kielitaitokasvojen käsitteellä on ns. eemistä relevanssia, eli se on merkityksellinen ja selityspotentiaalia omaava käsite kielenkäyttäjien oman kokemuksen valossa. Tutkimustulokset myös vahvistivat sitä metodologista olettamaa, että kasvojen tutkimuksessa tutkijan oma analyysi vuorovaikutusaineistosta ilman vuorovaikutuksen osallistujien näkemysten analyysia voi antaa puutteellisen tai jopa vääristyneen kuvan kasvojen merkityksestä vuorovaikutuksessa.

Tutkimuksen pedagogisina implikaatioina todetaan, että koska kielenkäyttäjän oma kielitaitokasvojen herkkyys ja kyvyttömyys havaita toisen kielitaitokasvojen suojelutarpeet voivat olla esteenä vieraan kielen oppimiselle, kielitaitokasvokysymykset pitäisi nivoa kielididaktiikkaan. Olennaisia aihealueita ovat realistisen kieliminän tukeminen, kielikäsityksen tekeminen tietoiseksi ja merkitysneuvotteluiden pitäminen myönteisenä vuorovaikutuksen osana pikemmin kuin osoituksena puutteellisesta kielitaidosta. Ymmärrysongelmien esiintuomiseen tulisi suhtautua "kevytmielisesti pikemmin kuin tabuna" (vrt. Ellis 1998: 526). Samoin metakielellisiä kommentteja tulisi pitää normaalin vieraskielisen viestinnän selkeyttävänä piirteenä.

Ehdotetut uudet tutkimusavaukset aiheesta olivat tutkimuksen laajentaminen muihin kulttuuripiireihin, kielitaitokasvojen vaihtelun tutkiminen saman kielenkäyttäjän eri kielenkäyttökonteksteissa, sujuvien kielenkäyttäjien kielitaitokasvotarpeet, pääosin syntyperäisten yhteisössä toimivien ei-syntyperäisten kielenkäyttäjien, mm. maahanmuuttajien kielitaitokasvojen tutkimus, sekä neurotieteiden ja kokeellisen lingvistiikan hyödyntäminen kielitaitokasvoihin liittyvien tunteiden tutkimuksessa.

REFERENCES

ACTFL. (American Council On The Teaching Of Foreign Languages), 2012. ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines 2012. Available at: https://www.actfl.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/public/ACTFLProficiencyGuidelines2012_FINAL.pdf.

Ahvenainen, T. 2005. *Problem-Solving Mechanisms in information exchange dialogues with English as a lingua franca.* Licentiate Thesis. University of Jyväskylä. Available at: http://urn.fi/URN:NBN:fi:jyu-2005219. [accessed 23 September 2016].

Andrews, T. 2012. What is social constructionism? *The Grounded Theory Review,* 11 (1), 39–46.

Arundale, R. B. 2009. Face as emergent in interpersonal communication: an alternative to Goffman. In F. Bargiela-Chiappini, & M. Haugh (eds.), *Face, Communication and Social Interaction (*pp. 33–54), London: Equinox.

Arundale, R. B. 2010. Constituting face in conversation: Face, facework and interactional achievement. *Journal of Pragmatics,* 42, 2078–2105.

Arundale, R. B. 2013a. Face as a research focus in interpersonal pragmatics: Relational and emic perspectives, *Journal of Pragmatics*, 58, 108–120.

Arundale, R. B. 2013b. Face, relating, and dialectics: A response to Spencer-Oatey. Discussion note. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 58, 138–151.

Auer, P., & Eastman, C. M. 2010. Code-Switching. In J. J.Verschueren & J-O Östman (eds.), *Society and Language Use,* 84–112. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Bachman, L. F., & Palmer, A. S. 1996. *Language Testing in Practice: Designing and Developing Useful Language Tests.* Oxford: University Press.

Bandura, A. 1997. *Self-efficacy: The exercise of control.* New York: Freeman.

Barcelos, A.M.F., 2003. Researching beliefs about SLA: a critical review. In P. Kalaja & A.M.F. Barcelos (eds.), *Beliefs about SLA: New Research Approaches,* (pp. 7–33), Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Barcelos, A.F., & Kalaja, P. 2011. Introduction to beliefs about SLA revisited. *System*, 39, 281–289.

Bargiela-Chiappini, F. 2003. Face and politeness: new (insights) for old (concepts). *Journal of Pragmatics*, 35, 1453–1469.

Bargiela-Chiappini, F., & Haugh, M. (eds.), 2009. *Face, Communication and Social Interaction.* London: Equinox.

Batziakas, B. 2016. *Investigating Meaning-Making in English as a Lingua Franca* (ELF). Doctoral Thesis. King's College of London, University of London.

