Face and Power in Intercultural Business Communication:
The case of a Japanese company in Australia

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Abstract

In intra-company intercultural business communication, an accurate exchange of information between co-workers is necessary to efficiently conduct business as a company. The norms of communication to be followed as well as knowledge of work being conducted that is shared by all involved, i.e., common ground (H. H. Clark, 1996), must be fully utilised in order to communicate smoothly between workers who do not share the same first language. Communication strategies, such as repair and codeswitching, are also used as necessary to achieve transactional goals in an interaction (Spencer-Oatey, 2005). However, at the same time, there is also a need to achieve relational goals in an interaction in order to maintain the interpersonal relationship between interlocutors. This can emerge in an interaction as sensitivity to the face of the interlocutors. Furthermore, being in an intra-company setting, the position, the knowledge of the products and the motivation to interact held by each interlocutor, all of which can be seen as an emergence of power held by each interlocutors (Raven, 1965, 1993), also play a role in shaping an interaction itself through the choice of language, norm of interaction and face being achieved in interaction.

This thesis investigates the video-recorded interactions between Australian employees working for a Japanese company in Australia and their Japanese superiors. Conversation analysis in conjunction with ethnographic approach is used to analyse interactions in intra-company business settings. The Rapport Management Framework proposed by Spencer-Oatey (2000, 2005) was applied to analyse interactional achievement of face, which takes into account factors such as face needs of and power held by the individuals and attitude of interlocutors towards each other. Common

featuers of intercultural communication, namely repair and codeswitching, and their effects on face achievement of interlocutors are also analysed.

The analysis has found that face and power are two fundamental and inter-related notions that shape the interaction in intra-company intercultural business communication. The norms of communication are already set amongst the co-workers as common ground, which includes aspects of individual workers such as the ability to complete work and proficiency in language. Face-threats seem to be interpreted by individuals when he/she perceives others undermine his/her expectation, which are already shared as common ground. Such threats to face may arise through repairs and codeswitching in interactions, as well as through utterances made by each other.

What individuals claim as his/her face can also be recognised as the social power bases held by him/her. Power relationship between interlocutors seems to determine the degree of face-threat the interlocutor with more social power bases are allowed to project over the interlocutor with less power bases, and the degree of face sensitivity that the interlocutor with less power bases must employ. Sometimes, it appears that excercising of power bases is a strategy to uphold his/her face in interaction, thus a necessary part of an intra-company business communication. Repairs and codeswitching are used as necessary in intercultural business communication in order to smoothly achieve the transactional goals, but at the same time, they also foster the negotiation and projection of face and power, i.e., relational goals in interactions between interlocutors who share more than two languages.

The future research in face can further investigate intra-company intercultural business communication, or goal-oriented interactions between interlocutors who have long-standing relationship, to analyse the inter-relationship between situation-specific

face and pan-situational face. Ethnographic information may be necessary to understand the contexts of the interaction that are crucial in such analysis.

Business people intending to enter into an intercultural business communication are advised to observe the power relationship between interlocutors as it determines the norms of communication. It can be accomplished by being aware of the claims on face that have been made by the interlocutors, not only in the current interaction but also in the past that may constitute his/her pan-situational face, or also known as reputation or expectations.

Signed Statement of Originality

This work has not previously been submitted for a degree or diploma in any university.

To the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously

published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the thesis

itself.

A Note on Ethical Clearance

An ethical clearance to collect sensitive interactional data from human subjects (GU Ref

No CLS/07/03) was obtained from Griffith University Human Research Ethics

Committee in October 2003.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

There is no doubt that current trends involving the globalisation of business activities will continue to increase in the future. When companies try to expand internationally, they may find someone or another company in the target countries who can open the business relations with. Or companies can open an office in the target country as a base of operation and it acts as a proxy to the parent company: gathering information, making deals with the local manufacturers, and when the business expands even further, employing local workers to help with running of the business. In any case, communication across linguistic and cultural barriers, as well as economic and political ones, can be a major factor that affects the development of an international trading relationship. The Japan External Trading Organization (JETRO), which helps both Japanese companies and overseas companies build international trading relationships with each other, puts "difficulty in communication" at the top of the list of risks when developing international trading relationships (JETRO, 1995). It comes before other issues such as political instabilities, currencies exchange and transportation issues in some countries, thus highlighting the importance of communication in international business.

When communicating with their international trading partners, often the first language (L1) spoken by both parties is different. Therefore, in order to communicate, business people may have to use the L1 of one of the parties, or a lingua franca that both parties can understand. It is not difficult to imagine that both approaches have the potential for misunderstandings to arise, because both parties to the communication bring different sets of underlying cultural values and meanings, in addition to other

aspects of business such as business customs and regulations in different countries (e.g., Marriott, 1995; 1997; Yamada, 1997). In order to help businesses who want to start trading with companies from other countries overcome these obstacles, many books outlining what to expect and how to behave appropriately, both linguistically and non-linguictically, when doing business with companies overseas has been written (e.g., Bacarr, 1994; Burns, 1998; Czinkota & Woronoff, 1991; De Mente, 1991).

Studies in discipline areas other than linguistics have also touched on intercultural business interactions, as due to their complexity, other discipline areas have been employed to analyse various aspects of intercultural business interactions. Business communication is an umbrella term that covers a variety of interaction modes and types (spoken vs. written, letters vs. Emails), communication situations (in-company meetings vs. negotiation between two companies), purpose (advertisement, negotiation, report) and participants varieties (colleagues, boss-subordinate, or customer-service provider). Combined with a choice of language(s) and industries the business operates in, the opportunities for research are countless. It is indeed a "rich field of studies" (Bargiela-Chiappini & Nickerson, 2003).

1.1 Intercultural Business Communication

Business communication can be defined as any communication that is carried out in order to conduct work-related activities, such as advertising, marketing, customer relations, relaying between suppliers and resellers, as well as internal communications within a company. However, it is difficult to set definite criteria to define business communication. The locations where business communication occurs and the content of business communication vary, because individual's perceptions of

what is business related and what is not vary; what is considered relevant to business by one group may not be considered relevant by another. For example, in an executive meeting, Japanese managers may talk about their off-duty life while American executives tend to limit their topic of discussion to the business at hand (Yamada, 1992). From this perspective alone, it is not difficult to imagine that intercultural business communication, the kind of business communication that occurs across cultural barriers, can be difficult. The participants in a given business communication will each bring different expectations to what the interaction may include, because they do not share the same cultural backgrounds.

It is worth distinguishing between intercultural communication and intercultural business communication. The latter differs from intercultural communication more broadly because there are strong motives and strategies behind business communication (Varner, 2000, p. 53). The context of business has a significant effect on how communication is carried out.

The terms intercultural and cross-cultural must also be distinguished. Following Gudykunst's (2002) definition, I will use the term "cross-cultural" to refer to the comparison of different communication strategies observed in different cultural groups, while reserving "intercultural" to refer to communication across cultures, or the merging of communication strategies when people from different cultures interact with each other (Bargiela-Chiappini & Harris, 2006, p. 8; Harris & Bargiela-Chiappini, 1997, p. 6). For communication within the same culture, the term "intracultural" will be used (Bargiela-Chiappini & Nickerson, 2003, p. 10). Although there are numerous studies being conducted in both cross-cultural and intercultural business communication previously, they have not necessarily followed this distinction. However, their findings

are not to be discredited here, because they have informed us of variations in how

business communication between given participants unfolds, and are the foundation of

my current research. I will firstly list some of the main topics addressed in the field

below, then identify possible gaps in these previous studies.

1.1.1 Differences in Expected Discourse Order and Content

Some studies of intercultural communication have focused on expected content

and order of communication. For example, in sales negotiations between an Australian

seller and a Japanese buyer, Marriott (1995) discovered expectations about what was to

be communicated in the negotiations differed between the participants. The Australian

seller expected to hear a decision would be made about whether to buy or not to buy

from the Japanese buyer, but when the negotiation closed without definite conclusion, it

led to dissatisfaction on the part of the Australian seller (Marriott, 1995, p. 262).

Spencer-Oatey and Xing's study of meetings between British and Chinese

businessmen also notes a case where the mismatched expectation about the meeting

caused dissatisfaction on the Chinese delegates' part (Spencer-Oatey & Xing, 2003, pp.

38-40). The three expectations that were not met and consequently upset Chinese

participants included: seating arrangements (which the Chinese interpreted as

implying the British thought they were superior to the Chinese), discourse content (the

perception on the part of the Chinese that they were not praised enough), and discourse

structure (that the Chinese leader was not allowed to make a return speech).

1.1.2 Differences in Turn Taking Patterns

In cross-cultural studies of Japanese and American meetings, Yamada (1990,

1992) outlines differences in turn distribution patterns. Whereas the person who

initiates the topic often take the dominant role in American meetings, thus taking the floor most of the time, in Japanese meetings, the turns are more evenly distributed (Yamada, 1990, p. 284). Thus, when the two groups gather together for a meeting, even when a Japanese participant initiates a new topic, an American participant may dominate the meeting, because while the Japanese participant may try to distribute the turns evenly, the American participant may take it as a cue to take the floor (Yamada, 1990, p. 291).

Yeung's study of meeting in banking sector (2003, 2004a, 2004b) also focuses on turn distribution, but links it to the role that the manager plays as a gatekeeper and a facilitator. She compares decision-making meetings in Hong Kong and Australia, and draws the conclusion that Australian managers tend to be more authoritative compared to their Hong Kong counterparts, who tend to be more open to suggestions from their subordinates (Yeung, 2003, p. 60), although both show a degree of control over their subordinates' participation in the meeting through questioning techniques (Yeung, 2004a, p. 143).

1.1.3 Misunderstandings and Repair in Interaction due to Language Difficulties

Because in intercultural communication, one or both parties may have to use a language other than their mother tongue (L2), it is conceivable that misunderstandings can occur due to a lack of language proficiency. Between Australian sellers and Japanese buyers, the language of communication is usually English, thus repairs are often carried out when Japanese buyers have trouble understanding what has been communicated (Marriott, 1995, p. 254). These repairs seem to target understanding of content, often taking the form of clarification requests or summarising previous

utterances by repeating what has been said.

Sunaoshi's (2005) study of intra-company communication at a Japanese manufacturing plant in the USA between American labourers with no knowledge of Japanese, and Japanese managers with limited knowledge of English, found a unique pattern of communication developed there: they utilised what they have in common, such as shared knowledge of work and items available at hand, as well as other non-verbal channels of communication, to get a minimum amount of information across at a time (Sunaoshi, 2005). Repetition of the same word by both speaker and hearer was frequently observed in her study as well.

Between interlocutors who have more than two languages in common, switching between the two languages may occur. The switch to another language, or codeswitching, may occur when one interlocutor's lack of proficiency in one language can be compensated for by the use of another language that both interlocutors can understand to sustain interaction, or when one interlocutor feels that he/she can explain him/herself better in another language (Myers-Scotton, 2000; Myers-Scotton & Jake, 2001). The choice of language can also be a strategic one to project the speaker's alignment with the addressee(s) (O'Driscoll, 2001), and so can result in the speaker showing politeness to the addressee(s).

1.1.4 Differences in Politeness and Face Concerns

Politeness seems to be another common target of investigation in intercultural business communication. Using Brown and Levinson's (1978, 1987) theory of politeness, Bargiela-Chiappini and Harris (1996) and Yeung (1997) studied requests found in business documents in Europe and Hong Kong respectively. Both studies concluded that

the writers of the documents use linguistically polite forms when making requests in English to reduce the degree of face-threat to the receiver of the document. The degree of politeness seem to correlate mostly with the degree of imposition the request has on the receiver, but relative power and social distance between the writer and the receiver also play a role in the choice of linguistic forms (Bargiela-Chiappini & Harris, 1996, p. 656; Yeung, 1997, p. 520).

However, Yeung reports that documents written in Chinese do not necessarily show such correlation (1997, p. 520). Although she identifies the use of two varieties of writing, Modern Standard Chinese and Classical Chinese, the latter of which is considered to be more formal, the variation appears to be a result of a personal choice rather than a sign of politeness (Yeung, 1997).

Politeness is also used when disagreeing with each other in business negotiations, although not to the extent required in other communication (Stalpers, 1995). The relatively less use of mitigation, as a strategy of politeness, in business negotioations, is explained because the need for disagreement to be resolved in business situations may be greater than in other (non-business) situations (Stalpers, 1995, pp. 288-289). Disagreement is potentially a face threatening act, therefore in order to reduce the degree of threat to each other's face, a politeness strategy, i.e., mitigation, is used to soften the degree of face threat (Holmes & Stubbe, 2003; Stalpers, 1995). The prefernce of mitigation strategies may vary between cultures, thus it can create dischord when native speaker norms are applied by an interlocutor in intercultural communication (van der Wijst & Ulijn, 1995).

1.1.5 The Role of Power in Business Communication

Although it may not be obvious, all studies cited above seem to show an aspect that has not figured prominently in most linguistically-focused intercultural business communication studies to date: the issue of power relationships between interlocutors that exist within a group of people in a hierarchical structure (Bargiela-Chiappini & Nickerson, 2003; Bargiela-Chiappini, Nickerson, & Planken, 2007). The importance of power has been clearly articulated in studies in organisational communication, for example, through the use of linguistic politeness and types of speech acts used, as well as non-verbal aspects of communication, although within organisational communication studies no clear criteria to explain how and why certain actions mark power has been shown (Morand, 2000, p. 237).

Power also seems to dictate how communication unfolds, not only at the level of individual speech acts, but also at the level of discourse, as seen in a gate-keeping discourse (Fairclough, 1989). Managers, who usually have the most power in the intra-company business meeting, control who can speak when and what to say (Yeung, 2004a, 2004b). In inter-company business meetings, the perception of power relationship between the two parties held by each participant can be upset by the content of talk tabled at the meeting (Spencer-Oatey & Xing, 2003, p. 39).

