『イタリア的、恋愛マニュアル』
イタリア人の若者のコミュニケーションスタイル
に対する日本人の若者の感覚や解釈
──恋愛についての異文化間の考察──

Manuale d'amore: How young Japanese people perceive/evaluate the
communication style of young Italians.
──── A cross-cultural study on romance[1] ────

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Introduction

The term 'communication style' is used in this study to describe the ways in which
individuals convey messages to each other through verbal and non-verbal behavior.

Depending on the *activity type* in which they are involved（e.g., a job interview,
a party with friends?）, speakers select a particular style.[2] The selected form of talk
is usually validated among speakers sharing the same linguistic code, and cultural
background. Under the same circumstances however, people interpreting a given
situation according to different framing strategies may perceive these very same
stylistic choices as dissonant and possibly misunderstand them altogether.

Ever since it was introduced by Bateson（1954）, further elaborated on by Goffman
（1974; 1981）, the notion of 'frame' has significantly influenced the study of language
interaction. This concept can be defined as a superordinate metamessage regarding the
intention of the ongoing communication, in other words, "what people think they are

2　The concept of 'activity type' was defined by Levinson（1979）as "a fuzzy category whose focal
members are goal-defined, socially constituted, bounded events with constraints on participants, setting,
and so on, but above all on the kinds of allowable contributions"（p. 368, quoted in Thomas, 1996, p.189）.
As Thomas（1995）pointed out, Levinson's notion of 'activity type' appears more suitable than Hymes'
notion of 'speech event' when describing linguistic interaction from a pragmatic angle. Hymes was more
interested in describing rather formal and ritualized events from an interactional socio-linguistic point of
view. Moreover, while the term 'speech event' conveys the image of the context constraining the way
people speak, the notion of 'activity type' allows us to see "the individual's use of language as shaping
the 'event'"（p.189, see also Pizziconi 2009）.

doing when they talk to each other（i.e., are they joking, lecturing, or arguing? is this a fight or is it play?）"（Tannen, 1993, p. 6）.

In this paper I will explore a case of cross-cultural mismatch and re-framing stemming from dissimilar believes（i.e., ideologies）as to the way speakers are expected to behave when expressing feelings and thougts at the onset of a heterosexual romantic relationship. The study is based on a questionnaire I administered in some of my classes at Nagoya University of Arts（NUA）, after showing the students an episode of *Manuale d'amore*（'The Manual of Love'）by Giovanni Veronesi（2005）, in Italian with Japanese subtitles. The movie, divided into four episodes of approximately 25 minutes each, is a typical contemporary Italian comedy starring popular actors. The episode I focused on is the first one, *L'innamoramento*（'Falling in Love'）. It tells the story of Tommaso, a twenty-six-year-old Italian boy, who one day meets a girl of the same age named Giulia in Rome by accident. For Tommaso it is love at first sight, and for most of the plot we witness his fumbling attempts at approaching Giulia, who, in the beginning overtly avoids him, before eventually agreeing to become his friend and date him. Finally the girl is fascinated by Tommaso's frankness and tenderness. At the end of the story the two fall in love and get married.

In the past few years I used the episode *L'innamoramento* in my Italian classes, with the purpose of showing the students an example of how young Italians may communicate their feelings of affection when falling in love（or, at least, when a boy is attracted to a girl and wants to get involved with her romantically）. To my surprise I found that, despite showing a genuine interest in the story, which in general was considered hilarious and intriguing, many students admitted that they felt rather uncomfortable（"*iwakan ga kanjiru*," "*kimochi ga warui*," "*kowai*"）with the "straightforwardness" of the protagonists, especially with Tommaso whose techniques of courtship were perceived as somewhat harassing, by both male and female students.

I carried out informal interviews with four Italian native speakers familiar with the movie（in Italy it was a hit and many people have seen it）, asking them to evaluate the credibility of the narration and the characters. From their responses I concluded that the story is convincing, and that the characters may be said to portray mainstream young Italians, notwithstanding the distinctive personalities of each of them. For example, a forty-eight-year-old Italian male participant, commented that in his view the male protagonist Tommaso was unquestionably true to life, although quite annoying. Having been asked why, he responded that Tommaso reminded him of himself when he was the same age.

I have also found the remarks of an Italian colleague of mine teaching Italian at a university in Tokyo to be quite significant. Upon learning that I was conducting a cross-cultural study on *Manuale d'amore* this colleague told me that she had shown the episode *L'innamoramento* several times in her classes, and admitted to having been disappointed by the unexpected reactions she observed among her pupils, especially with regard to Tommaso whom most of the students defined without hesitation "a stalker," a definition she disagreed with (she was unaware that I had experienced the same perplexity at my students comments).