Blommaert, J. 2005. *Discourse: A Critical Introduction. Key Topics in Sociolinguistics* Cambridge: University Press.

Blum-Kulka, S. 1987. Indirectness and politeness in requests. Same or different? *Journal of Pragmatics*, 11, 131–146.

Bong, M., & Skaalvik, E. M. 2003. Academic self-concept and self-efficacy: How different are they really? *Educational Psychology Review,* 15 (1), 1–40.

Brewer, M. B., & Gardner, W., 1996. Who is this ''we''? Levels of collective identity and self representations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 71 (1), 83–93.

Brown, P., & S. C. 1987. *Politeness*. Cambridge: University Press.

Burrell, G., & Morgan, G. 1979. *Sociological Paradigms and Organizational Analysis: Elements of the Sociology of Corporate Life*. London: Heinemann.

Buss, A. H. 1980. *Self-consciousness and Social Anxiety*. San Francisco: Freeman.

Campbell, J., Assenand, S., & Di Paula, A. 2000. Structural features of the self-concept and adjustment. In A. Tesser, R. B. Felson, & J. M. Suls, (eds.), *Psychological Perspectives on Self and Identity*, (pp. 67–87), Washington, D.C.; American Psychological Association.

Canale, M. 1983. From communicative competence to communicative language pedagogy. In J. F. Richards & R. W. Schmidt (eds.), *Language and Communication,* (pp. 2–27). London: Longman.

Canale, M., & Swain, M. 1980. Theoretical bases of communicative approaches to second language teaching and testing. *Applied Linguistics* 1, 1–47.

Carmichael, C. 2000, Conclusions: Language and national identity in Europe. In S. Barbour and C. Carmichael (eds.), *Language and Nationalism in Europe* (pp. 280–289), Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Carver, C. C., Reynolds, S. L., & Scheier, M. F. 1994. The possible selves of optimists and pessimists. *Journal of Research in Personality*, 28, 133–141.

Chick, J. K. 1996. Safe-talk: Collusion in apartheid education. In H. Coleman (ed.), *Society and the Language Classroom*, (pp. 21–39). Cambridge: University Press. .

Cogo, A. 2009. Accommodating difference in ELF conversations: A study of pragmatic strategies. In A. Mauranen (ed.), *English as a Lingua Franca: Studies and Findings,* (pp. 254–273). Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Cogo, A. 2012. ELF and super-diversity: a case study of ELF multilingual practices from a business context. *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca.* 1 (2), 287–313.

Cogo, A., & Dewey M. 2006. Efficiency in ELF communication: From pragmatic motives to lexico-grammatical innovation. *Nordic Journal of English Studies.* 5 (2), 52–93.

Cogo, A., & Dewey, M. 2012. *Analysing English as a Lingua Franca: a Corpus-driven Investigation*. London: Continuum.

Council of Europe, 2001. *A Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment. Council of Cultural Co-Operation.* Education Committee. Available at: https://rm.coe.int/1680459f97. [accessed 2 November 2016].

Council of Europe, 2018. *Common European framework of reference for languages: learning, teaching, assessment. Companion volume with new descriptors.* Available at: https://rm.coe.int/cefr-companion-volume-with-new-descriptors-2018/1680787989 [accessed 13 August 2019].

Cross, S. E., & Gore, J. S. 2003. Cultural models of the self. In In M. R. Leary, & J.P. Tangley (eds.), *Handbook of Self and Identity* (pp. 536–564), New York: The Guildford Press.

Croucher, S., Sommier, M., Rahmani, D., & Appenrodt, J. 2015. A cross-cultural analysis of communication apprehension: a comparison of three European nations. *Journal of Intercultural Communication.* (38). Available at: http://www.immi.se/intercultural/nr38/croucher.html.%20Cited%2011%20September%202016. [accessed 11 September 2016].

Dalton-Puffer, C. 2007. *Discourse in Content and Language Integrated (CLIL) Classrooms.* Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Davies, A. 1991. *The Native Speaker in Applied Linguistics.* Edinburgh: University Press.

Dewaele, J.-M. 2007. The effect of multilingualism, sociobiographical, and situational factors on communicative anxiety and foreign language anxiety of mature language learners. *International Journal of Bilingualism.* 11 (4), 391– 409.

Dewaele, J.-M., & Dewaele, L. 2017. The dynamic interactions in foreign language classroom anxiety and foreign language enjoyment of pupils aged 12 to 18. A pseudo-longitudinal investigation. *Journal of the European Second Language Association*, 1(1), 12–22.

Dewaele, J.-M., & MacIntyre, P. D. 2014. The two faces of Janus? Anxiety and enjoyment in the foreign language classroom. *Studies in Second Language Learning and Teaching*, 4, 237–274.