The power factor also seems to motivate interlocutors to communicate. Both American and Japanese participants in Sunaoshi's study (2005) are motivated to communicate despite lacking an adequate means of linguistic communication. This is because the American workers need to receive necessary instructions from their Japanese superiors in order to perform their duties, and so they endure the lack of linguistic proficiency of their Japanese superiors (Sunaoshi, 2005, p. 213).

Finally, the hierarchy of a company, from which the power within the company is derived, seems to be maintained by the people who already have the power. Clark's ethnographic research about a Japanese transplant in USA reveals that the dynamics of intra-company relationship are affected by four elements, gender, race, nationality and language ability (S. Clark, 1996, p. 7). The hierarchy of the company is maintained and "reinforced" by language use between superiors and subordinates (see also Fairclough, 1989).

As seen from the discussion above, intercultural business communication is built on the underlying human and power relationships between interlocutors, in addition to other elements that constitutes other (non-business) communication. Research into the ways in which these different aspects combine and co-occur in situ is thus necessary to see what makes intercultural business communication different from non-business communication (Varner, 2000, p. 53). This study will investigate communication within the same company, i.e., intra-company business communication, in order to concentrate on the effect of actual culture of individual interlocutors on interactions, rather than that of different company cultures. The long term relationship between the interlocutors who work for the same company may also indicate surer understanding of each other, thus more certain the meaning expectations of each other.

1.2 Intra-company Intercultural Business Communication

This study aims to explore the intra-company business communication between Japanese superiors and Australian subordinates working for a Japanese export company based in Australia. An ethnographic approach will be taken in order to

analyse the interplay of the various factors discussed above in intra-company intercultural business communication.

1.2.1 Focus on Intra-company Intercultural Business Communication

According to JETRO (2008), there are 286 Japanese companies that currently hold offices in Australia.[1] Although the sizes of these offices vary, some of them employ local Australian people to work for them. There are also a large number of university graduates who have studied Japanese language in Australia. For those people, these Japanese offices can provide potential employment. When they start working for these companies, they will have to deal with cultural differences to communicate, work and make profits. As cross-cultural studies may not be sufficient to identify what potential issues they may encounter, studies in intercultural workplaces are necessary to analyse what actually happens when people from different cultural backgrounds work towards the same business goals (Bargiela-Chiappini & Harris, 2006).

In order to do so, it is necessary to identify and choose the field of study that matches the future needs of these potential employees and their employers. Because of the vastness of the field of intercultural business communication, choosing a different situation may not produce a desired outcome. To outline obvious differences:

- the interpersonal relationship between people who work for the same company may be much closer than between people from two different companies who have met for the first time for negotiations;

- although the power relationship between a superior and a subordinate may be obvious, the relationship, and consequently the discourse, between a Japanese superior and an Australian subordinate may be different from that between an

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[1] As at October 2007.

Australian superior and a Japanese subordinate; and,

● the language ability of non-Japanese employees can affect how the Japanese

superiors relate to them (S. Clark, 1996).

In order to investigate the power and face relationship between workers that

emerges from interactions in Japanese as lingua franca, non-native speakers with

working proficiency in Japanese communication is necessary. Therefore a Japanese

company that employs Australian employees with an adequate level of Japanese

language proficiency was selected as the site of this study.

1.2.2 Need for Ethnographic Research

There still seems to be an insufficient number of ethnographic studies of this

type that have been conducted to date (e.g., Miller, 1995; Sunaoshi, 2005), although the

use of Japanese by non-Japanese workers in Japanese businesses has been investigated

widely. Studies such as Shimada and Shibukara (1999) have investigated what level of

language proficiency is needed to work for Japanese companies by surveying employers.

However, although such surveys can find what employers expect of their employees,

they fail to outline how employees use such skills to carry out their duties in the

company. Furthermore, the items outlined in a survey questionnaire may not cover

issues that neither the researchers nor respondents have previously been aware of. In

real communication situations, the non-Japanese employees may encounter problems

that none of them might have imagined until it actually occurs. Simulations or

role-plays (e.g., Olshtain & Blum-Kulka, 1985) can be organised to elicit responses from

participants by re-creating a situation that is under study. However, designing an

experimental situation requires detailed pre-supposed knowledge of the situation under

study (Olshtain & Blum-Kulka, 1985). Such detailed knowledge for the intended field of this study is not readily available in the literature yet. Finally, it is also not realistic to analyse the pragmatic force of an utterance in isolation from the context it was made (McHoul, 2008) and so to understand how power relationships are displayed in intercultural business communication, it is necessary to understand the wider context in which the communication exists.

In attempting to describe what actually happens in a Japanese company operating in Australia, then, ethnographic observation of one in the form of a case study seems to be the most appropriate way (Ghauri, 2004).

1.3 Outline of the Thesis

The purpose of this thesis is to demonstrate that face of participants, and power relationship between them, plays a key role in how intra-company intercultural business communication unfolds between Japanese superiors and Australian subordinates in Australia. In order to reach the conclusion, I will: (1) analyse how face and power emerges in Japanese-Australian intra-company intercultural business communication; and, (2) describe the achievement of communicative goals in various business settings. In order to analyse naturally recorded communication, various analysis methods from linguistics and social science studies, namely pragmatics, conversation analysis and ethnomethodology, will be employed.

This thesis is outlined in five chapters. I have already presented an overview of and outlined the need for further research into intercultural business communication, especially intra-company communication in this chapter. In Chapter 2, relevant literature on commonly observed features of intercultural communication, repair and

codeswitching, as well as the underlying concepts, face and power, are discussed. The review mainly focuses on how people from different cultural backgrounds attempt to make each other understood despite their differences. I next move on to reviewing the notions of face and power, as a separate field of studies, then as inter-related notions that determines the courses of communication in business settings. Previous research in both inter-company and intra-company intercultural business communication will also be reviewed in detail in this chapter.

In Chapter 3, the methodology for data collection and analysis is outlined. As elaborated above, this study will be based on a case study of a Japanese company operating in Australia and employing local Australian workers. The ethnographic findings on the company will also be presented in this chapter.

An analysis of the observed data features in Chapter 4. A number of excerpts of business communication from various business settings are used to illustrate how face and power can influence intra-company intercultural business communication. In particular, the use of repair and codeswitching in interactions will be analysed in terms of face concerns of the participants as well as achieving communicative goals.

Finally, Chapter 5 reviews and summarises various findings of this study. Implications for and possible directions for future research in the field of intercultural business communication are also discussed. The findings will also be related to prospective businesspeople who wish to embark on intercultural business communication.

Chapter 2 Literature Review

In communicating with others, people attempt to achieve two broad types of goals. One is "relational goals", to build and maintain relationship between interlocutors, and another is "transactional goals", to achieve successful transaction of information through linguistic and non-linguistic interactions (Spencer-Oatey, 2005, p. 107). Both relational goals and transactional goals must be achieved through an interaction in order to effectively and successfully communicate with others (Planken, 2005, p. 382; Spencer-Oatey, 2005). However, while these goals are distinguished, each utterance seems to fall on the continuum between these two types of goals, as nearly every single utterance must attend to achieving both goals to different degrees. For example, in order to attain a desired transactional goal, an interlocutor may strategically choose his/her utterances to manage the relational goals, i.e., enhancing the personal relationship with his/her interlocutor (Spencer-Oatey, 2005, p. 107).

In order to achieve relational goals, one may adopt different communication strategies, such as using different linguistic forms to project politeness (e.g., Kasper, 1990; Lakoff, 1973), or avoiding information that can potentially harm the relationship (Brown & Levinson, 1987; Leech, 1983). The face of the interlocutors must be attended to in order to maintain a good relationship with interlocutors. The achievement of transactional goals, on the other hand, requires interlocutors' mutual understanding of the information being communicated in an interaction. Similar to the achievement of relational goals, transactional goals can be achieved by varying the forms of utterances, such as using a direct request or through an implicature (e.g., Brown & Levinson, 1987).

In an intercultural communication situation, interlocutors are required to

accept norms of communication other than their own intracultural norms. Interlocutors from different cultural and language backgrounds must agree on the code of interaction in order to communicate. Furthermore, interlocutors must also have common knowledge of the subject under discussion, or "common ground" (H. H. Clark, 1996). Common ground in business settings includes knowledge about the common group of people they know, the process of work at hand that they must complete together, and the rules of interaction between them (H. H. Clark, 1996, p. 93). Common ground can help interlocutors achieve understanding through interaction by negotiating meanings when an intended transaction of information fails. Interlocutors may negotiate meanings through the use of repair and/or, if the interlocutors share more than one language, by codeswitching as discussed in Chapter 4.

In business settings, there seems to be an additional factor, power, that can markedly affect the shape of interaction. Depending on the amount of power held by individual interlocutors, the way they approach their interactional goals and relational goals may change. Power may also motivate (other) interlocutors to communicate in a certain way because of financial rewards and/or other potential benefits one can expect from others.

In the first section of this chapter, I will review current literature to outline key issues in intercultural business communication, namely repair, codeswitching, face and power, in order to investigate how these may influence the achievement of interactional and relational goals. In the second section, I will introduce a framework that integrates all of these aspects in analysing intercultural business communication and review in more depth four papers that draw from this framework in varying degrees in intercultural business communication settings.

2.1 Perspectives on Intercultural Business Communication

As stated before, the achievement of interactional goals in intercultural communication may not be as simple as in monolingual, intracultural communication. Because interlocutors from different cultural backgrounds may not initially share the common ground (H. H. Clark, 1996), communication between them may need a lot more clarifying when unknown information to one party, the listener, is presented (e.g., Marriott, 1995). In such cases, the speaker must actively make linguistic and lexical choices to accommodate the listener's understanding in order to achieve interactional goals (Coupland & Giles, 1988).

However, through extended period of time spent together, interlocutors may become able to communicate with each other. Given that they are communicating face to face and have sufficient common ground, the communication may become easier using contextual cues and non-verbal channels (Gudykunst & Kim, 1997, p. 224). They may develop their own method of communication in order to co-construct meaning in their interactions (for an example of such instance, see Sunaoshi, 2005). Without understanding of the context in which they are communicating, understanding an utterance can be difficult; for without context, meaning(s) that the speaker assigns to an utterance, even in a perfectly formed utterance, can be ambiguous to the listener (Mohan, McGregor, Saunders, & Archee, 2004, p. 15).

Despite developing sufficient common ground between interlocutors, a communication failure, the miss- or non-understanding of the intended message, may nevertheless occur. In such cases, interlocutors must collaborate to actively negotiate what message has been communicated if they are to achieve understanding (e.g., Clark, 1994; Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1977). In some cases, the speaker may anticipate

the possibilities of communication failure and modify his/her utterance in advance. Clark (1994, p. 245) presents three possible scenarios that an interlocutor can take when he/she detects or predicts a communication failure: (1) prevent foreseeable but avoidable problems; (2) warn other interlocutors of foreseeable but unavoidable problems; and, (3) repair problems that have already occurred. The first scenario can take the form of speech accommodation by choosing lexical items or switching codes to match the listener's comprehension level (e.g., Coupland & Giles, 1988, p. 175). The second can be facilitated by the speaker inserting a comment on the forthcoming information before the problematic word or concept is uttered, for example, "this can be a bit technical, but..." before making a detailed comment on how to save on tax by investing on the overseas share market. As opposed to the first two scenarios, the third scenario occurs after the trouble source has been uttered, even within the same utterance. These are commonly referred to as conversational repairs (e.g., Schegloff et al., 1977). Repairs can be a result of the listener not understanding what was uttered by the speaker, and so can be initiated by either the speaker or the listener.

In the first part of this section, I will discuss strategies used in negotiating meanings in intercultural communication between native speakers (NS) and non-native speakers (NNS). I will follow the chronological distinction made by Clark (1994) above and start with repairs, the method of negotiation after the trouble source, then go on to discuss codeswitching as a unique method of negotiating meanings in NS-NNS interactions to prevent and/or repair communication failures. I will then touch on theories on codeswitching that may help in analysing the achievement of transactional goals in bilingual communication, before reviewing the relational side of communication by considering the issues of face and power.

2.1.1 Repair

Schegloff et al. (1977, p. 363) define repair as a series of utterances or turns dealing with problems in interactions, or "trouble sources". The trouble source is not limited to erroneous utterance made by the speaker or "mis-speaking". When the listener has trouble listening or understanding what has been uttered, a repair is also likely to occur (Bremer, Roberts, Vasseur, Simonot, & Brooeder, 1996; Schegloff et al., 1977). Furthermore, in light of Grice's (1989) Cooperative Principle,[2] the listener can request information that was quantitatively and/or qualitatively insufficient and relationally questionable. In consideration of this, Svennevig identifies another category of trouble sources as a cause of a repair: the acceptability of utterances (Svennevig, 2008, p. 337). This is because when the listener cannot accept the information presented by the speaker, the communication is likely to breakdown as well (Bazzanella & Damiano, 1999; Bosco, Bucciarelli, & Bara, 2006). Table 1 below summarises the three types of trouble sources, and likely expressions used for clarification request.

However, although repairs are intended to clarify uncertainty caused by any of the above-mentioned trouble sources in communication, it must be recognised that not all results of repairs are successful in undoing misunderstandings caused by the given trouble sources (Schegloff et al., 1977).

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[2] Grice suggests that in order for communication to proceed smoothly, each participant must provide information that conforms to the maxims: (1) quantity (to provide sufficient information), (2) quality (that the information is truthful), (3) manner (that the information is said in appropriate way), and (4) relation (that the information is relevant to the current topic of discussion) (Grice, 1989, pp. 26-28).