Based on the above, I developed the following hypothesis which served as a starting point for the present research: There are situations, such as those recounted in *L'innamoramento*, in which the way speakers communicate their feelings may be perceived as too explicit by Japanese people, presumably due to different values put into operation while building rapport. I assumed that by asking students to evaluate the communication style of the protagonists of the movie, some of the sociocultural values shaping their language ideology could be explored (see a definition of 'value' further on).

Silverstein (1979) defined 'language ideology' as "any set of beliefs about language articulated by the users, as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use" (quoted in Okamoto, 2004, p. 38). Based on the above Rumsey (1990) described language ideologies as "shared bodies of commonsense notions about the nature of language in the world" (p. 346). Woolard (1991) expanded Rumsey's definition incorporating "cultural conceptions not only of language and language variation, but [also] of the nature and purpose of communication, and of communicative behavior as an enactment of a collective order" (p. 235). With Pizziconi (2009) I describe ideology as "a particular constellation of moral values and norms of (verbal) behaviour," noticing that "when the same constellation of values is seen to be at work on a large scale we may indeed talk of culture, but this is subject to quantitative testing" (p. 228).

My reasoning will proceed along these lines. As the analysis of my data is still underway, here I will mainly focus on the theoretical background of the research, reviewing some classical approaches to the description of cultural variations. I will highlight the categorizations traditionally used to describe the Japanese communication modes, since Japanese is the native language of my students, and therefore the values that could be considered as triggering the Japanese style are presumably the same values that may be shaping my students' ideology. In the analytic section I will explain the method I followed for collecting my data, and finally, in the discussion, I will report

on the results I have come up with so far.

Theoretical background

Cultural categorization and *nihonjinron*

To understand basic differences in communication style, Hall（1976）categorized a number of countries into high context（HC）versus low context（LC）cultures. Societies in HC cultures have been said to be characterized by well structured social hierarchy, and by the tendency not to always convey information explicitly, in view of the fact that listeners are expected to be able to understand the unsaid, relying on background knowledge. Conversely, in LC cultures, where the concern for social hierarchy does not constitute a salient trait, communication has been described as direct, based on true feelings/intentions, and characterized by the speakers' tendency to demand explanations when something remains unclear. Hall and Hall（1990）measured the degree of context-dependence among ten different cultures distributed in distinct geographical areas. Japan was placed at the top of the HC societies, followed by the Arab countries, Greece, Spain, Italy, England, France, North America, the Scandinavian countries, and the German-Speaking countries.

In the plethora of linguistic and ethnographic accounts on Japan, the Japanese style has been iconized as highly context dependent, intuitive, strong in connotation and weak in denotation. In order to explain these traits, an impressive number of cultural code words has traditionally been used, among which we find 'ishin denshin'（'from mind to mind,' unspoken communication）, 'sasshi'（'guessing' what the speaker means, reading between lines）, 'honne vs. tatemae'（'true feelings' vs. 'façade'）, 'uchi vs. soto'（'in-group' vs. 'out-group'）. As for the core cultural values triggering such a style, 'amae'（need for dependence on, and acceptance by the in-groups）, empathy（'omoiyari'）, desire for harmony（'wa'）, etc. are called into play（Wierzbicka, 1997）.

The above key concepts have usually been explained as the product of a homogeneous society, and linked to its collectivistic nature. According to Hofstede（1980）, for instance, the terms 'individualism vs. collectivism' are intended to describe the opposite degrees to which individuals are integrated into groups. On the individualistic side（IDV）we find societies in which the ties between people are not rigidly tight, and people are expected to look after themselves and their immediate family. On the opposite side we find societies in which individuals identify themselves as part of strong and cohesive in-groups from birth onward. In Hofstede's（2003）estimation, Japan

stands out as a strongly collectivistic nation（IDV 40%）, while Italy as a remarkably individualistic one（IDV over 70%, the average for the European Countries being less than 60%）.

Despite their apparent influence, Hofstede's descriptions/predictors of cultural behavior have been regarded as problematic in the literature on inter-cultural communication（see Bond et al., 2000, and M-S Kim, 2005, among others critics）. For example, Holliday（2010）pointed out that Hofstede's categorizations rely on calculable behavioral formulae at a macro-level of analysis, being consistent with a particular theory of society, the structural-functionalist one（cf. Durkheim, 1933, *The division of labour in society*）, which gives the impression of societies as solid objects. Accordingly, national cultures are treated as organic systems containing the complementary elements of every aspect of social life, such as social structure, social behavior, values and ideology.