Dewey, M. 2007. English as a lingua franca and globalisation: an interconnected perspective. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics,* 17 (3), 332–354.

Dewey, M. 2009. English as a lingua franca. Heightened variability and theoretical implications. In A. Mauranen (ed.), *English as a Lingua Franca: Studies and Findings,* (pp. 60–83), Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Domenici, K., & Littlejohn, S. W. 2006. *Facework: Bridging Theory and Practice.* Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage.

Dörnyei, Z. 2005. *The Psychology of the Language Learner: Individual Differences in Second Language Acquisition.* Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Dörnyei, Z. 2007. *Research Methods in Applied Linguistics.* Oxford: University Press.

Dörnyei, Z. 2009. Motivation, language identity and the L2 self. In Z. Dörnyei, & E: Ushioda (eds.), *Motivation, Language Identity and the L2 Self* (pp. 350–356), Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Dörnyei, Z., & Ryan, S. 2015. The Psychology of the Language Learner Revisited. New York & London: Routledge.

Dörnyei, Z., & Scott, M.L. 1997. Communication Strategies in a Second Language: Definitions and Taxonomies. *Language Learning.* 47(1), 173 – 210.

Drew, P., & Heritage, J. 1992. Analysing talk at work: an introduction. In P. Drew & J. Heritage (eds.), *Talk at work. Interaction in Institutional Settings* (pp. 3–65). Cambridge: University Press.

Earley, P. C. 1997. *Face, Harmony, and Social Structure: An Analysis of Organizational Behavior Accross Cultures.* Cary, US: Oxford University Press. Available at: http://www.ebrary.com. [cited 3 June 2016].

Ehrenreich, S. 2009. English as a lingua franca in multinational corporations. In A. Mauranen (ed.), *English as a Lingua Franca: Studies and Findings,* (pp. 126 – 15), Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Fang J., Huang X., Zhang M., Huang F., Li Z., & Yuan, Q. 2018. The big-fish-little pond effect on academic self-concept: a meta-analysis. *Front. Psychol.* 9, 1569.

Firth, A. 1996. The discursive accomplishment of normality: on 'lingua-franca' English and conversation analysis. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 26, 237 – 259.

Firth, A., & Wagner, J. 1997. On discourse, communication, and (some) fundamental concepts in SLA research. *Modern Language Journal*, 81(3), pp. 285–330.

Foolen, A. 2019. Quo vadis pragmatics? From adaptation to participatory sense-making. *Journal of Pragmatics* 145, pp. 39–46.

Gao, G. 2009. Face and self in Chinese communication. In F. Bargiela-Chiappini, & M. Haugh (eds.), *Face, Communication and Social Interaction* (pp. 175–191). London: Equinox.

Garcés-Conejos Blitvich, P. 2013. Introduction: Face, identity and im/politeness. Looking backward, moving forward: From Goffman to practice theory. *Journal of Politeness Research* 2013; 9(1): 1–33.

Geertz, C. 1973. *Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture.* New York: Basic Books.

Goffman, E. 1959. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life.* New York: Anchor Books.

Goffman, E. 1967. *Interaction Ritual.* New York: Pantheon Books.

Goodwin, M., & Goodwin C. 1986. Gesture and coparticipation in the activity of searching for a word. *Semiotica* 62, 1–2.

Grice, P. 1975. Logic and conversation. In P. Cole & J. Morgan (eds.) *Syntax and Semantics.* 3: Speech acts (pp. 41–58). New York: Academic Press.

Gu, Y. 1990. Politeness phenomena in modern Chinese. *Journal of Pragmatics* 14 (2): 237–257.

Gumperz, J. 1982. *Discourse strategies.* Cambridge: University Press.

Halonen, M. 2012. Rikkinäisiä ja likaisia: Kieli-ideologiset prosessit kielentutkimuksen diskursseissa. *Virittäjä*, 116 (3), 443-462.

Haugh, M. 2007. Emic conceptualisations of (im)politeness and face in Japanese: Implications for the discursive negotiation of second language learner identities. *Journal of Pragmatics* 39 (4), 657–680.

Haugh, M. 2009. Face in interaction. In F. Bargiela-Chiappini, & M. Haugh (eds.), *Face, Communication and Social Interaction* (pp. 1–30). London: Equinox.

Haugh, M., & Bargiela-Chiappini, F. 2010. Face in interaction. *Journal of Pragmatics.* 42(8), 2073–2077.

Haugh, M., & Hinze. C. 2003. A metalinguistic approach to deconstructing the concepts of 'face' and 'politeness' in Chinese, English and Japanese. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 35, 1581–1611.