Table 1

The Relation Between Sources of Trouble and Formats of Other-Initiated Repair (Svennevig, 2008, p. 338)

	Hearing	Understanding	Acceptability
Unspecific problem indicators	Display of non-hearing: "Huh?" "What did you say?"	Display of incomprehension: "What do you mean?"	Error indication: "There's a mistake"
Category specific indicators	Repeat with question word: "Ross what?"	Clarification request: "where?"	Error specification: "you said (0.5) in the Oxford street"
Candidate solutions	Hearing check (full/partial repeat): "Ross and fox?"	Understanding check: "you mean" + paraphrase	Candidate correction: "you mean" + correction

2.1.1.1 How Repairs are Carried Out

The act of repairing can be separated into two parts: repair initiation and the act of repairing (e.g., Schegloff, 2000). When the sequence of repair is divided into two, theoretically, there are two possibilities for who initiates a repair in interactions involving more than two interlocutors: the receiver of the trouble source, or, the speaker of the trouble source. The two candidates for repair initiation are also the candidates for actually repairing the trouble source. In addition, as indicated above, there is also the possibility that the trouble source is ignored by interlocutors (Pomerantz, 1984; Schegloff et al., 1977, p. 363). Therefore it can be said there are five possible courses of actions when dealing with a (potential) trouble source in an interaction.

1. Other-Initiated, Other-Repair
2. Other-Initiated, Self-Repair
3. Self-Initiated, Other-Repair
4. Self-Initiated, Self-Repair

5.   Ignored (pass by) (Schegloff et al., 1977)

It has been found that a repair occurs at the earliest possible instance after a potentially problematic utterance, usually in the next turn when others initiate a repair, i.e., in the case of 1 and 2 above, in NS-NS communication (Schegloff, 2000; Schegloff et al., 1977). A dedicated "repair-initiation opportunity space" seems to exist to initiate a repair (Schegloff et al., 1977, p. 374).

Freida:	This is nice, did you make this?	
Kathy:	No, Samu made that.	← Trouble Source
Freida:	Who?	← Other Initiation
Kathy:	Samu	← Self Repair

(Schegloff et al., 1977, p. 368, annotation added)

When Freida did not understand who Kathy was referring to, she initiated a repair in the next turn. Prompted by the repair initiation, Kathy then repeats the name "Samu" in the following turn. When the trouble source is treated as the first turn, the other-initiation follows in the second turn, and the self-repair occurs in the third turn.

Depending on the type of trouble source, the strategy employed for repair varies. However, although a more specific repair initiation can potentially elicit more specific repairs to clarify why the listener considered the utterance to be troublesome, generally, a linguistically simpler form of repair seems to be attempted first (Pomerantz, 1984; Svennevig, 2008). The category of trouble source is also affected by preference, i.e., repairs based on understanding or acceptability can be formulated as repairs of hearing instead (Svennevig, 2008).

The tendency for a simpler form of repair initiation seems to be motivated by

not wanting to offend the speaker of the trouble source (Robinson, 2006; Svennevig, 2008). Other initiation of repair can imply that the responsibility for the trouble belongs to the speaker of the trouble source for failing to follow the Cooperative Principle (Robinson, 2006). Thus, by making the trouble source appear to be caused by the listener's hearing problem, it reduces the cost to the speaker. As is seen in Table 1 above, the example for repair initiation attributed to an acceptability issue, "there's a mistake", seems much more threatening to the speaker of the trouble source than the display of non-hearing. Concern for the speaker's face may also be the reason for the general preference for self-repair of the trouble source, even when the repair is initiated by others. Evidence found in other research, such as delaying of other-initiation of repair until the speaker of the trouble source has time to notice and initiate self-repair (Schegloff et al., 1977, p. 374), or even waiting for self-repair to be conducted before accepting that there was a troublesome utterance by repeating the repaired utterance (Jefferson, 2007), may also point to the showing of concern for the face of the speaker.

Self-initiation of repair can correct trouble source utterances made by the speaker him/herself in the same turn (Schegloff et al., 1977, p. 376). Often, self-initiation of repair leads to self-repair before the others take the turn. This might be the result of the speaker changing his/her mind about what he/she is going to say or sensing that the interlocutors did not understand the information being presented through various cues, such as the lack of backchannelling or facial expressions. The content of repairs in such cases can be a simple repetition of the trouble source (Rieger, 2003) or substitution of trouble source with other words (Schegloff et al., 1977, p. 376).

When the speaker lacks the word to express information, noticing of the trouble

is signalled. This self-initiation is often followed by an interlocutor supplying the lexical item to express it (Schegloff et al., 1977, p. 378). In NS-NNS interaction, this type of self-repair can be expected to occur frequently due to the lack of proficiency on the part of the NNS.

2.1.1.2 Repairs in NS-NNS Interaction

When communicating with others there is an underlying assumption that the parties involved in the communication share the same basic understanding of the rules of communication. Therefore, when one of the parties who does not share the rules, for example, NNS of the language, one may predict more chances of communication failures may occur more frequently. Although it depends on the linguistic competency of the NNS, because NNS may lack communicative competence to produce grammatically or socioculturally appropriate utterances, it is not difficult to imagine that mis-communication may result (Bremer et al., 1996). For example, the meaning of their utterances may be unclear because of a lack of grammatical competence or mispronouncing a word (Wong, 2000). Their utterances may also come at an inappropriate point in the communication, and so defy the norms of communication that native speakers of the language may share (cf. Grice, 1989).

Consequently, some differences in types of trouble sources and repair strategies between NS-NS and NS-NNS interaction are apparent. In NS-NNS communication, one of the most common types of repairs is correction of language form and clarification of meaning caused by ungrammatical structure or mispronunciation of words, although not all grammatical errors made by NNS are corrected by NS (e.g., Kurhila, 2001). Wong reports that the repair strategy used by NNS is remarkably similar to those used by NS (Wong, 2000, p. 248). However, she also claims that the repair initiation may not

occur at the earliest possible place as in NS-NS communication; the initiation of other-repair occurs later in the communication, either after a short gap or after another turn, i.e., in the fourth turn, after the NNS interlocutor had some time to consider what has been communicated and the following turn did not unfold as expected (Wong, 2000, p. 254). For example, (Schegloff, 2000, p. 206; Wong, 2000, p. 251)

Joan:	I- j- I jus' talk tuh Li Li Hwa?	← Trouble Source
Chen:	Oh::	
	(0.2)	
Joan:	An:: that's how I got your number.	← Trouble Source
	(0.2)	
Chen:	Oh.	
Joan:	An:: she	
Joan:	[wa-	
Chen:	[Oh:: you- you got my numbuh:: from Li Li Hwa.	← Other Repair
Joan:	Yeah	

The distribution of repair initiation between NS and NNS interlocutors seems to vary as well. NNS's ability to self-repair their own utterances may be limited due to their limited communicative competence (Wong, 2005). Therefore it is likely that grammatical or pragmatic errors made by NNS are repaired by NS to clarify what was intended to be communicated, if necessary.

In terms of the actual language used in repair, if interlocutors who are involved in a communication share knowledge of another language, e.g., being a bilingual, it is possible that the repair may be conducted through switching the code of communication. For example, the excerpt below is taken from Nishimura's study of Japanese-English bilingual communication.

Midori: *Kazunoko. Are, nihonjin wa toren no.*
"Herring roe. That, Japanese can't collect it."
Author: *Toreru no?*
"Can they collect it?"
Midori: *Un.*   They can't.
"Right."
(Nishimura, 1995a, p. 175)

Midori is a second generation Canadian-Japanese, and both her and Nishimura share two languages in common: English and Japanese. While talking about what seafood items can be harvested in Vancouver, Midori explains to Nishimura in Japanese that Japanese people cannot harvest herring roe. To this, Nishimura initiates a repair in Japanese by asking "toreru no?" (can they collect it?). Midori then performs a repair in the next line in English, following a brief filler "*un*" (right) in Japanese. The repair was made in English presumably to avoid using the Japanese lexis "*toren*" (can't collect) and "*toreru*" (can collect) which are phonetically similar. This kind of repair option is not usually available in monolingual NS-NS communication (Myers-Scotton, 1988, p. 209).

Further, some NSs may also anticipate non-understandings by NNSs involved in the communication, and voluntarily switch to another language that they may share. Such actions can also repair trouble sources of interaction to aid smooth communication. Therefore, the possibility of codeswitching in intercultural communication must also be considered.

2.1.2 Codeswitching

Code is a cover term for linguistic systems at any level, from separate

languages to dialects of a single language to styles or substyles within a single dialect (Myers-Scotton, 1998b, p. 3). Codeswitching can therefore be explained as using and switching between two or more codes or languages within the same conversation (Myers-Scotton, 2006, p. 239). Two patterns of codeswitching can be observed in bilingual interactions: (1) inter-sentential switching, where the switch between languages does not occur within a single sentence but in between two sentences; and, (2) intra-sentential switching or intra-clause switching, which involves one word or phrase in one language being embedded within a grammatical structure of another language (Myers-Scotton, 2006, p. 239). In this case, the language that provide the grammatical framework is called the Matrix Language (ML) and the language that supplies the lexical items to be embedded is called the Embedded Language (EL) (Myers-Scotton, 2006).

Research to date has found various reasons as to why bilingual speakers codeswitch in interactions. It has been found that codeswitching is either linguistically or socially motivated. Linguistically, a speaker may switch to another language to fill the speaker's pragmatic and/or lexical gap in one language, or to accommodate for the listener's pragmatic and/or lexical gap in one language (Myers-Scotton, 2006, pp. 143-144; Nishimura, 1995a, p. 178). As for social reasons, one may choose to switch to another language to assert an identity as the speaker of the language that carries a certain status in a given situation (Auer, 2005; O'Driscoll, 2001), or to show that one understands the associated meanings and values of the language in the communicative situation. For example, in Yoon's (1996) study of fluent Korean-English bilingual speakers living in America, it was found that when they speak to their in-group members, they switch between Korean and English frequently. However, when they

speak to out-group members, they tend to refrain from switching into English and keep using Korean. Yoon explains that this is because when communicating with a more distant interlocutor, they use Korean to show their understanding of Korean social customs by observing discernment to the interlocutor (Yoon, 1996, p. 406).

From the above examples, it can be argued that the choice of code in bilingual communication is made rationally, although it may not be a conscious choice (e.g., Bain & Yu, 2000; Myers-Scotton, 2000). However, it must also be noted that the reasons for switching is not consistent across different situations; different situations carry and invoke different values to conversational codeswitching (Wei, 2005, p. 378). Therefore, it is dangerous to assign a particular meaning to all codeswitching behaviours observed in a given interaction as it may not be what the speaker who switched codes really intended (Wei, 2005, p. 381). Even the speakers themselves may not be aware of the reason for codeswitching in a particular situation, despite being able to generalise the rules for such moves, as observed by Blom and Gumperz (1972, cited in Nishimura, 1995a, pp. 158-159). Wei (2005) insists on using Conversation Analysis approach in analysing conversational codeswitching, as it is less likely to impose the analyst's view on the observed conversation. Contextual information is necessary to ascertain why codeswitching happens at certain times in a discourse. I will now review these functional uses of codeswitching strategies from a linguistic, social and discoursal point of view.

2.1.2.1 Linguistic Functions of Codeswitching

From the listener's perspective, a trouble source does not become obvious until it is uttered. However, as discussed in Section 2.1 above, from the speaker's perspective, the difference between prevention and repair of a trouble source is the timing of the

speaker acting on it in relation to the actual trouble source (Clark, 1994). The speaker may choose to switch the language when they can anticipate a trouble source.

Firstly, a bilingual speaker can choose to switch the language when he/she does not have means to express an idea or a notion in one language. In her study of Japanese-English bilingual communication amongst second-generation Japanese living in Canada, Nishimura observed intra-sentence codeswitching between English and Japanese, where English words were embedded in Japanese sentences (Nishimura, 1995a, p. 163). This occurred frequently while communicating with each other in Japanese about topics that they were not familiar with. Nishimura concludes that this is the result of the speaker not knowing the equivalent Japanese words, or when there is no notionally equivalent terms in Japanese language, such as "minority race" and "relocation centre" (Nishimura, 1995a, p. 164).

Secondly, a bilingual speaker may choose to switch the language to cater for the different linguistic needs of the addressee. For example, when it is clear to the speaker that the addressee will not understand the phrases he/she is going to use in one language because of their (lack of) language proficiency, the speaker may switch to another language that the addressee may understand. This appears to be a common strategy used by second-generation East Asian migrants who are fluent in both their first language and English, which is the language used by the mainstream community (e.g., Nishimura, 1995a; Wei & Milroy, 1995; Yoon, 1996). The three studies cited here seem to agree that when the second generation migrants address people older than themselves from the migrants' home culture, whose English language proficiency may be limited, they tend to use more home language, while when addressing the people of similar or younger age group who are fluent in English, they tend to use English more.

Nishimura also finds a combination of English and Japanese clauses merged in one sentence to form what she calls "portmanteau sentences" (Nishimura, 1995a, pp. 166-167). Portmanteau sentences involve an English sentence and its Japanese equivalent being combined in SVOV order, O being the common constituent. Nishimura argues this is possible because "the final element of the English sentence can serve as the initial element of a Japanese sentence in the code-switching, due to the opposite word order in these two languages (SVO in English vs. SOV in Japanese) and the common practice of subject deletion in Japanese" (Nishimura, 1995a, p. 167).

> Sean: We bought about two pounds *gurai kattekita no.*
>   about bought

The first part of this sentence is in English, "we bought about two pounds", and the second part in Japanese ,"two pounds *gurai kattekita no*", which are connected with the common phrase "two pounds" in English; the other parts in both English and Japanese have the same meaning. Nishimura explains that this is because the speaker had to accommodate for a mixed group audience consisting of second generation Canadian-Japanese and native Japanese whose English proficiency is limited. In order to involve both groups in the audience, the speaker chose to switch to Japanese half way through his utterance and ended up with a portmanteau sentence (Nishimura, 1995a).