However, although this model, if treated heuristically, helps us to understand the structural features of societies, "its holistic incorporation of everything within a solid, describable system, if treated as the representation of the real world, presents problems"（p. 260）. In other words, if a culture is considered collectivist, and any behavior within it is explained as determined by, or deviating from, its collectivistic nature, this picture creates an essentialist description. Such essentialist pictures, as Holliday（2010）indicated, are prone to ethnocentrism because behavioral traits（e.g., direct communication vs. indirect communication, inclination to express viewpoints explicitly rather than inferentially, etc.）, are easily traced as the prioritizing traits of a *culture*, leading to the underestimation of *personal choices*. Although categories such as "individualism vs. collectivism" claim to be neutral, in effect they run the risk of projecting an idealized Western self vs. a idealized non-Western Other. This ties in with the Western discourse of second language（especially ESL）education "where the perceived collectivistic cultures of 'non-native speakers' are chauvinistically imagined to be lacking in individualist abilities to think critically, to be autonomous, [and] to speak out"（Holliday, 2010, p. 260; see also Kumaravadivelu, 2003, and Murata, 2011）.

From the Japanese point of view, a similarly dichotomizing vision was expressed in a specular way by academics endorsing the framework of *nihonjinron*（i.e., the theories on the Japanese）, which became popular during the 1960s and the 1970s. As indicated by Kubota（1998）, among the representatives of this theories we find scholars from both Japan and the United States（cf. among others Benedict, 1946; Doi, 1971; Kindaichi, 1975; Nakane, 1967; Reischauer, 1978; Vogel, 1979）who wrote about the sociological,

psychological, and linguistic "uniqueness" of the Japanese people, characterizing the Japanese communication style in terms of taciturnity, in contrast to the Western mode (in particular the English language) which was described in terms of eloquence, dialectical logic, and rationality (Kubota, 1999).

Since the 1980s however, critics have begun to argue that the ideological underpinnings of *nihonjinron* fostered ethnic and class uniformity, while disregarding diversity, and ignoring the existence of divergency and conflicts in the Japanese society (see for example Dale, 1986; Sugimoto & Mouer, 1982; Befu, 1987, 2001). As Okamoto and Shibamoto Smith (2004) pointed out, for instance, many aspects of Japanese sociolinguistic practices (e.g., the use of honorifics and self-reference address terms, female vs. male speech, voice pitch level, and a broad range of speech styles such as polite, unassertive, empathetic speech, etc.) have been superficially described as *inherent traits* of Japanese cultural behaviors, based on context-independent abstractly normative usage in Standard Japanese. However, in order to gain a better grasp of the Japanese society and culture, heterogeneity needs to be taken into account as well, examining the the normative usage of language as opposed to the real language practice of real speakers, also including into the concept of *real speaker* "women and men who are not— by virtue of their age, class, regionality, sexual orientations or other characteristics— identifiable as 'average' speakers" (Okamoto & Shibamoto Smith, 2004, p. 4).

Frames and values

More objective descriptions of communications styles would also take into account participants' interactional goals, individual perceptions and believes, without disregarding the undeniable super-system of cultural values into which they have been socialized. In the sub-section below, I will briefly review a study by Pizziconi (2009), which uses this approach.

Pizziconi (2009), an Italian scholar based in London specializing in Japanese linguistic politeness, reports on an ethnographic interview carried out in Tokyo with two university students of linguistics, both native Japanese speakers: A male, Ken, and a female, Aya. In her interview, conducted in Japanese, the Italian linguist proposed to the interviewees that they discuss some instances of intercultural (mis)communication likely to occur between native and non native speakers of Japanese.

One of the problems they focused on was the phenomenon of *deflected communication,* several variations of which Pizziconi herself had experienced many times in Japan (the same, incidentally, holds true for this writer). This is how Pizziconi (2009) describes the

dynamics of the phenomenon:

> The common thread in these episodes is a situation with three participants:
> myself and two other speakers of Japanese, one of whom is my friend
> and the other someone unknown to both (hospital or hotel personnel), or
> acquaintances of my friend to whom I have just been introduced. In these
> situations, the third participant does not address me (or does not reply to
> me) directly, but speaks to or about me addressing my friend instead (note
> that I do not have particular communicative problems in ordinary daily
> conversations in Japanese). (p. 231)

The interviewees were asked to explain such behavior. They responded in a way that, during the interview, Pizziconi (2009) interpreted as "somewhat hesitant, circumspect, and generally noncommittal" (p. 231). She even perceived Ken and Aya as unwilling to volunteer any comments until explicitly asked to do so. When they offered explanation, "it was generally cast in a 'generic' way (i.e., mild judgements such as 'chotto hen desu ne' = 'that's a bit strange')" with "light polite laughter (and possibly lacking the colorful array of judgmental commentaries that I suspect Italian informants would be happy to offer)" (p. 231).[3]

Analyzing her data retrospectively however, Pizziconi (2009) found out that the

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3   This is an excerpt from the English translation of the transcript. The interviewees try to explain the possible reasons why, in an instance of deflected communication, the third participant (a nurse in this case) does not communicate directly with the interviewer (Barbara), but addresses only the Japanese friend who accompanied her to the hospital.