Haugh, M., & Watanabe, Y. 2009. Analysing Japanese 'face-in-interaction': insights from intercultural business meetings. In F. Bargiela-Chiappini, & M. Haugh (eds.), *Face, Communication and Social Interaction* (pp. 78–95). London: Equinox.

Higgins, E.T. 1987 Self-discrepancy: A theory relating self and affect. *Psychological Review* 94, 319–340.

Ho, D. Y-F. 1976. On the concept of face. *American Journal of Sociology* 81(4): 867–884.

Holtgraves, T., & Yang, J. 1990. Politeness as universal: Cross-cultural perceptions of request strategies and inferences based on their use. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 59, 719–729.

Horner, B., & Blommaert, J. 2017. Mobility and academic literacies: An epistolary conversation. *London Review of Education.* 15(1) March 2017.

Horwitz, E., Horwitz, K., Michael. B., & Cope, J. 1986. Foreign language classroom anxiety. *Modern Language Journal.* 70. 2. 125–132.

House, J. 2012. English as a lingua franca and linguistic diversity. *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca* 1–1 (2012), 173–175.

Hülmbauer, C. 2009. "We don't take the right way. We just take the way that we think you will understand" – The shifting relationship between correctness and effectiveness in ELF. . In A. Mauranen (ed.), *English as a Lingua Franca: Studies and Findings,* (pp. 323–347), Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Hynninen. N. 2010. "We try to to to speak all the time in easy sentences" – Student conceptions of ELF interaction. *Helsinki English Studies* (6), (pp. 29–43). Available at: http://blogs.helsinki.fi/hes-eng/volumes/volume-6.

Hynninen, N. 2011. The practice of 'mediation' in English as a lingua franca interaction. *Journal of Pragmatics* 43 (2011) 965–977.

Hynninen N. 2013. *Language Regulation in English as a Lingua Franca. Exploring Language-Regulatory Practices in Academic Spoken Discourse.* Doctoral dissertation. University of Helsinki.

Izadi, A. 2018. The epistemic grounds of face in institutional argumentative talk-in-interaction. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 134, 45–56.

Jenkins, J. 2007. *English as a Lingua Franca: Attitude and Identity.* Oxford: University Press.

Jenkins, J. 2011. Accommodating (to) ELF in the international university. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 43, 926–936.

Jenkins, J., Cogo, A., & Dewey, M. 2011. Review of developments in research into English as a lingua franca. *Language Teaching*, 44(3), 281–315.

Joseph, J. E. 2013. Identity work and face work across linguistic and cultural boundaries. *Journal of Politeness Research: Language, Behavior, Culture.* 9 (1) 35—54.

Kádár, D. Z., & Haugh, M. 2013. *Understanding politeness.* Cambridge: University Press.

Kádár, D. Z., & Pan, Yu. 2012. Chinese 'face' and im/politeness: An introduction. *Journal of Politeness Research: Language, Behavior, Culture.* 8 (1), 1–10.

Kalaja, P., Barcelos, A. M. F, Aro M., & Ruohotie-Lyhty, M. 2015. *Beliefs, Agency and Identity in Foreign Language Learning and Teaching.* Basingstoke: Palgrave-McMillan.

Kankaanranta, A. 2005 *"Hej Seppo, Could You Pls Comment on This!" – Internal Email Communication in Lingua Franca English in a Multinational Company.* Ph.D. dissertation, Centre for Applied Language Studies, University of Jyväskylä.

Kankaanranta, A., & Louhiala-Salminen, L. 2010. "English? – Oh, it's just work!": A study of BELF users' perceptions. *English for Specific Purposes* 29, 204–209.

Kostoulas, A., & Mercer, S. 2016. Fifteen years of research on self & identity in System. *System.* 60, 128–134.

Koutlaki, S. A. 2009. Two sides of the same coin: how the notion of 'face' is encoded in Persian communication. In F. Bargiela-Chiappini, & M. Haugh (eds.), *Face, Communication and Social Interaction* (pp. 115–136). London: Equinox.

Kramsch, C. 2009. *The Multilingual Subject.* Oxford: University Press.

Kurhila, S. 2006. *Second Language Interaction.* Philadelphia, NL: John Benjamins Publishing Company. Available at http://www.ebrary.com. [cited 21 January 2016].

Labben, A. 2016. Revisiting face and identity: Insights from Tunisian culture. *Journal of Pragmatics* 108, 98–115.

Larsen-Freeman, D., & Cameron L. 2008. *Complex Systems and Applied Linguistics.* Oxford: University Press.

Lee, J. 2005. The native speaker: An achievable model? *Asian EFL Journal.* 7(2), 152–163.

Leppänen, S., & Nikula T. 2007. Diverse uses of English in Finnish society. Discourse-pragmatic insights into media, educational and business contexts. *Multilingua.* 26 (4), 333–380.