The other side of the same coin is codeswitching to direct an utterance to a specific individual in multilingual group meetings (Poncini, 2003). This can then work as a floor managing device to exclude certain groups of interlocutors who do not share the linguistic code that the speaker switches to. In this manner, the speakers can choose codeswitching strategies available to them to assert their positions by aligning with a

certain group of people. It can also imply to the rest of the group that special communication is taking place for some reason. The following subsection will explore what a speaker can accomplish through various codeswitching strategies other than to foster a smooth communication.

2.1.2.2 Social Functions of Codeswitching

Ordinarily, a bilingual speaker knows when to use one code and when to use another in his/her daily life. For example, in many bilingual communities in Europe, there is an official language which is used for official functions, such as government documents and formal education situations, and there is a local dialect which is used for communication within the local community (Fredsted, 2008). In multi-ethnic communities in Kenya, English is used as the official language along with Swahili so that people from different ethnic backgrounds with different L1s can communicate with each other (Myers-Scotton, 2006, p. 240). Even between bilingual interlocutors who share two common languages, there may develop a standard pattern for communication, i.e., the pattern of interaction involving codeswitching that they are comfortable with. The norms may vary depending on the communicative situation, as well as on what the speaker wishes to communicate through the utterance.

The motivation for the choice of language in these situations is not only to aid smooth communication; the choice of language also reflects the social alignment of the speaker. According to Fredsted (2008), in a bilingual school setting in a small town near the border of Denmark and Germany, the official language of education is German. However, both teachers and students are able to speak German and Danish, as well as the local dialect. When a teacher needs to reprimand students for misbehaving, he/she speaks in German to assert authority by aligning him/herself as the user of the official

language, despite the students contesting in the local dialect. However, when faced with a problem with using a computer, the teacher switched from German to the local dialect. Fredsted argues this is because the teacher puts himself into the same group as the students, as someone who also has the same problem with the computer (Fredsted, 2008).

A similar motivation behind code choice is reported in communication within a Chinese migrant family living in England. In answering a question, if the speaker wants to show disagreement with the question, the speaker chooses the language code different from the one used to ask the question, whereas the agreement is made in the same language as the question (Bain & Yu, 2000; Wei & Milroy, 1995). It seems that by intentionally choosing the different language to break away from the norm of communication, the speaker is attempting to imply a stronger message. This seem to go beyond the scope of "we" code and "they" code distinction made by Gumperz (1982), that contrasts the language used for official versus social purposes of communication.

The Markedness Model (MM) was developed by Myers-Scotton in order to explain such code-switching behaviour (Myers-Scotton, 1988, 1993, 1998c, 2006). The MM considers the switching of codes as an implicature in itself, which marks the speaker's intentionality in communicating information (Myers-Scotton, 1998b, p. 20). This is because the speaker in the MM is considered as a rational agent who chooses the code to communicate according to the desired effect the choice has on the relationship between the interlocutors; he/she is aware of the consequence of such uses of the chosen code (Myers-Scotton, 1998c, p. 19). The choice to be *polite* (Brown & Levinson, 1987), to *accommodate* to the addressees (Coupland & Giles, 1988) and to *be cooperative* in

interactions (Grice, 1989) as well as examples of bilingual communications cited above all seem to involve the same notion, that is, a kind of communication strategy. In other words, Myers-Scotton claims that the MM can also explain why a speaker chooses to use or not use politeness or accommodation strategies in terms of the speaker's desired consequence, that is to "*optimize for self*" (Myers-Scotton, 1998c, p. 21, original emphasis). Speakers make a rational choice to use one variety of code over another in order to benefit from that choice.

The distinction between "marked" and "unmarked" choices are made at four levels: phonetic level, frequency of use in communication, semantic level, and in reference to language change (Myers-Scotton, 1998b, pp. 4-5). The choice is not limited to the variation within a language, but covers the choice of separate language and the choice of politeness such as honorific and colloquial forms within the language (Myers-Scotton, 1998c, p. 20). It is also important to note that marked and unmarked choices of linguistic forms are not categorised into two, but "fall along the multidimentional continuum from more unmarked to more marked and that their ordering will vary, depending on the specific discourse type" (Myers-Scotton, 1998c, p. 22). The ordering may even change within the same discourse (Myers-Scotton, 1998c, p. 23).

An underlying assumption in the MM is that all interlocutors have a "markedness evaluator", implying that everyone has the capacity to conceptualise markedness of utterances as a part of their competence (Myers-Scotton, 1998c, p. 22). While people learn a language or languages (in a bilingual or multilingual communities), they also acquire the ability to recognise what is more marked from more unmarked in various situations and to associate the consequences of making marked linguistic

choices from making unmarked ones.

Another component of the MM is the Rights and Obligations set (RO set). RO set is a set of behaviours and responses that are expected to be followed by interlocutors when communicating using a certain code (Myers-Scotton, 1998c, p. 24).

Myers-Scotton also advocates five maxims that a speaker may follow when making a marked choice during a naturally occurring communication

> *The Unmarked Choice Maxim*: Make your code choice the unmarked index of the unmarked rights and obligations set in talk exchanges when you wish to establish or affirm that rights and obligations set.
> *The Marked Choice Maxim*: Make a marked choice which is not the unmarked index of the unmarked rights and obligations set in an interaction when you wish to establish a new rights and obligations set as unmarked for the current exchange.
> *The Exploratory Choice Maxim*: When an unmarked choice is not clear, use switching between speech varieties to make alternate exploratory choices as (alternate) candidates for the unmarked choice and thereby as an index of a rights and obligations set which you favor.
> *Deference Maxim*: Switch to a code which expresses deference to others when special respect is called for by the circumstances.
> *Virtuosity Maxim*: Switch to whatever code is necessary in order to carry on the conversation/accommodate the participation of all speakers present.
> (Myers-Scotton, 1998a, p. 26)

What seems to be clear is that making a marked choice means the speaker wants to change the RO sets being applied to the given interaction. In the case of the bilingual Chinese migrant child living in Canada cited in Bain & Yu's (2000, pp. 1408-1409) study, when he wants to defy the power relationship with his mother, he switches to English even if the interaction preceding it was done in Cantonese. By making a marked choice, to switch to English from Cantonese, the child attempts to

change the RO set associated with Cantonese interaction, following the Marked Choice

Maxim. Further evidence of such attempts to gain and retain power in interaction is

found by Myers-Scotton (1988): a speaker can hold on to the power and retain the floor

he/she already has gained by initiating codeswitches frequently, thus controlling the RO

sets associated with the different codes of communication, and leaving the addressee to

adjust and match the changed RO sets throughout the interaction (Myers-Scotton,

1988). The speakers quite rationally choose the code to be used in a given

communication, but observers of codeswitching must not forget that it is also affected by

the linguistic knowledge of the speaker (Myers-Scotton & Jake, 2001).

2.1.2.3 Discourse Functions of Codeswitching

  Although the discourse functions of codeswitching may not be salient when

observing a single ocurrance of codeswitching in an utterance, when the entire

discourse is observed as a target of analysis, a pattern in codeswitching behaviour may

emerge. In interlanguage pragmatics studies, it has been pointed out that the way a

message is conveyed in L2 often follows the structure of the L1 (e.g., Beebe, Takahashi,

& Uliss-Weltz, 1990; Blum-Kulka & Olshtain, 1986; Kasper & Rose, 1999). When

looking at the codeswitching behaviour in a whole interaction, discourse structure,

especially discourse markers such as cohesive devices (Halliday & Hasan, 1976),

backchannelling terms and fillers also seem to be transferred into bilingual interactions

through codeswitching (Hlavac, 2006; Nishimura, 1995a, 1995b).

  In a study of Croatian-dominant interaction within Croatian migrant

community in Australia,[3] Hlavac found the English interjector "yeah" is used frequently.

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[3] Hlavac explains that although these interlocutors are bilingual, their dominant
language is English.

It is used in the same manner as "yeah" is used in Australian English interaction, i.e., to show agreement and/or indifference, mark the ending of a turn, and as a pause filler (Hlavac, 2006, pp. 1875-1877). Although there are equivalent forms in Croatian to "yeah" used in these situations, the Croatian migrants observed in his study replace them with the single English lexeme "yeah" because it seems to take over the multiple functions performed by these different forms in Croatian (Hlavac, 2006, p. 1880).

Other discourse markers, such as "you know" and "so" are also used frequently in his data of Croatian interaction. Although unsubstantiated, Hlavac explains this by comparing the frequency of "you know" occurring in informal Australian English interaction compared to that of the Croatian equivalent in informal Croatian interaction (Hlavac, 2006, p. 1897). Because the use of "you know" in interaction may suggest and assume shared knowledge between interlocutors, it can function to increase solidarity between interlocutors. It can also function to elicit backchannelling from the addressee (Hlavac, 2006, p. 1987). Perhaps the adoption of "you know" in Croatian interaction is motivated by the wish to use such discourse devices more frequently because it is influenced by the interlocutors' dominant language.

Similar findings are reported in Japanese-English bilingual interactions. Firstly the use of Japanese sentence-final particles, in particular *ne* and *yo* are observed in English-dominant interactions amongst second-generation Canadian-Japanese (Nishimura, 1995a, 1995b). Various Japanese sentence-final particles can also function as discourse markers to mark the speaker's attitude towards the message and the relationship between the interlocutors (e.g., Kamio, 1994; Katagiri, 2007; Kita & Ide, 2007; Maynard, 1989) as well as to elicit backchanneling from the interlocutors (e.g.,

Miyata & Nishisawa, 2007). To briefly outline, *ne* is used to elicit confirmation of or agreement to the information conveyed in the utterance with the addressee, and *yo* is used to assert the authoritativeness of the information uttered by the speaker (Katagiri, 2007, p. 1314; Nishimura, 1995b, p. 138). Thus, they both mark directions in which the information was transferred between interlocutors and elicit backchanneling, which also implies the state of the addressees' thinking (Maynard, 1990; Miyata & Nishisawa, 2007).

Kamio's Theory of Territory of Information is based on the use of Japanese final particles to analyse how much information was assumed to be held by the speaker and the listener when the utterance was made (Kamio, 1994, 2002; but see also Katagiri, 2007). Kamio uses as an example a situation when a child and his mother come across the child's grandfather taking a nap. The child sees the grandfather asleep and says the following to his mother:

> *Ojiisan   ga   hirune shite iru yo*
> grandfather CASE nap   do -ing *yo*
> 'Grandfather is taking a nap.'

> *Ojiisan   ga   hirune shite iru ne*
> grandfather CASE nap   do -ing *ne*
> 'Grandfather is taking a nap.'
> (Kamio, 2002, p. 16)

The difference between the two utterance is caused by the speaker's (in this case, the son's) assumption of the amount of information held by the addressee (his mother) (Kamio, 2002, p. 17). When saying the former utterance, marked with *yo*, the speaker assumes that he knows the information is true but the addressee does not have,

or has very limited access to the information about to be conveyed when the utterance is made (Kamio, 2002, p. 17). In this case, when the child found his grandfather taking a nap, his mother may have been standing a few steps behind him and could not see the grandfather at the same time her child did. It can be said then that the mother did not know that the grandfather was sleeping. On the other hand, the latter, marked with *ne*, the speaker again assumes that the speaker knows the information is true, and also that the addressee has at least as much information as the speaker (Kamio, 2002, p. 22). To use the same example, this time, the mother was standing beside her son when he saw his grandfather taking a nap. Therefore the son assumed that his mother saw the same sight, and so also knows that the grandfather is asleep.

In English-dominant interaction observed in the Canadian-Japanese group, these final particles are attached to English utterances, as shown in the examples below:

I guess that's the way he and his generation were treated *ne*?
"I guess that's the way he and his generation were treated, right?"

He's a loner *yo*.
"He's a loner, let me tell you."
(Nishimura, 1995b, p. 138)

Ne and *yo* used in these utterances also seem to follow the Theory of Territory of Information described above. Nishimura argues that the use of Japanese *ne* in this manner "enhances rapport between the speaker and the hearer" within the group even though the language of interaction is English (Nishimura, 1995a, p. 169). By marking the ending of English sentences with Japanese final particles, it marks solidarity in

that interlocutors share the same linguistic and ethnic backgrounds. The use of both *ne*

and *yo* seems to enhance the speaker's identity as Japanese descendents.[4]

Secondly, the use of Japanese discourse markers, such as "*dakara*" (therefore;

that's why), are observed in English utterances between Japanese-English bilingual

interlocutors (Nishimura, 1995a, p. 170).

It's just she wants to know different points of view, eh? *Dakara*, just ordinary
conversation, she would pick it up, and put it together.

therefore

The above utterance was made by one of her informants when she explained

the nature of Nishimura's research to another informant. She explains the use of

English here was the result of the informant taking the job of explaining seriously.[5]

Dakara in Japanese is used to connect two clauses, the first being the reason

and the second usually the judgement of the speaker, order, request and intension based

on the reason given in the first clause (Iori, Takahashi, Nakanishi, & Yamada, 2000, p.

218; Sasamoto, 2008). The second clause can occur without a final verb in conversation.

Although no explanation is given by Nishimura regarding this switch to Japanese, the

inclusion of the Japanese discourse marker here seems to reflect the serious nature of

request being made by the speaker. Also because the second clause, "just ordinary

conversation", occurs without a verb, using *dakara* eliminates the need to rely on

additional English phrases such as "therefore just ordinary conversation is okay".

[4] Katagiri (2007), however, argues for additional functionality of these final particles.
These will be touched upon later in Section 2.1.3.3.2.
[5] Nishimura explains that this informant usually uses Japanese with a "half-joking
tone of voice" (Nishimura, 1995a, p. 170). Thus, using English to explain and thereby
invoking different RO sets is a plausible explanation under the MM.

Another common occurrence of a Japanese particle in English utterance is the use of *wa* to mark topic-comment sentence structure (Nishimura, 1995b, pp. 138-139). The topic marker *wa* is used after the first noun of the utterance to mark what the topic of the utterance is (it is commonly translated into English as "speaking of ..." or "talking about ..."). For example,

> *Nori   wa,*   it grows right on the rocks, eh?
> seaweed Topic
> "Talking about seaweed, it grows on the rocks, eh?"