Ken: It's because... she [the nurse]'s not used to (it).
Barbara: To what? Foreigners?
Ken: Yes.
Barbara: Oh, I see.
Ken: Looking at your friend she would feel reassured, or something like that. [...]
Aya: That too may be possible, but also... maybe when one brings someone along, it's not exactly like you treat the patient as a child but... somehow in cases like that... for example if there's an elderly person accompanied by his daughter in law, you might only speak and make eye contact with her [...]
Ken: I think that there are also people who may possibly think it could be rude to speak directly, you know? (adapted from Pizziconi, 2009, pp. 234-235)

Among the contextual parameters defining the activity type (i.e., ethnographic interview) under analysis, the nature of the relationship between the interacting participants has to be considered. The interviewer and the interviewees were newly acquainted parties (a very *soto*, out-group, relation). The interviewer was a senior researcher in a high position within the academic hierarchy (*me-ue no hito*), while the interviewees were students. The interviewer, furthermore, was introduced to the interviewees by a colleague who happened to be the interviewees' professor. These factors, among others, need to be taken into account to explain the interviewees' reluctance to engage in direct argumentation with the researcher, their elusiveness and the avoidance of self-centered stances.

ethnographic interview had been cast into two different frames:

> A *competitive* one [i.e., the interviewer's], in which the participants are able to contribute with different individual stances, envisage the task as a game of minds in which a 'winning' argument leads to a specific outcome which eliminates other possible outcomes, and feel bound only by the task at hand, and a *collaborative* one [i.e, the interviewees'], in which the participants feel bound to maintain interactional alignment, envisage the task's outcome as the result of mutual agreement, and feel bound to each other in some (social, affective) capacity, beyond the task at hand. (pp. 239-240)

The analysis of the two different framing modalities uncovered the following patterns of values determining a clear cross-cultural variation:

- Cooperative frame: A harmonious discussion feels good (AV)
  - Smooth conversation is beneficial (UV)
  - Respecting others' viewpoint is good (NV)
- Competitive frame: A competitive discussion feels good (AV)
  - Argumentative conversation is beneficial (UV)
  - Challenging others' viewpoints is good (NV)

To clarify this point Pizziconi (2009) uses the term 'value' in line with Jackendoff (2007) defining it as "a conceptualized abstract property (hence not something existing in the "real" world), associated with (conceptualized) objects, persons, and actions" (p. 241) which functions as a mediator in a system of "folk logic." Values are not intended to be seen as single units: They can be broken down into sub-values of different kinds, such as affective values (AVs), normative values (NVs), utility values (UVs) etc. "Variability in what (sub-)values are associated with what entities is what engenders cross-and intra-cultural variation" (Pizziconi 2009, p. 242).[4]

Many ethnographic commentaries on the Japan style (e.g., Lebra, 1976; Ramsey,

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4　This is a practical example of how differences in individual preferences may engender intra-cultural variation in values:

"For instance, in some Japanese circles, going out for a drink with colleagues at the end of the day is de rigueur (the activity therefore is associated with a high normative-value), and the social payoff (i.e., the strengthening of group membership) may also be high (a high utility-value), but some people may feel a strong dislike for the inebriated crowds of the late train they have to catch after the drinking session (i.e., assign the activity a low affective-value): this may alter—devalue or undermine—their overall evaluation of the event, even though they recognize the high normative-and utility-value of going out for a drink." (Pizziconi, 2009, p. 242)

1985; Tsujimura, 1987; Watanabe, 1993) have indeed analyzed, in similar cases, the types of linguistic/metalinguistic signs and the concomitant values disclosed above. Still, if we intend to observe the conversation from a non-essentialist angle, Ken and Aya's behavior needs ultimately to be seen as individual choice, although indexical of "a presupposed system of sociocultural values" (p. 241). That is to say, Ken and Aya's style is probably not a constant character of the speakers across any type of situation, nor is the same style a constant character of the Japanese as an ethnic group. However, to the extent that, in a particular activity type, the style of a speaker displays a perceivably coherent character, it would be legitimate to justify it as grounded on "a specific social and moral ideology" (Pizziconi, 2009, p. 241).