Leppänen, S., Pitkänen-Huhta A., Nikula T., Kytölä S., Törmäkangas T., Nissinen K., Kääntä L., Räisänen T., Laitinen M., Pahta P., Koskela H., Lähdesmäki, S., & Jousmäki, H. 2011. National Survey on the English Language in Finland: Uses, meanings and attitudes. *Studies in Variation, Contacts and Change in English,* 5. Available at: http://www.helsinki.fi/varieng/journal/volumes/05/index.html. [cited 1 November 2016].

Leung, A. K.-Y., & Cohen, D. 2011. Within- and between-culture variation: Individual differences and the cultural logics of honor, face, and dignity cultures. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 100 (3), 507—526.

Lim, T. S. 1994. Facework and interpersonal relationships. In S. Ting-Toomey (ed.), *Cross-Cultural and Interpersonal Issues* (pp. 209—230). Albany: State University of New York Press.

Lim, T. S. 2009. Face in the holistic and relativistic society. In F. Bargiela-Chiappini, & M. Haugh (eds.), *Face, Communication and Social Interaction* (pp. 250–268). London: Equinox.

Lim, T. S., & Bowers, J. W. 1991. Facework: solidarity, approbation and tact. *Human Communications Research,* 17, 415—450.

MacIntyre, P. D., & Gardner, R. C. 1994. The effects of induced anxiety on three stages of cognitive processing in computerized vocabulary learning. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition.* 16, 01, 1—17.

Maddux, J. E., & Gosselin, 2003. J. T. Self-Efficacy. In In M. R. Leary & J. P. Tangley (eds.), *Handbook of Self and Identity* (pp. 218 – 238). New York: The Guildford Press.

Magistro, E. 2011. Promoting the European identity: politeness strategies in the discourse of the European Union. *Critical Approaches to Discourse Analysis Accross Disciplines* 1 (1): 51—73.

Marsh, H. W. 1984. Self-concept: the application of a frame of reference model to explain paradoxical results. *The Australian Journal of Education.* 28, 165–181.

Marsh, H. W., & Shavelson, R. J. 1985. Self-concept: Its multifaceted, hierarchical structure. *Educational Psychologist*, 20, 107–125.

Mariotti, C. 2012. Genre variation in academic spoken English: the case of lectures and research conference presentations. In S. M. Maci, & M. Sala, (eds), *Genre Variation in Academic Communication. Emerging Disciplinary Trends* (pp. 66–84). Bergamo: CELSB Libreria Unversitaria.

Markee, N. 2000. *Conversation Analysis*. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Markus, H., & Nurius, P. 1986. Possible selves. *American Psychologist.* 41 (9), 954–969.

Matsumoto, Y. 1988. Reexamination of the universality of face: Politeness phenomena in Japanese. *Journal of Pragmatics* 12 (4), 403–426.

Mauranen, A. 2006. Signalling and preventing misunderstanding in English as lingua franca communication. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 177, 123—150.

Mauranen, A. 2009. Introduction. In A. Mauranen (ed.), 2009. *English as a Lingua Franca: Studies and Findings,* Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Mauranen, A. 2012. *Exploring ELF: Academic English Shaped by Non-native Speakers.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mauranen, A., & Ranta, E. (eds.), 2009. *English as a Lingua Franca: Studies and Findings.* Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Mercer, S. 2011. Language learner self-concept: complexity, continuity and change. *System*, 39 (3), 335–346.

Merkin, R. S. 2006. Uncertainty Avoidance and Facework: A test of the Hofstede model. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations,* 30, 213–228.

Nikula T. 2010. Effects of CLIL on a teacher's classroom language use. In C. Dalton-Puffer, T. Nikula, & U. Smit. *Language Use and Language Learning in CLIL Classrooms.* Amsterdam, NL: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Norton, B. 1997. Language, identity, and the ownership of English. *TESOL Quarterly* 31(3), 409–429.

Nwoye, O., G. 1992. Linguistic politeness and socio-cultural variations of face. *Journal of Pragmatics,* 18, 309—328.

Nylen, A. 2018. *Häviö.* Helsinki: Kosmos.

Oetzel, J., Ting-Toomey, S., Yokochi, Y., Masumoto, T., & Takai, J. 2000. A typology of facework behaviors in conflicts with best friends and relative strangers. *Communication Quarterly*, 48, 397–419.

Oxford English Dictionary (OED), 2013. Oxford University Press, Oxford. Available at: www.oed.com (cited 14 August 2013).

O'Driscoll, J. 1996. About face: A defence and elaboration of universal dualism. *Journal of Pragmatics,* 25, 1–32.