> She *wa*, took her a month to come *yo*.
> "Talking about her, it took her a month to come home, you know."
> (Nishimura, 1995b, p. 138)

Other than marking the subject, *wa* also functions to make a contrast between two topics in the discussion (Iori et al., 2000, p. 257).[6]

> Midori: Japanese can't get fish eggs.
>   …
> Midori: *Kazunoko. Are, nihonjin wa toren no.*
>   "Herring roe. That, Japanese can't collect it."
> (Nishimura, 1995a, p. 175)

According to Nishimura, the speaker contrasted Japanese to some other groups of people. In British Columbia, only native Canadians were allowed to gather herring roe, thus the speaker contrasted Japanese to native Canadians in this excerpt (Nishimura, 1995a, p. 176).

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[6] The object(s) of comparison need not be mentioned at the same time.

In sum, then, codeswitching in bilingual interactions not only smooths the interaction by accommodating the linguistic deficiency of interlocutors involved in the interaction. In the case of bilingual interlocutors who have similar upbringings, the knowledge of the two languages may constitute common ground as well. Furthermore, they may exploit their knowledge of two languages in interactions and combine both languages to maximise the effect of messages being communicated between them. The receivers of such messages also understand the meanings implied by codeswitching, thus building solidarity amongst the group of people who share the same code (Myers-Scotton, 2006, p. 150). The relational goals, to build and/or maintain relationship with each other, and possibly with other audiences when communicating with others, can be attained by such choice, too.

However, when bilingual interlocutors come from different cultural backgrounds, the norms of interaction that each interlocutor may bring to the interaction based on their cultural expectations may not be the same. It may lead to miscommunication because the methods used by one interlocutor to develop and to interact with others may not be perceived and interpreted by them as intended (Spencer-Oatey, 2005). In such cases, the norms of interaction must be first established between the interlocutors so that communication can be successfully carried out. Crucial to establishing such norms are the notions of *face* and *power*. As discussed above, choosing the code of interaction also determines RO sets within the interaction, thus helping to establish what each of the interlocutors can expect from and be obliged to do in the interaction. Who decides the code of interaction and what motivates them to choose one code over another may lead to establishing of RO sets within the interaction, but this can be modified within the interaction as interlocutors self-disclose and

discover more about each other. According to the Conversational Contract[7] (Fraser, 1990; Fraser & Nolen, 1981), revelation of one's status and personal affiliation changes the use of politeness expressed by interlocutors in an interaction. The norms established in an interaction also seem to transfer to subsequent interactions, unless changes in their status further modify the interactional norms.

The following two sections will next examine how perception of the interactional achievement of power and face may influence the behaviour of interlocutors within an interaction.

2.1.3 Power

In a workplace, the people who belong there occupy various formal positions and play different roles within the group. These positions and roles are usually assigned to the employees because of their expertise and/or experience. These positions and roles are often organized hierarchically. For example, the president of a company may have power over his/her subordinates in terms of hiring/firing them and paying their wages. However, he/she may need the cooperation of the subordinates to produce an appropriate product, sell it to customers and to make profits. Likewise the power held by the same individuals can change dynamically depending on the topic being discussed where different expertise and specialised knowledge may be called upon. The language and discourse structures being used may change accordingly within a single

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[7] The Conversational Contract is a notion based on the interlocutor's rights to be shown respect and obligation to express politeness in an interaction marked with perceived social status and interpersonal relationship between the interlocutors (Fraser & Nolen, 1981, pp. 93-94). It advocates that upon starting an interaction, the interlocutors enter into a Conversational Contract which determines what level of politeness is appropriate in the given interactions. What is considered appropriate in a Conversational Contract between the interlocutors changes as the relationship between the interlocutors changes.

communication event. When discussing the company's future direction, the boss may assert his power and speak using more imperative forms and dominate the floor, but when asking his/her staff for their opinions, he/she may adopt a more sympathetic tone of voice to encourage them to table their views (Yeung, 2003, 2004a, 2004b). Therefore, it can be said that power and language use is closely interrelated; power can be the single most significant factor in determining the rules of human relationships and interactions, as well as being created through the use of language itself (Fairclough, 1989).

In intercultural communication settings, interlocutors who belong to the relatively dominant cultural group tend to set the rules for communication, thus forcing the ones without power to follow the communicative norms of the ones with power (Fairclough, 1989, pp. 47-48). For example, Auer (1998) reports the difficulties East German workers encountered when trying to find employment with West German companies when East and West Germany were unified. In former East Germany, a communist society, a job interview was merely an opportunity to identify one's qualifications for the position to be filled. When they go for an interview with West German companies, they were overwhelmed by differences in the interview interaction, which expects the interviewee to explicitly express his/her desire and willingness to work for the company. Although the language used for the communication is the same, East German workers had difficulty adapting to the ways in which West German job interviews which were conducted according to the rules set by West German norms (Auer, 1998).

When the language used for communication is different between dominant and minority groups, the difficulties facing the minority group to adapt to the majority

group's communication norm are even greater. This is particularly evident in the case of migrants and refugees who arrive in a new country; they must acquire the language spoken by the majority of the community and learn the law and the social rules of the new country before they can function within the community, or before even receiving social benefits from the government of the host country (Bremer et al., 1996).

In contrast, as is observed in the data used by Sunaoshi (2005), American employees of a Japanese factory are, despite using English as a medium of communication, made to follow the Japanese norms of communication and wait for decisions to be made by the Japanese executives of the company. It is a move typical of Japanese corporate communication style that emphasises dependence on people with higher positions (e.g., Barnlund, 1989). In this case, although the language chosen for interaction is English, the rules of interaction are Japanese, as it is the Japanese staff who occupy higher positions in the company and has superior knowledge of and skills in the manufacturing processes.

Furthermore, the mere presence of a powerful figure can alter the communicative behaviour of interlocutors. One may physically be restrained from doing something one wants to do, or be forced to act in a certain way because it is socially expected. Or one may be psychologically attracted to doing something because it can influence the way the person present thinks about oneself. For example, a group of high school students may stop using swear words in presence of their teachers. The presence of the teacher influences the students to use more socially appropriate language. It is evident, then, that different kinds of power are at play, be it financial or social, or physical or psychological, in interactions (Erchul, Raven, & Whichard, 2001, p. 485).

In this section, I will thus analyse types of power recognised in social interaction that people are influenced by, as well as various factors entitling a person to exercise power over others, including both salient and observable ones in the society as well as theoretical ones.

2.1.3.1 Types of Power in Social Relationships

Although there has been no concrete method or convention to measure or explain power relationships between people (Spencer-Oatey, 1996), the notion of power has been included in much of the literature on politeness and human interaction, including language use (e.g., Brown & Levinson, 1978, 1987; Fairclough, 1989; Holmes & Stubbe, 2003; Locher, 2004). Brown and Levinson (1987), for example, argue that the perceived difference in the amount of power held by the addressee affects the speaker's choice of how much politeness to use when asking for a favour. A person who is allowed to force or to influence others, socially or otherwise, to do certain actions, either intentionally or unintentionally, is considered to possess more power (Wartenberg, 1990). The amount of power possessed by a person seems to correspond to the status of the interlocutor in relation to the others in the social group (Watts, 1991). According to Watts (1991), status does not equate to exercising power, but is like a place in which power can be held.

The most commonly used framework for the analysis of power is the bases of social power model developed by French and Raven (Podsakoff & Schriesheim, 1985). It is used to investigate relationships between people in most studies in organisational behaviour and social psychology, including in relationships between parents and children, doctors and patients, salesperson and customers, and school counsellors and teachers (Erchul & Raven, 1997; Erchul et al., 2001). Social power is defined as the

potential to influence others to change their behaviour, be it conducted through their actions, or merely by being present (Raven, 1965).

French and Raven (1959; Raven, 1965) identify six bases of social power:

1. *Coercive power* is founded on Person B's perception that Person A might somehow punish Person B if B does not comply.
2. *Reward power* is based on B's perception of A's ability and readiness to reward B somehow if B complies.
3. *Legitimate power* is rooted in B's obligation to accept A's influence attempt because B believes A has a legitimate right to influence, perhaps because of A's position within the organization.
4. *Expert power* stems from B's perception that A possesses knowledge or expertise in a designated area.
5. *Referent power* is A's potential to influence B based on B's identification with A, or desire for such identification. […]
6. *Informational power* (Raven, 1965) is A's potential to influence B because of the judged relevance of the information contained in A's message. Informational power accrues to A through A's providing B with a logical explanation or new information favoring change.
    (Erchul & Raven, 1997, pp. 138-139, emphasis added)

It is important to note that the power can be exercised over others if they recognise the power possessed by the influencee. These power bases must be *perceived* by the influencee before it can influence and modify their behaviour.

An influencer can have a various combination of these bases of power (Raven, 1965, p. 381). For example, a company president is deemed to possess coercive power and reward power over his/her employees; the president can punish his/her employee if their work is not satisfactory, and reward them if their work is exemplary. The president also has legitimate power over the employees because his/her position in the company is higher than the rest of them. These three types of power bases are also

referred to as "hard power" because of their overt and forceful nature (Erchul et al., 2001, p. 487). These power bases appeal to extrinsic motivation of the influencees through fear of a punishment and/or desire for a reward. Therefore these bases of power can only be used if the influencer actually holds the position or the ability to punish or reward the influencees.

As opposed to the former three types, expert power, referent power and informational power are referred to as "soft power". Although these power bases can modify the influencees' behaviour, the change is driven by intrinsic motivation of the influencees. Because they believe that the information presented to them is of benefit to them, they modify their own behaviour accordingly and willingly. For example, referent power can be held by a sportspeople over children who admire them for their sporting talent. If the children decide to participate and practice the sports because they want to be like those sportspeople, then the referent power of the sportpeople is perceived by the children. Expert power is held by a person who is considered to have superior knowledge in one area over others who pursue knowledge in the same area. The relationship between a doctor and a patient generally falls in this category. Patients generally perceive their doctors to have superior knowledge in treating sickness. Therefore, if a doctor tells the patient to take a certain medication several times a day, the patient is likely to follow that order without questioning; in other words, the expert power of the doctor is perceived by the patient.

The difference between expert power and informational power lies in the fact that whereas expert power influences the actions of B because of the superior knowledge of A, informational power influences the thinking process of B, making him/her understand the information provided by A is superior to what B originally

conceived. Informational power can be exercised on B without A being present (French & Raven, 1959): "Essentially, B has incorporated the changed behaviour and would continue in that fashion even if B were to forget that the impetus for the change came from A" (Erchul & Raven, 1997, p. 139). For example, when an obese patient suffering from high blood sugar level is told by a doctor to take a walk everyday to lose weight in order to lower his blood sugar level, he starts walking everyday. As a result, his health improves over time and he is no longer obese, but his daily exercise routine remains with him for a lot longer. The patient may forget the name of the doctor who told him to exercise, but the changed habit of the patient may remain with him long after the meeting with the doctor; that is, the effect of informational power lasts without the influencer's presence.

The ones who hold these power bases in an interaction are usually socially higher in rank than the ones who do not, but it is not limited to such cases. It may occur between equals, or a person of lower rank may influence a person of higher rank (Erchul & Raven, 1997, p. 140). For example, when a subordinate provides his/her boss with ideas on how to market a product and the boss acts on it, the subordinate's expert power has influenced the boss's action. Referent power can be observed when a teenager dresses and behaves in the same way as his/her peers. On the other hand, superiors who lack self-confidence in influencing their subordinates tend to rely on more coercive and reward power to assert their position (Raven, Freeman, & Haley, 1982, p. 166).

In a similar vein, when applying these various power bases to the analysis of power in interaction, it is necessary to recognise that although the perlocutionary effect of various power bases may be the same, the reason for B following A's order can be

different depending on how B perceives A's power. When A asks B to do something, B may do it because "I feel obligated to do as A asks" (legitimate power), "A knows what is best" (expert), "we should see eye-to-eye on this" (referent), "A will punish me if I don't do it this way" (coercion) or "A will do something nice to me if I do as A asks" (reward) (Erchul & Raven, 1997, p. 139).

Raven (1993) proposed further subcategories within the six bases of power presented above. Table 2 below lists these subcategories as well as examples in business situations (based on Erchul, Raven & Whichard, 2003, pp. 484-485; Erchul & Raven, 1997; Raven 1992; 1993). These subcategories are useful in identifying and comparing power arising within intercultural communication settings (see Section 2.1.3.3).

Table 2

Subcategories in the Six Bases of Social Power and Examples in Business Settings
(In each example, A is the one with power, B is the recipient of A's power)

Bases of Power	Further Differentiation	Definition & Example
Coercion	Impersonal Coercion	B's perception that A is capable of delivering tangible punishments. *Example*: Subtly, or not so subtly, A communicates the expectation that a failure to follow recommendations could lead to a negative results, such as not accepting the submitted work.
	Personal Coercion	B's perception that A's personal disapproval can potentially influence B's beliefs. *Example*: A shows dissatisfaction with the work submitted by B.

Reward	Impersonal Reward	B's perception that A is capable of delivering tangible rewards.
		Example: A, very pleased with B's effort at work, gives B a small raise in his pay. Of course pay increase is rewarding, but reward *power* stems from B's expectation that there will be an additional payment if there is further compliance.
	Personal Reward	B's perception that A's personal approval can potentially influence B's beliefs.
		Example: A shows satisfaction with the work submitted by B.
Legitimacy	Formal legitimacy (position power)	B's perception that A has a right to influence based on A's professional role or organizational position.
		Example: B sees A's position as the president of the company as implying the authority to make recommendations that B should feel obligated to follow.
	Legitimacy of Reciprocity	B's perception that he/she is obligated to respond in-kind for what A has done already to benefit B.
		Example: A has spent several hours with B to help B develop a marketing plan, so now B feels an obligation to implement the plan as well as possible.
	Legitimacy of Equity	B's perception that he/she is obligated to respond to A's request due to an imbalance of expended effort and possible inconvenience incurred previously by A.
		Example: A has been spending excessive amount of time in helping B but B fails to implement A's advice, thus failing to turn results. B, perhaps feeling guilty, begins to implement A's advice immediately.
	Legitimacy of Dependence (Powerlessness)	B's perception that there is an obligation to help people like A who cannot help themselves and who are dependent upon others
		Examples: A asks for B's help in developing a marketing plan in the country where B originated because the country's cultural taboos prevent the company from entering their market.