The study

Research questions

In the current study I seek to trace the constellation of values underlying my students perception and evaluation of the communication style displayed by the characters of *L'innamoramento.*

For this purpose I explore the answers to the following questions:

(1) To what extent do young Japanese perceive the protagonists of the movie as being dissimilar to themselves, with respect to the style the characters employ across different frames (i.e., quarreling, making up after an argument, etc.) and activity types (i.e., trying to establish a friendship, going on a date, etc.)?

(2) Do students tend to evaluate differences between them and the characters only in negative terms, or do they also look for positive attributes?

(3) Do students focus on differences only, or are they likely to look for similarities as well?

Method

Participants

In order to collect my data I designed a questionnaire in Japanese (Appendix A), and administered it in seven different classes I was teaching at NUA during the spring semester of the academic year 2011. Among those returned, a total of 166 questionnaires were considered valid for the study.

The participants happened to be distributed among five classes of Italian (level A1, cf. Council of Europe, 2001), and two classes of Italian culture. Among the students attending the latter class, (taught in Japanese where knowledge of Italian did not constitute a prerequisite), some students had previously taken Italian, or were taking Italian at the time the survey was being conducted, while others had never taken an Italian class before.

Some dialogues of the movie might have been relatively easy to understand among the students with a basic linguistic competence in Italian. The dialogues in fact featured lexicon and syntactic structures related to functions covered in the A1 syllabus, such as greeting, introducing oneself, asking/providing personal information that young people may be likely to exchange when building friendship (i.e., age, cell-phone number, etc.).

However, since my inquiry did not focus on problems of filmic translations (at least not from a strictly linguistic point of view), I did not regard students' low level, or zero-level of proficiency in Italian as a factor having a potential impact on their judgments.

Instruments

The questionnaire was divided into two sections. Below I provide a translation of the items, and explain the criteria I applied for constructing the questionnaire.

Section 1 consisted of eleven closed-ended questions in which participants were asked to indicate the extent to which they agreed/disagreed with the items on a six response options Likert scale. Items were subdivided into six sub-sections, depending on the objective of the assessment. Except for question 11), which was meant to elicit a personal evaluation, questions 1 to 10 targeted the elicitation of judgments underpinning affective and normative values.[5]

Section 2 comprised two open-ended questions aimed at disclosing the ideological patterns underlying the students' judgments.

5　Notice that I formulated the questions drawing on responses I had previously obtained, by chance, among students attending some of my Italian classes. The following findings were basically those which caught my attention, and become the source of the present survey:
•Students defined Tommaso quite drastically a "stalker."
•Giulia and Tommaso were perceived as uninhibited and too confrontational.

Section 1 Closed-ended questions on a six response options scale: 1 = strongly disagree - 6 = strongly agree		
Focus	Items	Values
Tommaso	1) Tommaso is too direct in stating his feelings. I felt uncomfortable with his openness.	AV
	2) Tommaso acts like a "stalker."	NV
	3) Tommaso is definitely insistent, but his enterprising attitude is admirable.	NV/AV
Giulia	4) The way Giulia refuses his advances is too explicit, rather rude.	NV
	5) I was impressed by how clearly Giulia stated her feelings.	AV
	6) Giulia's assertiveness and confidence are admirable.	NV/AV
Me and them	7) I have something in common with Tommaso and Giulia. I express my feelings and opinions as clearly as they do.	AV
The Japanese and them	8) Many Japanese people act and communicate like Tommaso and Giulia.	NV
Characters' (dis) agreeableness	9) I would like to have friends like Tommaso and Giulia.	AV
	10) The way the protagonists of this movie talk and behave could be said to be aggressive.	NV
Overall appraisal of the movie	11) I found this movie interesting.	–

Section 2: Open-ended questions	
Focus	Items
Personal ideology	12) On the whole, how would you evaluate Tommaso's and Giulia's style of communication?
Dominant ideology	13) How would people like Tommaso and Giulia be judged within Japanese society?

Preliminary findings and discussion

Results from the quantitative analysis

Consistent with the responses obtained for Section 1 (see Appendix B), I hypothesized as follows: The students indeed perceived the protagonists of the movie as being dissimilar to themselves. However, this perception did not necessarily entail negative judgments. For example, although Tommaso was unquestionably seen as "a stalker" while applying his courtship techniques, his enterprising attitude and perseverance were also seen in a positive light.