O'Driscoll, J. 2007. What's in an FTA? Reflections on a chance meeting with Claudine. *Journal of Politeness Research* 3, 243–268.

O'Keefe, B. J. 1988. The logic of message design: Individual differences in reasoning about communication. *Communication Monographs*, 55(1), 80–103.

Pajares, F., & Schunk, D. H. 2001. Self-beliefs and school success: Self-efficacy, self-concept, and school achievement. In R. J. Riding & S. G. Rayner (eds.), *International perspectives on individual differences*, 2, (p. 239–265), Westport: Ablex publishing.

Pajares, F., & Schunk, D. H. 2005. Self-Efficacy and Self-Concept Beliefs: Jointly contributing to the quality of human life. In H. Marsh, R. Craven, & D. McInerney, (eds.), *International Advances in Self-Research.* 2, (pp. 95—121), Greenwich, CT: Information Age Publishing.

Pavlenko, A. 2007. Autobiographic narratives as data in applied linguistics. *Applied Linguistics*, 28 (2), 163–188.

Pavlenko, A., & Blackledge, A. (eds.), 2004a. *Negotiation of Identities in Multicultural Context.* Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters.

Pavlenko, A., & Blackledge, A. 2004b. Introduction: New theoretical approaches to the study of negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts. In A. Pavlenko & A. Blackledge. *Negotiation of Identities in Multicultural Context* (pp. 1—33). Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters.

Pearce, W. B., & Cronen, V. 1980. *Communication, action, and meaning: The creation of social realities.* New York: Praeger.

Pearce, W. B., & Littlejohn, S. W. 1997. *Moral conflict: When social worlds collide.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Penman, R. 1994. Faceword and communication: Conceptual and moral challenges. In S. Ting-Toomey, (ed.), *The Challenge of Facework* (pp. 15—46). Albany: State University of New York Press.

Penuel, W. R. & Wertsch, J. V. 1995. Vygotsky and identity formation: A sociocultural approach. *Educational psychologist,* 30 (2), 83–92.

Piirainen-Marsh, A. 1995. *Face in Second Language Conversation.* Studia Philologica Jyväskyläensia, 37. Jyvaskylä: University of Jyvaskylä.

Pitzl, M.-L. 2005. Non-understanding in English as a lingua franca: Examples from a business context. Vienna *English Working Papers*, 142, 50–71. (cited 17 June 2009). Available at: http://www.univie.ac.at/Anglistik/Views0502mlp.pdf.

Potter, J., & Hepburn, A. 2010. Putting aspiration into words: 'Laugh particles', managing descriptive trouble and modulating action. *Journal of Pragmatics* 42 (2010) 1543–1555.

Provine, R. R. 1996. Laughter. *American Scientist,* Jan–Feb 1996, 38–47.

Räisänen, T. 2013. *Professional Communicative Repertoires and Trajectories of Socialization into Global Working Life.* Doctoral dissertation. University of Jyväskylä. Jyväskylä Studies in Humanities 216.

Remsberg, C. 1995. *Tactics for Criminal Patrol: Vehicle Stops, Drug Discovery and Officer Survival.* Glenn Ellyn: Calibre Press.

Roiha, A. 2019. *The Role of CLIL Education in Individual's Life Courses.* Doctoral dissertation. University of Jyväskylä. JYU Dissertations 148. Available at: http://urn.fi/URN:ISBN:978-951-39-7917-1 (cited 13 December 2019).

Ruhi, S. 2011. Face as an indexical category in interaction. *Journal of Pragmatics* 42 (2010) 2131–2146.

Santamaría-García, C. 2014. Evaluative discourse and politeness in university students' communication through social networking sites. In G. Thompson & L. Alba-Juez (eds.) *Evaluation in Context* (pp. 387–411). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Sato, T.; Yujobo, Y. J., Okada, T., & Ogane, E. 2019. Communication strategies employed by low-proficiency users: Possibilities for ELF-informed pedagogy. *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca*, 8 (1).

Saville-Troike, M. 2003. *The Ethnography of Communication: An Introduction.* (3rd ed.) Oxford: Blackwell.

Schlenker, B. R. 2003. Self-Presentation. In M. R. Leary & J.P. Tangley (eds.), *Handbook of Self and Identity* (pp. 492–518), New York: The Guildford Press.

Schlenker, B. R., & Pontari, B. A., 2000. The strategic control of information: impression management and self-presentation in daily life. In A. Tesser, R. B. Felson, J. M. Suls, (eds.), *Psychological Perspectives on Self and Identity* (pp. 199–232). American Washington DC: Psychological Press.

Scollon, R., & Scollon, S. W. 1994. Face parameters in East-West discourse. In S. Ting-Toomey (ed.), *The Challenge of Facework* (pp. 132–157). Albany: State University of New York Press.