Expert	Positive Expert	B's perception that A possesses knowledge or expertise in a specific area of interest to B. *Example*: B views A as knowledgeable because A has the know-how in creating a successful advertising campaign.
	Negative Expert	B's perception that A possesses knowledge or expertise in a specific area of interest to B, so B intentionally *disobey* A's advice. *Example*: B views A as knowledgeable, but because B wants to prove himself, B intentionally attempts a method different from A's.
Reference	Positive Referent	A's potential to influence B based on B's identification with A and/or desire for such identification. *Example*: B is likely to follow A's direction because B wishes to be successful in business as A is.
	Negative Referent	A's potential to influence B based on B's dis-identification with A. Example: B is not likely to follow A's direction because B wishes to be successful in business *unlike* A.
Informational	Direct Information	A's potential to influence B because of the judged relevance of the information contained in A's message. *Example*: B views A's marketing plan is likely to succeed – not because of the A's expertise or other factors – but because B has already made up his mind that this approach to marketing in the Japanese market will succeed.
	Indirect Information	A's potential to influence B because of the judged relevance of the information contained in A's message that B "overhears".

2.1.3.2 Influencing Power in an Interaction

Interlocutors can strategically choose which power bases to activate in order to maximise their chance of influencing others. In addition to the various components of

social power bases listed in Table 2 above, Raven identifies strategies that the speaker can use to choose which power base to activate to influence others as outlined in Figure 1 below (1993, pp. 237-8).

Motivation to influence	Assessment of Available Power bases	Preparation for influence attempts

1. Attain extrinsic goals
2. Satisfy internal needs – power, status, security, self-esteem
3. Role requirements, higher authority
4. Motivation of the influence – desire to benefit or harm
5. desired status in eyes of self, target, third parties
	1. Reward resources
	2. Coercive resources
	3. Legitimacy
	4. Expertise
	5. Reference (identification)
	6. Information
	7. Manipulation possibilities
	8. Indirect Influence possibilities
	9. Invoking or diminishing power of third parties
	
	Assessment of Availabile Bases In Relation to Target
	Power Preference and Inhibitions
	1. Costs and effects
	2. Secondary gains and losses
	3. Norms and values
	4. Relation to self-perception
	5. Time perspective
		1. Setting stage or scene
		2. Enhancing or emphasizing power bases
		3. "Softening up" target
		4. Others
		
		Choices of Power Bases, Influences Attempt: Choices of Mode
		
		Effects
		1. Positive or negative effects
		2. Public-private effects on other power bases
		3. Side effects
		  A) Changes in perception and evaluation of agent and target
		  B) Attempts to repair damage

Figure 1. Model of power/interaction from the perspective of the influencing agent (Raven, 1993, p. 240)

In considering the strategic activation of one's social power bases, the motivation for exercising power must be considered first (left column in *Figure 1*). In business situations, probably the most common motivation is to increase productivity and profits, that is, to attain extrinsic goals. In order to do so, the superiors need to ask their subordinates to work, including producing the goods to be sold and preparing promotional materials for marketing of the goods. In addition, Raven also lists intrinsic motivations, to satisfy one's internal needs to feel strong and to show the group that one can fulfil the role requirement given to oneself by virtue of one's status (Raven, 1993, pp. 237-239). Other personal motives, such as to cause harm to a particular subordinate, can also be considered as a motivation to influence power over others. Then the speaker needs to assess the power bases available to him/her in the given situation in relation to the addressee (centre column). In addition to the six bases of power mentioned above, Raven includes manipulation, indirect influence and invoking on third party power as potential strategies in exercising power (Raven, 1993, pp. 237-239). Then the speaker weighs up the effort required and possible consequences of influencing power, for example, possible costs and effects of influencing power, whether the intended method is appropriate according to social norms, and possible repercussions from wider society. When the speaker decides which bases of power to be used to influence others, he/she may decide to prepare for the attempt by preparing the contextual cues in advance to maximise the power held by the speaker (top on the right column). For example, in order to strengthen expert power over a patient, a doctor can appeal to non-verbal cues by wearing laboratory coat and a stethoscope, and display diplomas and a medical library to increase his/her credibility as a doctor. Next, when the speaker attempts to influence power, he/she again has a choice of mode of influence by choosing the manner

and tone of utterance (middle on the right column). The mode of delivery of power can be more important than the bases of power itself in some situations (Raven, 1993, p. 240). After the power has been exercised, the outcome of the influencing attempt can be evaluated and used to formulate the next attempt to influence others (bottom on the right column).

2.1.3.3 Social Power in Japanese Interactions

Needless to say, how "power" is conceptualised and perceived in different culture varies (Spencer-Oatey, 1996). However, it seems possible to categorise what types of power bases are considered important in different cultures by applying the taxonomy of social power bases presented in Table 2 above (Raven, 1993, p. 244). Such an analysis may be able to explain why the connotative value associated with the term 'power' varies across culture. In English, the term power is "closely associated with domination and control, and so often has strong negative connotation" (Spencer-Oatey, 1996, p. 21). This is not necessarily the case in China or Japan, where power is considered as a normal part of life. Perhaps it is the result of the differences in types of power bases that are most commonly used in different cultures. Raven (1993) outlines the result of cross-cultural studies on children's use of power to influence their peers. It was found that while children in Italy and Argentina opted to use coercive power to persuade others, children in United States and Japan were more likely to use informational power. Raven also notes that Japanese children were more likely to use and comply with referent power (Raven, 1993, p. 244). It can thus be said that softer power bases, i.e., referent power, used in Japanese culture may result in the softer evaluation of the concept of power.

In this section I will firstly examine the notions often observed in the Japanese society that are used to bind social relationships and influence others, namely *seken*, *giri*, *ninjo* and *kone* in light of the expanded bases of social power model presented above. Then I will describe how these power bases are invoked in Japanese interactions.

2.1.3.3.1 Japanese Folk Notions of Social Power

Seken. The notion of *seken* (the wider society, or "imagined communities") often influences Japanese people's behaviour. The belief in *seken* can shape the behaviour of Japanese in two ways: it prevents one from doing unordinary or socially inappropriate activities, and it influences one to do the same as others in society (Abe, 1995; Haugh, 2007b). They both share an aspect of referent power, to be like others in the society, but the former can be also identified as the personal coercive power, and the latter as positive referent power. For example, a mother can tell her child to stop picking flowers from a public garden by saying "*seken* is watching". The child stops picking the flower because he does not want to be disliked by the society, including his mother. Thus, it is the result of perceived personal coercive power, the fear of being rejected, by society or the people constituting the society. In order to avoid others' disapproval, one avoids being different, and tries to be the same as others (Raven, 1993, p. 234). The mother invokes the power of *seken* in the latter way.

Raven (1993, p. 229) also uses the term "power of the group" to refer to the way in which groups prevent members from being different. The difference in the case of Japanese society is that *seken* is used more broadly to refer to people one knows, not strictly the group that one is a member of, as seen in the notion of group power used by Raven (1993). It can be called on as the third party to the interaction by the participants to influence their actions, in the same way that a priest refers to God when talking to a

sinner (Aida, 1972, p. 237). The mother in the above example calls on the *seken* to stop her child from picking the flowers.

Giri & *Ninjo*. Both *giri* (moral obligation) and *ninjo* (humane feelings) refer to one's obligation to others in need, and are often used in pairs (Sugiura & Gillespie, 1993). While *giri* "involves caring for others from whom one has received a debt of gratitude and a determination to realize their happiness" (Sugiura & Gillespie, 1993, p. 25), *ninjo* is a more spontaneous expression of feelings to help others (Sugiura & Gillespie, 1993, p. 27). *Giri* was originally used to describe how the master-subordinate relationships should be, but it can also be used to describe relationships between parent-child, husband-wife, siblings and friends, by giving them socially defined roles in the given relationships. In Japanese society, these concepts are described as the way relationships are supposed to be, and can be used to influence how people behave. For example, if A had experienced problems and B offered to help A in the past, when B is in need of help, A is obliged to help B. Often these obligations extend to business relationships too. On the other hand, one may feel *ninjo* when he/she encounters a person begging for food on the street and may offer some money to purchase food.

Both *giri* and *ninjo* seem to fall under the broad category of legitimate power. *Giri* seems to coincide with legitimacy of reciprocity because, using the example given above, A must reciprocate the help offered by B in the past (Raven, 1993, p. 234). However, the degree of trouble that A goes through to reciprocate B's favour can be greater than what A received from B, i.e., what is to be reciprocated is not necessarily equivalent, as suggested by Raven. *Ninjo* can be referred to as legitimacy of dependence, or the power of powerlessness (Raven, 1993, p. 235). If A considers B is not capable of

supporting him/herself sufficiently without A's help, A may feel bad about not helping B. Both power bases can be intentionally invoked by B by reminding A how much help B has provided in the past or by showing how little B can do on his/her own, and so emphasising the relationship between A and B.

Kone. The term *kone* is a shortened version of the English term 'connection' and means one's connection with people that can influence power, such as decision making processes (Kurogo, 2009). A may not have a direct power base to influence the outcome B, but if A has a *kone* with C, A can still have the power to influence B. For example, in order to gain a favourable decision about his son's employment, the father may contact his friend who has a high position in a company which may become the son's potential employer. When the son goes to the company for his job interview, he receives favourable treatment and gains employment as a result of his father's *kone*.

It can also be considered as the preparatory device for enhancing influence, as described in the previous subsection. By contacting a friend and requesting in advance, possibly with a gift, to "soften up" the target or invoke a *giri* relationship, the target is inclined to make a decision in favour of the influencing agent (in this case, his son). In addition, to make a *kone* with someone with power can be considered as a reward power because *kone* enables one to exercise power in an area he/she may never be able to influence power to bring about a rewarding outcome.

As demonstrated here, the power relationships specific to Japanese culture can be explained using Raven's taxonomy of bases of social power model. However, none of the four terms explained above seem to have originated from the status one holds in the society. Therefore simple distinctions based on the interlocutor's position may not reveal

the full picture. The next section will investigate how these social power bases are

expressed in the use of language in Japanese interaction.

2.1.3.3.2 Power Projected in Japanese Interactions

When influencing power in English interactions, the interlocutor who has

relatively more power bases than other interlocutors tends to use more direct language,

with less hedges and questions to weaken the force of speech acts when telling others

what to do (Morand, 2000; cf. Rees-Miller, 2000). In Japanese, a similar trend is

observed in interactions between interlocutors with different status (Takano, 2005).

However, other strategies, such as enhancing solidarity of the interlocutors and

contextualising requests in a larger interpersonal relationship are more frequently used

by female executives to influence others than male executives (Takano, 2005, p. 657).

For example, in addition to the imperative "Verb root + *ro*" form (Do X) to give direct

commands to their subordinate used by male professionals, both male and female

professionals seem to use "Verb root + *te kudasai*" (please do X) to signal politeness and

"Verb + *te* (*ne/yo*)" (Do X) with *ne* or *yo* to mark solidarity between interlocutors (see

Section 2.1.2.3) (see also Lee, 2007). These strategies seem to achieve intended goals, to

exercise power, by building solidarity between interlocutors. These strategies also seem

to coincide with the notion of *giri* and legitimacy of reciprocity power base as well. This

is because by using polite expressions and marking solidarity, the superior invokes a

positive emotion in the subordinate, which encourages the subordinate to intrinsicly

follow the legitimate superior-subordinate relationship, i.e., how the relationship is

supposed to be, as defined by the notion of *giri* (Sugiura & Gillespie, 1993). It can also

invoke the feeling of obligation in the subordinate to carry out the request because the

superior has spent time to build solidarity between them (see the example listed in

Table 2).

Building solidarity also seems to play a key role when trying to persuade others and/or argue one's point of view. Both persuasion and argumentation can be seen as an exercise of informational power because their goal is to make the influencee think the same way as the influencer (Raven, 1993; Raven et al., 1982). In order to impose their point of view, managers in Japanese companies use referent power by enhancing their opinion with a generalised statement derived from a third-person's point of view and *vice versa* (Emmett, 2003). By doing so, it seems to emphasise commonalities between the interlocutors, thus building solidarity, and how their actions will be perceived by the third-party, namely the customers and *seken*. Through gaining such information as the current market environment, the influencee learns that he/she needs to modify his/her behaviour in order to "fit" into society in order to prosper in business.

In terms of the emergence of hard power in interaction, i.e., coercive, reward and formal legitimate power, this seems to be consistent with interactions in other languages or cultural groups, or languacultures (Agar, 1994). For example, interlocutors with less legitimate power tend to use more polite forms or strategies (e.g., Brown & Levinson, 1987), takes less turns, and follow the discourse pattern set by the interlocutor with more legitimate power (Fairclough, 1989). However, backchannelling in Japanese seems to occur more frequently in the data presented in Emmett (2003) compared to English interaction data, possibly due to the use of final particles *ne* and *yo* by the interlocutor with more legitimate power. In addition to marking the amount of information held by different interlocutors, these final particles encourage involvement by the listeners by eliciting backchannelling (Kita & Ide, 2007; Lee, 2007), and by directing the attention of the listener to the particular point made by the speaker

(Katagiri, 2007).