The fact that most of the students participating in the survey were female (66 %) might have influenced the judgments about Giulia whose straightforwardness was not considered inappropriate. Students felt largely sympathetic to her. Nevertheless,

students did not appear particularly willing to accept Tommaso and Giulia as potential friends. Analysis of the qualitative data may help in finding out an explanation to this. Moreover students perceived the characters as unlikely to fit into the Japanese society, and as remarkably deviant from the idea of "average" Japanese. Overall, the communication style of the characters (not only Tommaso and Giulia's, but also their friends') was perceived as moderately "aggressive."

Results from the qualitative analysis

Interesting findings are now emerging from the answers to the open-ended questions, the content analysis of which is still in progress. I can anticipate the following. Students perceived the characters as "*sekkyokuteki*" ('proactive,' 'uninhibited') and antagonistic, displaying a behavior remarkably different from their own behavior in similar circumstances, and deviating from the norms of the Japanese etiquette. However, this diversity was expressed in positive terms by some students who formulated affective judgments using expressions such as "*urayamashii*" ('I am jealous'), and "*sugoi*" ('that's impressive')—the latter term however is ambiguous and can imply some negative connotations.

One comment caught my attention. The respondent said that through schooling Japanese children are trained to "*gaman suru*" ('endure') in order to avoid open conflicts, and build harmonious relations (NV/UV constrained by the hegemonic ideology). However, the same respondent admitted that this pedagogy can be criticized for causing distress (AV value, of a personal kind, deviating from the dominant ideology).

Another cluster of intriguing comments concerns the perception of intentional lying. Giulia and Tommaso, in the process of courtship, lie to each others on several occasions. I found their lies to be rather innocent, or at least, justifiable. Students however appear to perceive such behavior negatively in each of the occasions. In a brief follow up interview I had with a female student who participated in the survey, I asked some explanations specifically about this. She said that she liked Giulia very much but was disturbed by her lying, especially in one scene, at the beginning of the story, when Tommaso is doing his best to get to know her. When, after giving Giulia a ride on his bike, Tommaso politely asks Giulia for her cell-phone number, she gives him a wrong number. The above students judged such a strategy as "*gyaruppoi*," that is, 'typical of a *gyaru*' (i.e., a type of superficial girl who follows a garish fashion, wearing blond wigs, fake lashes, fake nails, etc.) and inconsistent with Giulia's coolness.

From this I assume that students reframed Giulia according to parameters quite

different from mine（and presumably from the movie director's）. In my view, Giulia's lying was unquestionably selfish but legitimate: After all, at the beginning of the story, she does not want to go out with Tommaso, whom she considers *"pesante"*（'heavy,' 'boring'）. In students' view however, Giulia was inconsiderate: She has built somewhat of a rapport with Tommaso, although theirs is not a *'uchi'*（'in-group'）relationship yet.

I assume that the re-framing of Giulia and Tommaso's rapport as a relation of *'soto'*（'out-group'）is what may have caused students' surprise about the characters' disinhibition. According to Japanese framing parameters, a *soto* relation is one in which there is no place for *'amae.'* Referring to Tetsuka（1993）, Miike（2003）defines *amae* as a triple need: For a sense of oneness with the other party or the members of a group, for dependence on them, and for acceptance by them "in spite of one's failures, inadequacies and vulnerabilities"（p. 99）. A relation involving *amae* is possible only among *uchi* people（i.e., family members, close friends, co-workers, teammates, lovers）, and implies the endorsement of a social contract that allows emotions to be freely expressed, even through explicit and egocentric stances（cf. Maynard, 1997）. However, Tommaso and Giulia are not *uchi*, at least not until the end of the story, when Giulia's defenses crumble and she falls in love with the boy.

If the protagonists of the movie are seen through the lens of the *'uchi* vs. *soto'* duality, their communication style appears incongruous. For example, after finding out about the wrong cell-phone number, Tommaso does not give up but instead goes to Giulias's work to confront her. In this respect a male students said that Tommaso should have read between lines（*"kūki wo yome!"*）and given up. An impressive number of students judged his move as unexpected. Tommaso then confronts Giulia, telling her that giving a boy a wrong number with the purpose of getting rid of him is pathetic. After that two have a quarrel during which Giulia explicitly tells Tommaso: *"Tu non mi piaci. È chiaro?"*（'I don't like you. Clear enough?'）, but eventually she agrees to meet him briefly, after work.

While building rapport, Tommaso and Giulia face a number of similar conflicts, during which they display a sharp confrontational style. However they are able to make up after each quarrel, shifting from tension to calm, with a nonchalance that students judged impressive（*"sugoi"*）. This continuous reversal of frames, from conflicts to harmonic conversations, reveals the characters' impulsivity. Nevertheless, if this situation is being re-framed according to the parameters of *'uchi* vs. *soto,'* such impulsivity may become problematic.