Seidlhofer, B. 2009. Orientations in ELF Research: Form and function. In A. Mauranen (ed.), 2009. *English as a Lingua Franca: Studies and Findings (pp. 37–59)*, Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Seidlhofer, B. 2011. *Understanding English as a Lingua Franca.* Oxford: OUP.

Seidlhofer, B., Breiteneder, A, & Pitzl, M-L. 2006. English as a lingua franca in Europe: challenges for applied linguistics. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics.* 26. 3–34.

Sewell, W. H. Jr. 1990. The concept(s) of culture. In V. Bonnel & L. Hunt (eds.), *Beyond the Cultural Turn. New Directions in the Study of Society and Culture* (pp. 35 – 61). Berkeley: University of California Press.

Siebold, K & Busch, H. 2015. (No) need for clarity – Facework in Spanish and German refusals. *Journal of Pragmatics.* 75 (2015) 53–68.

Simon, B., 2004. *Identity in Modern Society. A Social Psychological Perspective.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Smit, U. 2010. *English as a Lingua Franca in Higher Education. A Longitudinal Study of Classroom Discourse.* Berlin: Walter de Gruyter GmbH & co, KG.

Spencer-Oatey, H. (ed.) 2000a. *Culturally Speaking. Culture, Communication and Politeness Theory.* London/New York: Continuum.

Spencer-Oatey, H. 2000b. Face, (im)politeness and Rapportr In H. Spencer-Oatey (ed.), *Culturally speaking. Culture, Communication and Politeness Theory* (pp. 11–47). London/New York: Continuum.

Spencer-Oatey, H. 2002. Managing rapport in talk: Using rapport sensitive incidents to explore the motivational concerns underlying the management of relations. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 34, 529–545.

Spencer-Oatey, H. 2005. (Im)politeness, face and perceptions of rapport: unpacking their bases and interrelationships, *Journal of Politeness Research: Language, Behavior and Culture,* 1, 95–120.

Spencer-Oatey, H. 2007. Theories of identity and the analysis of face. *Journal of Pragmatics,* 39, 639–656.

Spencer-Oatey, H. 2013. Relating at work: Facets, dialectics and face. *Journal of Pragmatics* 58, 121–137.

Spencer-Oatey, H., & Franklin, P. 2009 Intercultural Interaction: A Multidisciplinary Approach to Intercultural Communication. Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Spencer-Oatey, H., & Kádár, D. Z. 2016. The bases of (im)politeness evaluations: Culture, the moral order and the East–West Debate. *East Asian Pragmatics,* 1(1), 1 – 25.

Stivers, T., Mondada, L., & Steensig, J. 2011. Knowledge, morality and affiliation in social interaction. In T. Stivers, L. Mondada & J. Steensig (Eds.). *The Morality of Knowledge in Conversation* (pp. 3–24). Cambridge: University Press.

Taguchi, N., & Ishihara, N. 2018. The pragmatics of English as a lingua franca: Research and pedagogy in the era of globalization. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 37.

Terkourafi, M. 2005. Beyond the micro-level in politeness research. *Journal of Politeness Research*, 1, 237 – 262.

Ting-Toomey, S. (ed.), 1994. *Cross-Cultural and Interpersonal Issues.* Albany: State University of New York Press.

Ting-Toomey, S. 2009. Facework collision in intercultural communication. In F. Bargiela-Chiappini & M. Haugh (eds.), *Face, communication and social interaction (*pp. 227–249.) London: Equinox.

Ting-Toomey, S., & Kurogi, A. 1998. Facework competence in intercultural conflict: An updated face-negotiation theory. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations,* 22 (2), 187–225.

Ting-Toomey, S., & Oetzel, J. G. 2001. *Managing Intercultural Conflict Effectively.* Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage.

Titscher, S., Meyer, M., Wodak, R., & Vetter, E. 2000a. Content Analysis. In S. Titscher, M. Meyer, R. Wodak, & E. Vetter, *Methods of Text and Discourse Analysis* (pp. 55–73). London: Sage.

Titscher, S., Meyer, M., Wodak, R., & Vetter, E. 2000b. Ethnographic methods. In S. Titscher, M. Meyer, R. Wodak, & E. Vetter, *Methods of Text and Discourse Analysis*, (pp. 90–103), London: Sage.

Ukosakul, M. 2009. The significance of "face" and politeness in social interaction as revealed through Thai "face" idioms. In F. Bargiela-Chiappini & M. Haugh (eds.), *Face, Communication and Social Interaction* (pp. 389–305.) London: Equinox.

van Lier, L. 2004. *The Ecology and Semiotics of Language Learning: A Sociocultural Perspective.* Boston: Kluwer Academic.