It seems, then, that in Japanese interactions, the influence of power perceived by the interlocutors, where they consider themselves to be influenced by the others, is shown through their discourse and psychological behaviour, such as being invoked in the senses of *giri* and *seken*. It is thus not only through hard power being perceived that affects the shape of interaction, but soft power, such as expert power, which also has the potential to change the course of interaction. Although this phenomenon may not be unique to Japanese, e.g., Yeung (2004a) observes a similar use of expert power in Chinese decision-making interactions, this may be more apparent in Japanese interactions.

If power can be defined as interlocutor B's perception of bases of social power held by interlocutor A (what B thinks of A), A's perception of self of how much power bases he/she has over B (what A thinks B thinks of A) can be explained in terms of face (Haugh & Hinze, 2003). If A attempts to exercise his/her power over B according to what power he/she thinks he/she has and the expected result is not delivered by B, A may feel that his/her face is threatened (Brown & Levinson, 1978, 1987; Spencer-Oatey, 2007; Thomas, 1995). Likewise, if B feels that A's power over B does not extend to warrant the exercise of A's power over B, such as unfairly treating B, B may feel his/her face is threatened as well. The next section will investigate the inter-relationship between face and power.

2.1.4 Face

Face is a notion often collocated with the concept of politeness. This is because it plays a key role in Brown and Levinson's theory of politeness (Haugh, 2009). Brown

and Levinson used the notion of face in their theory to describe the level of politeness according to the degree of potential face threat, along with the social distance between the interlocutors and weight of the request (Brown & Levinson, 1978, 1987). Politeness can be projected in a variety of ways: through the use of language to strategically perform a request (Brown & Levinson, 1978, 1987) and to show one's position in the society (Ide, 1989), as well as through implicatures (Haugh, 2007a) and through para- and non-linguistic channels, such as through silence (Nakane, 2006) and bowing[8] in Japanese interactions.

However, while politeness phenomena are often observed between interlocutors whose interpersonal relationship is socially distant, in intra-company communication situations where the relationships between interlocutors are already well established, the use of politeness is perhaps less salient than in their daily interactions (Holmes & Stubbe, 2003). This is because politeness is primarily used, or at least is framed in previous research, as a strategy to primarily achieve relational goals. Although politeness is a necessary part of achieving transactional goals as well, some requests uttered in an interaction to achieve transactional goals can be threatening to one's face no matter how politely they are uttered (e.g., Reel & Thompson, 2004). In business settings, where the achievement of transactional goals seems to take priority, politeness may not necessarily be as salient (cf. Lambert, 1996). On the other hand, the face of interlocutors can be observed in any interaction. It can be a result of influencing power or initiating repairs and codeswitch, or *vice versa*, as explored in the section below. In this section, I will review the concept of face, following the development of this notion in chronological order, then attempt to make connections between face and the notion of

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[8] The longer and deeper a bow, the more politeness it can show in Japanese interactions.

power.

2.1.4.1 Theoretical Perspectives on Face

2.1.4.1.1 Goffman

The concept of face is based on the folk notion, "to lose face". It was first introduced into the academic field by Goffman (1967). He borrowed the concept of face from Chinese culture, and defined it as follows to explain phenomena observable in human social interactions:

> The term *face* may be defined as the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact. Face is an image of self delineated in terms of approved social attributes-albeit an image that others may share, as when a person makes a good showing for his profession or religion by making a good showing for himself (Goffman, 1967, p. 5).

Thus, one's presentation of self in an interaction reflects his/her face, i.e., one's positive value, such as being a successful businessman, and being a valued member of the group. Although the receiver of a positive face claim can reject such a claim, for Goffman, a natural response is to accept them and uphold what has been claimed within the given interaction. The others involved in the interaction can cooperate and act according to what has been claimed (Collins, 1988).

According to Goffman, one's face is constructed both prior to and through the interaction, and that each participant enters the given interaction dictated by how the interaction is to proceed according to their face (Goffman, 1967, p. 42). One must uphold such expectation throughout the interaction to avoid losing face (Goffman, 1967, p. 7).[9]

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[9] A similar idea is proposed by Fraser and Nolen (1981) and Fraser (1990) in the form of the "conversational contract".

Goffman claims that face is connected to how one may feel during the interaction when it is perceived differently from what one may have expected. He/she may feel good if his/her face is perceived better than what is expected, and he/she may feel bad if he/she is taken to be less than what is expected. When one's face is threatened, it can also cause an emotional reaction (Ting-Toomey, 2005, p. 73). The same is true when the face of others in the interaction is disregarded. Participants in the interaction may feel ashamed to have offended the person concerned, and adjust their behaviour accordingly to save their face. Thus, face is (normatively) reciprocal in most unmarked interactions; all participants try to uphold everyone else's face in interaction.[10]

The notion of face outlined so far seems to coincide with the notion of social power, with an added dimension of responses from the influencee. The construct of face, like bases of social power, exists at the start of a given interaction. The claimed positive social value, such as being a good businessman and being a valued member of a group, can be aspects of different social power; by being a good businessman, one can influence others with the expert knowledge of business, and being a valued member of a group can be attributed to being liked, thus commanding personal reward and personal coercive power over other members of the group.

What is later known as "group face" is also discussed by Goffman (1967, p. 42):

[I]n many relationships, the members come to share a face, so that in the presence of third parties (bystanders) an improper act on the part of one member becomes a source of acute embarrassment to the other members. A social relationship is more than ordinarily forced to trust his self-image and

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[10] It is possible, of course, that an interlocutor may intentionally damage another's face, e.g., during a fight.

face to the tact and good conduct of others (Goffman, 1967, p. 42).

For example, an employee of a company often gives the first impression of the company when dealing with a customer. When the employee does not serve the customer at the standard expected by the customer, the incident can result in the company losing face. The customer may not come back again or terminate their business, so companies, especially Japanese businesses, pay a great attention to training employees and maintaining their face.

However, it has been argued that Goffman's notion of face is intrinsically Anglo-American biased (Bargiela-Chiappini, 2003, p. 1463). Although he first borrowed the idea from Eastern philosophy, Goffman's framework is arguably not quite appropriate in explaining the human relationship in the Eastern cultures, where the position one takes within society is also important (Bargiela-Chiappini, 2003; Ervin-Tripp, Nakamura, & Guo, 1995; Haugh, 2005, 2009; Ide, 2006). This claim will be elaborated on further when discussing the notion of Japanese face or *kao* later (see Section 2.1.4.2.1).

2.1.4.1.2 Brown and Levinson

The concept of face was further developed by Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987) in order to explain politeness phenomena (cf. Locher & Watts, 2005, p. 10). They still claim that face is connected to the emotional content of each person, but they present face as "basic wants, which every member knows every other member desires, and which in general it is in the interests of every member to partially satisfy" (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 62). They present two aspects of face, negative face and positive face, and define them as follows:

> Negative face: the want of every 'competent adult member' that his action
> be unimpeded by others.
> Positive face: the want of every member that his wants be desirable to at
> least some others. (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 62)

Brown and Levinson state that the negative face is more obvious than the positive face. While negative face can directly be linked to the notion of politeness, positive face is about keeping up one's "self-image", the image one wants to project to the others in the interaction. By projecting what is desirable in the wider society, one can feel good and claim their positive face. What is desirable varies between cultures (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 63).

Brown and Levinson further apply these notions of face and argue for a formula that individuals can use when assessing what degree of politeness should be included when carrying out a request, i.e., a Face Threatening Act (FTA). In the formula, Brown and Levinson incorporates the notion of power and social distance between the interlocutors in assessing the degree of politeness to be used as follows (1987, p. 76):

$$W_x = D(S,H) + P(H,S) + R_x$$

D(S,H) represents the social distance (D) between addressor (S) and addressee (H); P(S,H) represents the power (P) that the addressee has over the addressor; and R_x is the weight of imposition of a certain request x has in the culture. The outcome of the formula W_x represents the degree of politeness that must be expressed by the addresser in order to avoid threatening the face of the addressee.

Brown and Levinson's definitions of positive and negative face have been met

with criticism that it is overly oriented towards Western cultures that assert

individualism (Ide, 1989; Mao, 1994; e.g., Matsumoto, 1988; cf. Pizziconi, 2003). For

example, Ide (1989) points out that Japanese interaction is based on the interlocutors

realising what is appropriate to say in a given situation, not on individual's wants. She

labels such notion "*wakimae*" (discernment) and states in Japanese culture what one

desires is irrelevant to what is appropriate (see Section 2.1.4.2.2).

However, these criticisms seem to stem from Brown and Levinson's definition

of face as *wants*, unlike Goffman's association of face with *feeling* (O'Driscoll, 1996).

Whereas Goffman's notion of face is based on the folk notion and built on people's

awareness of their own face in interaction, Brown and Levinson's face is *presented* like

a desire one would put forward in a goal-oriented interaction (O'Driscoll, 1996, p. 9).

However, O'Driscoll argues that the dualism of face presented by Brown and Levinson

parallels the natural human needs of being involved in the society to satisfy their sexual

and nurturing needs, and requirement of independence to defecate (1996, p. 10). The

need for association equals to positive face, and the need for independence equals to

negative face. Ide also states that such notions can still apply to Japanese people and

society (2006, pp. 74-76, see also Section 2.1.4.2.2).

2.1.4.1.3 Arundale

Arundale (1999, 2006) further develops the notion of face as dialectional, and

as fundamentally relational and interactional.[11] While Goffman sees face as what a

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[11] Goffman does not specifically state that face resides within an interaction but he does mention that face is located within an interaction. "A person may be said to *have*, or *be in*, or *maintain* face when the line he effectively takes presents an image of him that is internally consistent, that is supported by judgements and evidence conveyed by other participants, and that is confirmed by evidence conveyed through impersonal agencies in the situation. At such times the person's face clearly is something that is not lodged in or on his body, but rather something that is diffusely located in the flow of events in

person projects in an interaction, whether there is an intended audience or not

(O'Driscoll, 2005, p. 2), Arundale conceptualises face as something interactionally

achieved within a relationship between two people. Without an audience, i.e., not even

an "overhearer" who is not interacting directly with the speaker but who hears the

utterance made by the speaker (Verschueren, 1999, p. 85), one's projected face, in

Goffman's terms, cannot be perceived by anyone, therefore arguably there is no face.

(There may be private self, but no social self or face associated with it.) Arundale thus

sees "face as an interactional phenomenon" (Arundale, 1999, 2006, p. 194). Interactional

is defined by Arundale as "the conjoint, non-summative outcome of two or more factors"

in contrast to the transactionists' view of communication (Arundale, 2006, p. 196).

By adopting this view, Arundale argues to replace the definition of "face"

outlined by both Goffman and Brown and Levinson by seeing relational nature of

human communication and arguing that "social self" exist in interactions between

persons (Arundale, 2006, p. 201). By defining "social self" as the product of interaction,

face becomes "an emergent property of relationships, and therefore a relational

phenomenon, as opposed to a social psychological one" (Arundale, 2006, p. 201). Thus,

face becomes emergent in interactions between people as they find out about each other

and renew their relationship. By defining face as "a meaning or action, or more

generally an interpreting, that a participant forms [about him/herself] in verbal and

visible communication" (Arundale, 2006, pp. 201-202), it avoids asserting the

"individual self" as the central notion influencing the construct of face.

In Arundale's model, positive face is replaced by "connection face", to index the

closeness of a relationship between two people (Arundale, 2006, p. 204), and negative

the encounter and becomes manifest only when these events are read and interpreted
for the appraisals expressed in them" (Goffman, 1967, pp. 6-7).

face is replaced by "separation face", to include aspects of "freedom of action and freedom from imposition" and "claim to territories" (Arundale, 2006, p. 205). Though these two notions reside at the opposite end of a dichotomy, both are necessary to form relationship between two people (Arundale, 2006, p. 204; cf. O'Driscoll, 1996). Through interactional achievement of both connection face and separation face, the relationship between two people can be defined. Such generic nature of face can be applied to any relationship between two people across cultures (Arundale, 2006, p. 205). Such a move seems to avoid the criticisms Brown and Levinson attracted on the basis of the individualistic nature of their definition. However, Arundale's theorisation of face lacks an explicit focus on power relationships between people and so could be interpreted as neglecting to take into account the different power bases people can bring into their relationships.

2.1.4.1.4 Spencer-Oatey

In order to avoid criticism on Brown and Levinson's theory of face, Spencer-Oatey (2000) attempts to redefine face by redeveloping Goffman's original notion of face. She divides Brown and Levinson's original definition into face and rights of a person, arguing that Brown and Levinson's definition of positive face is not sufficient, and their notion of negative face is not necessarily related to the individual's face concerns (Spencer-Oatey, 2000). Spencer-Oatey's definition of face itself remains the same as Goffman's, "the positive social <u>value</u> a person effectively claims", while sociality rights is defined as the "fundamental personal/social entitlement that a person effectively claims" in interactions with others (Spencer-Oatey, 2002, p. 540). Face and rights are further divided to encompass individual and social aspects of values and expectations.

1. *Quality face*: We have a fundamental desire for people to evaluate us positively in terms of our personal qualities; e.g., our competence, abilities, appearance etc. *Quality face* is concerned with the value that we effectively claim for ourselves in terms of such personal qualities as these, and so is closely associated with our sense of personal self-esteem.

2. *Social identity face*: We have a fundamental desire for people to acknowledge and uphold our social identities or roles, e.g., as group leader, a valued customer, close friend. *Social identity face* is concerned with the value that we effectively claim for ourselves in terms of social or group roles, and is closely associated with our sense of public worth.

3. *Equity rights*: We have a fundamental belief that we are entitled to personal consideration from others, so that we are treated fairly: that we are not unduly imposed upon or unfairly ordered about, that we are not taken advantage of or exploited, and that we receive the benefits to which we are entitled. There seem to be two components to this equity entitlement: the notion of *cost-benefit* (the extent to which we are exploited, disadvantaged or benefitted, and the belief that costs and benefits should be kept roughly in balance through the principle of reciprocity), and the related issue of *autonomy-imposition* (the extent to which people control us or impose on us).