Concluding remarks: Toward intercultural awareness

Finally, an intriguing pattern has emerged in the answers to the open-ended questions where the students have a tendency to draw a clear cut line between themselves and the characters, revealing a vision based on two opposites: 'Us vs. *mukō*.' As Rivers (2010) pointed out (see also Law, 1995), the diversity of other languages and cultures is often expressed by the Japanese people with the term '*mukō*,' which literally means 'that which is not us/that which is over there, outside.' This concept represents a vision of the world characterized by a binary opposition: Us vs. Them/the Others, a paradigm that focuses more on cultural differences than on cultural similarities. The problem here is that mutual respect and interest toward foreign cultures cannot be easily fostered if a particular group identity (e.g., ours) is upheld to the exclusion of all others, into us-against-them line drawing (Y.Y. Kim, 2009). In this respect I believe that my findings may have some pedagogical implications, especially in an age, like the present, in which Japanese students are said to be prone to insularism ('*shimaguni konjō*').

Both Japanese and international media (cf. Caryl 2008) have recently being reporting on the fact that young Japanese are less interested in going overseas than their peers of 20 or 30 years ago. The global economic crisis may be a determining factor in this trend. Even so, as Fukushima (2010) pointed out, it is worrying that even many young Japanese scholars seem to rely on the Internet for obtaining the information necessary to do their research, seeing little need to go overseas.

> Japan has apparently become so safe, secure and comfortable that there is little incentive to go abroad, where *one has to speak foreign languages, deal with peoples of other cultures and often engage in difficult negotiations or unfamiliar and competitive situations*. This tendency of young Japanese not to venture abroad would be less of a problem if [...] Japanese society were truly global in accepting talent from around the world. However, the reality is that [...] *Japan still remains relatively closed to outsiders, even to highly trained professionals*. (Fukushima, 2010, my italics)

This means that young Japanese who do not spend time abroad or do not have many chances to interact with foreigners from around the world "will miss the opportunity to experience the new insights, fresh perspectives and sense of discovery that can result from exposure to the stimulation, diversity, and competition found outside of Japan" (Fukushima, 2010).

I hope that this study can at least point to the importance of using movies in foreign language/foreign culture classes as a means for fostering students' interest in diversity, and for developing, if not intercultural competence at least *intercultural awareness*, that is, the learners' attentiveness and willingness to engage in a critical reflection of the values, behaviors, and forms of talks of people from other societies in comparison to their own (Byram, 2009).

Acknowledgements

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Zamborlin, Chiara（2011, September 30）. Young Japanese perception of Italians' communication styles. A case of cross-cultural mismatch in framing strategies. University of Fribourg（Switzerland）, Lunchtime Seminar, Department of Psychology（invited lecture）.

Appendix A: The questionnaire

学部	学科	学年	学籍番号	氏名

『イタリア的、恋愛マニュアル』という映画の主人公TommasoとGiuliaのコミュニケーション・スタイルに関するアンケート調査

この調査は、イタリア人と日本人のコミュニケーション・スタイルの違いに関する研究のために行います。先ほど見た映画『イタリア的、恋愛マニュアル』の主人公TommasoとGiuliaについてあなたの感想を聞かせてください。このアンケートは2つのパートから成り立っています。それぞれの指示に従い、回答を記入してください。これはテストではありませんので、「正解」も「不正解」もありません。ただしこのアンケートは授業の一部として行われているため、記名形式になっています。責任を持って正直に答えてください。よろしくお願いします。

Tommaso	Giulia
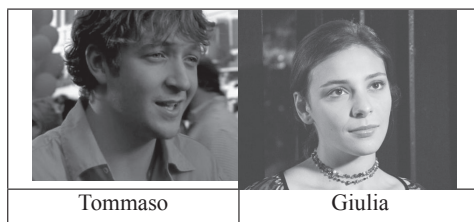
<u>パート１</u>

このパートではあなたが次の事柄にどの程度共感できるかを、１から６の番号の中から一つを選んで答えてください。記入漏れのないようにお願いします。

全く そう思わない	そう思わない	あまり そう思わない	やや そう思う	そう思う	非常に そう思う
1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**

（例）もしあなたの考えが次の内容に非常に共感できる場合、次のように記入します。

・洋画を見ることが好きだ。	1　2　3　4　5　⑥

それでは、始めましょう。

1)Tommasoはあまりにも自分の気持ちを率直に伝える。彼の率直さには違和感を感じる。	1　2　3　4　5　6
2) Tommasoはストーカーのような人だ。	1　2　3　4　5　6
3) Tommasoは確かにしつこいが、積極的なので尊敬すべき人だ。	1　2　3　4　5　6
4) Giuliaの断り方はあまりにもストレートで、失礼だと感じる。	1　2　3　4　5　6
5) Giuliaは自分の気持ちを過度にはっきりと表すので、びっくりしてしまった。	1　2　3　4　5　6