Vetchinnikova, S. 2011. Spoken comment.

Vetchinnikova, S. 2015. Usage-based recycling or creative exploitation of the shared code? The case of phraseological patterning. *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca*, 4 (2) 223 — 252.

Virkkula, T., & Nikula, T. 2010. Identity Construction in ELF Contexts: a case study of Finnish engineering students working in Germany. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 2, 251–273.

Wang J., & Spencer-Oatey, H. 2015. The gains and losses of face in ongoing intercultural interaction: A case study of Chinese participant perspectives. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 89, 50–65.

Wenden, A. 1998. Metacognitive Knowledge and Language Learning. *Applied Linguistics*. 19, 515–37.

Yan, J. X., & Horwitz, E. K. 2008. Learners' perceptions of how anxiety interacts with personal and instructional factors to influence their achievement in English: A qualitative analysis of EFL learners in China. *Language Learning*, 58(1), 151–183.

Ylänne, V. 2000. Communication accommodation theory. In H. Spencer-Oatey (ed.), *Culturally speaking. Culture, Communication and Politeness Theory* (pp. 164–186). London/New York: Continuum.

Transcription symbols

well , yes	(comma) a pause within a turn, approximately one second or shorter
(pause 3 secs)	pause between turns or a pause within a turn longer that one second, approximate duration of the pause
founda-	unfinished word
to::	elongated sound
well YES	word said with prominence CAPITALIZED
S?	non-identified speaker
really/	rising intonation
[ ] [[ ]]	simultaneous speech
Otto [yes]	
Marie [yes] [[but]]	
S3 [[I think]]	
(*gestures with the right hand*)	transcribers comments (italiced in brackets)
(nn)	short passage of unclear speech (number of n's equals estimated number of syllables)
{nnn} (Polish)	short passage of speech in a language incomprehensible to the researcher (number of n's equals estimated number of syllables)
(speaks Romanian 21 secs)	longer passage of in a language incomprehensible to the researcher given as a transcriber's comment
{joo kai} (Finnish) *well yeah*	{speech in language other than English when comprehensible to the researcher} (language)
	translation
house (?)	unclear speech, unsure of transcription
@	laughter
@house@	utterance said laughing

Example extract from the transcript of interview data

Tarmo   okay/

Frank   okay so we were discussioning the form of presentation

Tarmo   yeah

Frank   and I just suggest to do a dance @

Tarmo   @

Frank   wasn't it didn't make any sense but I did it to [nn] the situation that everyone could have a laugh and

Tarmo   yeah

Frank   after that err moment started to make a real suggestion to make some progress

Tarmo   yeah , err did you find the atmosphere of this meeting very different from the one of the measuring exercise , the measuring exercise the inventory exercise when you were measuring I mean the situation we just watched. If you compare THAT to this meeting would you say the atmosphere was different or similar how would you compare

(pause 2 secs)

Frank   i would rather say it's more similar than different

Tarmo   yeah okay yeah okay

19:25

(pause 12 secs)

Tarmo   okay if there is anything that comes to your mind please feel free to say

Frank   like very interesting in this situation that we don't have a clear like a leader who takes the lead

Tarmo   yeah

Frank   everyone is on the same level , everyone's got the same right to say something to take the lead for a

Permission for recording

REQUES" FOR PERMISSION TO RECORD CONVERSATION

Dear user of the English language

I am collecting material for my doctoral dissertation where I study **use of the English language between non-native speakers in a professional context.** My dissertation is submitted to Jyväskylä University, Centre of Applied Linguistics, Finland. For this purpose, I am collecting audio and/or video recordings of conversations, at least mainly conducted in the English language.

The identity of persons who participate in the study will not be revealed in the written report. Also other confidential information, for example names of persons, companies, organisations or products, as well as prices and other numerical information that are mentioned in conversations, will be either omitted or altered in the final report.

I will personally keep the material in my possession and it is not available to any other person.

I have received funding for this research from Kymenlaaskon UAS and from the following Finnish research foundations: William ja Ester Otsakorven säätiö, Liikesivistyrahasto, and Kymiyhtiön 100-vuotissäätiö.

I am happy to provide you with any further information

Researcher   Supervisor
Tarmo Ahvenainen   Professor Tarja Nikula

Please confirm your acceptance to participate in the study below

****

☒ I accept that conversations that I particpate in English can be recorded for the above-mentioned research purposes.

20. 04. 2011
Date   Signature

Name in block letters

This request for permission has been drafted following the guidelines drafted by the Finnish Subcommittee of Research Ethics with the title "Hyvä tieteellinen käytäntö ja sen loukkausten käsitteleminen (2002)" [eng. Good scientific practice and scrutinising its violations]