6) Giuliaの直接的な話し方や自信は素晴らしい。	1	2	3	4	5	6
7) 私はTommasoとGiuliaに似ている。彼らのようにはっきりと意見や気持ちを表す。	1	2	3	4	5	6
8) 多くの日本人もTommasoとGiuliaのように振る舞う。	1	2	3	4	5	6
9) 私はTommasoとGiuliaのような友達が欲しい。	1	2	3	4	5	6
10) この映画の登場人物の振る舞いや話し方は概して攻撃的だ。	1	2	3	4	5	6
11) この映画は面白かった。	1	2	3	4	5	6

パート2
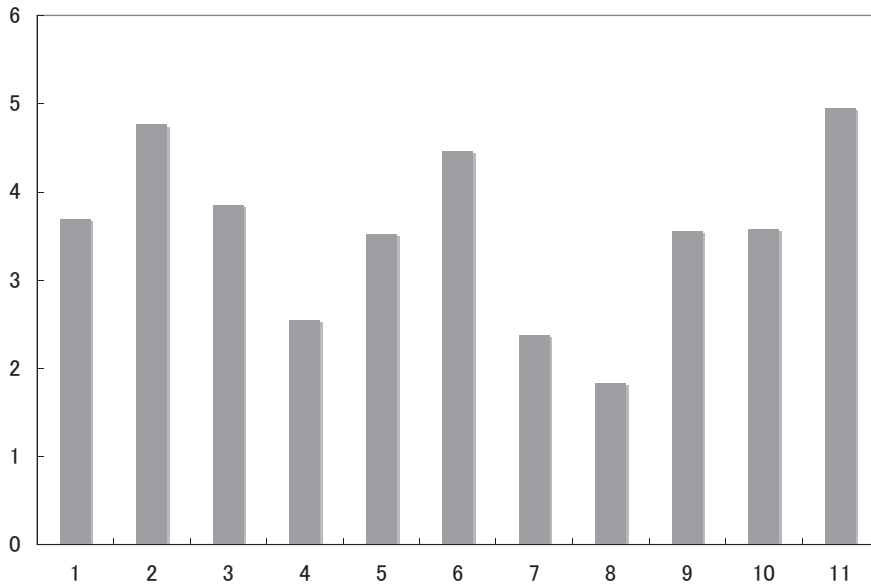
このパートでは自由に書いてください。必ず記入してください。あなたの正直な意見に興味があります。

12) TommasoとGiuliaのコミュニケーション・スタイルについて、総じてどう思いますか？

13) 日本の社会においてTommasoとGiuliaのような人はどのように思われるでしょうか？

ご協力をありがとうございました！

この研究について興味がありましたらどうぞお気軽に御連絡ください。
キアラ　ザンボルリン
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オフィスアワー（2011年度4月から）火曜日16：30〜18：00
Tel. 0568−24-0315　（内線）

Appendix B: Quantitative analysis' results

Fig. 1: Responses to closed-ended questions

Tab. 1: Item statistics

	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
1) TomDir	3.6928	1.35587	166
2) TomStalker	4.7651	1.06127	166
3) TomAdmir	3.8554	1.23222	166
4) GiuRude	2.5482	1.16285	166
5) GiuClear	3.5241	1.21955	166
6) GiuAdmir	4.4639	.97011	166
7) TomGiuMe	2.3735	1.23299	166
8) JpSimTG	1.8313	.84307	166
9) FriendTG	3.5602	1.32779	166
10) CharAggr	3.5783	1.28978	166
11) MovInter	4.9518	1.14842	166

Tab. 2: Reliability statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items	N of Items
.207	.217	11

Tab. 3: Hotelling's T-Squared Test

Hotelling's T-Squared	F	df1	df2	Sig
1202.783	113.718	10	156	.000

The covariance matrix is calculated and used in the analysis.

Tab. 4: Frequency Table for 11 Items
(number of instances under Negative [1-3] and Positive [4-6])

	Negative	Positive
1) TomDir	65	101
2) TomStalker	15	151
3)TomAdmir	58	108
4) GiuRude	134	32
5) GiuClear	80	86
6) GiuAdmir	30	136
7) TomGiuMe	138	28
8) JpSimTG	162	4
9) FriendTG	80	86
10) CharAggr	69	97
11) MovInter	17	149