4. *Association rights*: We have a fundamental belief that we are entitled to association with others that is in keeping with the type of relationship that we have with them. These association rights relate partly to *interactional association/dissociation* (the type and extent of our involvement with others), so that we feel, for example, that we are entitled to an appropriate amount of conversational interaction and social chit-chat with others (e.g. not ignored on the one hand, but not overwhelmed on the other). They also relate to *affective association/dissociation* (the extent to which we share concerns, feelings and interests). Naturally, what counts as 'an appropriate amount' depends on the nature of the relationship, as well as socio-cultural norms and personal preferences (Spencer-Oatey, 2002, pp. 540-541).

In comparison to Brown and Levinson's positive and negative face, which

primarily focus on the individual's wants, Spencer-Oatey has included an added dimension of social perspective in order to account for socially-motivated actions, a key criticism of Brown and Levinson's politeness theory. Spencer-Oatey claims that quality face is equivalent to Brown and Levinson's positive face, and equity rights is close to their notion of negative face (Spencer-Oatey, 2002). There is a benefit in making this distinction between face and rights, because not all offence is caused by an interlocutor threatening face. Spencer-Oatey (2000) gives an example of an interaction between a lecturer and a student. When the student criticised the teacher's teaching style, the teacher may feel his/her quality face as a competent teacher was threatened. But when a teacher keeps asking a student to run around for the teacher, the student may feel he is unfairly treated, thus his equity rights are threatened. However, this does not mean the student's face was damaged; the student may not feel as strong a sense of face attack (Spencer-Oatey, 2000).

      The notions of rights seem to correspond to other concepts reviewed above, thus explaining actions taken by an interlocutor during an interaction. Firstly the notion of equity rights can be a motivational cause for one to invoke legitimacy of equity power (Raven, 1993). When a speaker cannot attain an adequate amount of cooperation from the addressee in order to complete a given task cooperatively, i.e., when a threat to his/her equity rights is perceived, he/she can invoke his/her legitimacy of equity power to make others put in a similar amount of effort to complete the task by expressing his/her concern. Secondly, the perceived threat to association rights seems to correspond to a violation of RO sets, which determines a normative responses when an interaction is initiated in a certain way (Myers-Scotton, 1998c, 2006). When such expectations are not met, codeswitching may occur to invoke changes in RO sets, thus reinstating the

interaction with using different RO sets.

Spencer-Oatey further makes a distinction between *respectability face* and *identity face* to address the need for pan-situational face that exists in some cultures (2005, p. 102). In Chinese and Japanese cultures, a person with significant social status, such as a company president or political leaders, who have fulfilled and excelled in that role, commands respect from the rest of the population (e.g., Mao, 1994; Matsumoto, 1988; Morisaki & Gudykunst, 1994). Such positions create pan-situational face because anyone interacting with them would treat them in such manner. Respectability face can be considered in quantitative terms, because it is "a composite measure that reflects the relative weights attributed to attributes" such as age and sex, social status, formal title/position/ranks and personal reputation (Spencer-Oatey, 2005, p. 103). Identity face covers the portion of face that is constructed through interaction: it can be claimed when one's social values are accepted. Then one can feel secure that he/she is accepted by the group. Adversely, when the claim is rejected, one will feel insecure about his belonging to the group (Spencer-Oatey, 2005).

By categorising such accumulation of face as respectability face and separating it from identity face, which is constructed through individual interactions, Spencer-Oatey seems to create a ground for analysing the interactional achievement of face without attracting criticism for not accounting for such cultural variations. However, although convenient to separate respectability face and identity face when analysing interactional achievement of face, I have some reservations about treating them as a separate phenomenon (cf. Spencer-Oatey, 2007, p. 653). The reason for this will be explained below as I investigate face phenomenon in Japanese culture.

In relation to power, respectability face seems to echo legitimate power, but while the legitimacy of position considered in Raven's framework refers to hierarchy within a social group such as a family and a company, the power behind respectability face, or *kao* or *mian-zi* in Japanese and Chinese cultures respectively, is based on the entire society; anyone who comes into contact with the person must observe such a face. For example, when I attend a dinner party for a Japanese sporting organisation in which I am a member and meet a new member, we exchange our business cards, as frequently observed in Japanese community. Being a sporting organisation, the individual member's background other than the rank they hold within the organisation is usually not mentioned. However, Japanese business cards usually include information about which company one works for and what position one holds within the company. Upon receiving my card showing my position as a university lecturer, many interlocutors take a step back, thus creating more distance between us to align themselves to the more appropriate social norm between two people with greater social distance. I, too, reciprocate such moves if the card I receive show the person is a president of a company. The interaction between us then starts again by incorporating the appropriate social norms when addressing a company president or a university lecturer. It can be explained in terms of changed "footing" and "frame" of interaction between us (Goffman, 1981), but these are defined according to the cultural background in operation in this situation, that is, Japanese culture.

Respectability face may also overlap with the reward power because the notion of *kone* is heavily influenced by this face. As explained before, *kone* is a potential influence of power exercised by one (A) who knows someone with the power (B) to bring about the result favourable to A. One without appropriate power can still have access to

respectability face if he/she has the right *kone*.

2.1.4.2 Face in Japanese Culture and Interactions
2.1.4.2.1 *Kao*

There are various translations of face in Japanese, such as *kao*, *mentsu* and *menboku* (e.g., Haugh, 2005; Morisaki & Gudykunst, 1994; Sueda, 2004). In this thesis, however, I will use the single term *kao* to refer to Japanese emic notion of face. *Kao* in Japanese culture is said to be interdependent; that is, *kao* is given to people in their relationships with others in society (Morisaki & Gudykunst, 1994). However, the notion of *kao* does not completely correspond with Goffmanian notion of face; there are certain aspects that both face and *kao* share, but there are also aspects that are distinctively *kao* but not face, and *vice versa*. For example, a novice in society, such as a newly employed worker in a company, may have his/her face as a person, as described in above sections, but does not have *kao*. As the novice gains his/her position within the company, he/she will gain *kao*. Therefore, to gain *kao*, one must associate oneself with a reputable group and advance one's position within a company; it is gained outside of interaction through one's effort in advancing in hierarchy and fulfilling that role.

As mentioned in Section 2.1.3.1 above, one's status allows one to exercise formal legitimate power. Because *kao* in the Japanese community relates to the position one holds, *kao* is closely related to the legitimate power one has, as shown by the following equation.

$$Kao \approx \text{Legitimate Power in the community}$$

In other words, by advancing one's influence of legitimate power through, for example, promotions within the company, he/she will have more *kao* over others, thus

accumulating more pan-situational face.

Having said this, some *kao* can also be gained through interaction amongst friends by disclosing one's position in the society and *kone*, as explained in my example of business cards presented during an interaction.[12] When one interlocutor shows an association with a famous figure, a form of *kone*, a common response by other interlocutors is instant admiration, provided that the interlocutor is a trustworthy person. It is on this ground that *kao*, which Spencer-Oatey translated to respectability face, cannot be totally separated from identity face that is interactionally achieved. The *kone*, which is considered a positive social value, projected by the interlocutor is upheld by other interlocutors.

However, to make this *kao* into a permanent one, he/she must fulfil that role. For example, if other interlocutor asks for an autograph of the famous figure, the one who claims that *kone* must follow through with the request, or the *kao* cannot be sustained and transferred to the next interaction. In fact, any failure to deliver performance as expected can result in a loss of *kao* (Morisaki & Gudykunst, 1994).

Although Spencer-Oatey (2005) created the notion of respectability face to deal with Eastern concept of pan-situational face, it does not seem to completely align with the emic notion of *kao* in Japanese society. Whereas kao can be claimed independent of interaction, by advancing the hierarchy, *as well as* through interactions, as explained above, Spencer-Oatey seems to limit the possibility of achieving respectability face through interactions alone (Spencer-Oatey, 2007, p. 653). The notion of respectability

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[12] When meeting someone for the first time, some Japanese people do not disclose all of their positive social values because such actions can potentially create distance between interlocutors, as illustrated by the business cards example, and may prevent them from being acquinted with each other.

face does not seem to cover the social implication of *kao* either, which will be explained next.

Because of *kao*'s social nature, it is also important to recognise that *kao* given to a person by the virtue of his/her social position also extends to his/her subordinate. Subordinates may benefit from the superior's *kao*, in terms of expecting *giri* benefit within the company and asserting *kone* when interacting with others from outside of the company. However, at the same time, they must also sustain the superior's *kao* both within and outside of the company. To do so, one must take great care not to offend the senior member by not portraying him/her in public as incompetent in both direct and indirect manner. One's behaviour must be consistent with the way the superior projects his/her *kao*. The phrase *kao wo tateru* (to erect someone's face) is used when a subordinate behaves against his/her will to do what the superior asks in order to save the superior's *kao* (Bacarr, 1994, pp. 52-53; Kurogo, 2009). If the subordinate does not do as he/she was instructed, it portrays the superior as incompetent (Haugh & Watanabe, 2009). The (perceived) judgement of incompetency does not only come from the interlocutor, but *seken*, the wider community (Haugh, 2007b). Therefore if the holder of *kao* perceives his/her projection of *kao* is not upheld by his/her subordinate in their interactions with others, the damage to his/her *kao* is sustained. For example, in Sueda's (2004) study of perception of face damage between university professors and students, a student respondent reports his "adviser was upset when I asked another professor for advice" (Sueda, 2004, p. 298). By going to another professor to seek advice, the respondent portrayed his advisor as not being able to mentor his students satisfactorily. Although it is not known if the other professor actually thought the student's advisor was incompetent, it was perceived in such a way by the adviser, thus

damaging his *kao*.

Even without considering enhancing or damaging others' *kao*, Japanese people generally see themselves in relation to others in the group, and are expected to conform to group norms (e.g., Matsumoto, 1989; Morisaki & Gudykunst, 1994). For example, when a group of people goes to a restaurant, it is not uncommon for everyone in the group to order the same item from the menu as the most senior person in the group.[13] The group norms that exists within a given interaction among a peer group is often referred to as the "*kuuki*" (air) of the interaction, and participants who cannot follow the *kuuki* are often excluded from the subsequent interactions, i.e., the person may remain in the peer group but may not be invited to join the future interactions. In fact, a recent survey shows the ability to adjust themselves and their utterances according to the *kuuki* of the interaction is currently the most sought-after skill amongst Japanese youth ("*8-wari ga "KY" wo ishiki: Daigaku Seikyou-ren no jittai chousa* (80% conscious of "KY": Reports University Co-op)," 2008).[14] The root of this can be found in the Japanese notion of *seken*, the perception that the wider world is out there ready to judge any member of society (Abe, 1995), and the importance Japanese people place on their group membership and the harmony of the group to which they belong (e.g., Bacarr, 1994). One must always consider where one belongs (*uchi*) and where one stands (*tachiba*) in relation to other interlocutors when participating in interaction in Japanese society (Haugh, 2007b). In order to be evaluated positively, one must constantly monitor what is going on in the interaction and modify one's actions

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[13] The term "senior" does not necessarily refer to the oldest person in the group, but can be a person with the highest status in the hierarchy.

[14] KY stands for "*Kuuki Yomenai*" (*cannot read the air*), meaning not being able to understand the implied meanings arising in interaction, thus not being able to build appropriate interpersonal relationships with interlocutors.

accordingly (Haugh, 2005, 2007b; Ide, 2006), as in the choice of politeness expressions (e.g., Ide, 1989). The showing of such understanding is labelled as "*wakimae*" (Ide, 1989, p. 230, 2006). To be accepted as a member of the group is an enhancement of quality face, thus it can be said quality face is more important in Japanese society than individual's desire to be unimpeded (Sueda, 2004, p. 300; Ting-Toomey, 1988). On the other hand, to impinge on someone's *kao* will be perceived as one's inability to conform to the hierarchy of the group (Matsumoto, 1988). This reflects badly on the person, causing the loss of his/her identity face.

At this point, I would like to argue two points: that on the one hand, face as an individual concern arising in interaction, in the sense outlined by Goffman, is observable in Japanese interaction as well, but on the other hand, public perception of self, as seen in the construct of *kao*, seems to exist in the Western society too.

As in any other society, Japanese people have the need to associate with others and to build good interpersonal relationship. It is just that polite expressions, often referred to in Japanese language as honorific language or *keigo*, is not used primarily to mitigate face threats in interactions (Cook, 2006). The mitigation of face threat is done through other areas of language, such as praise to show appreciation, and apologies to show that one understands the imposition he/she is placing on the interlocutor[15] (Ikuta, 1997). Such use of language certainly exists in Japanese interactions and recognition of them seems to be increasing in Japanese society (e.g., Yoshioka, 2006 attempts to encourage medical practitioners in Japan to use such communication strategies). The

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[15] Generally, the term "politeness" in Japanese is understood to be the use of honorific expressions or *keigo*. There is a move in Japan to create a new cover term for "politeness", which include the strategic use of language to reduce face threat (e.g., Ikuta, 1997; Usami, 2001).

use of such communication strategies is also a part of "*wakimae*" (Ide, 2006).

In the Western notion of face defined by Goffman (1967) and Brown and Levinson (1987), it appears the notion of *kao* or respectability face created interdependently with others is not considered (at least not spelled out). What has been largely focused upon so far has been what Spencer-Oatey labels identity face. It is the face that Goffman (1967) originally defined, and is constructed interactionally by participants. However, Haugh and Hinze (2003) give examples of the term face being used in English literature and interactions, and conclude that such emic use of the term that are comparable to the Chinese perception of the term do indeed exists in English. It seems the phrase "save face" can be used to rectify the damaged perception of an individual or a group of people held by others where historically the individual or the group has maintained a good (or bad) reputation within the society (Haugh, 2009, p. 10). Anecdotal evidence also indicates that an academic who historically has produced publications of good quality cannot present a paper of a moderate quality at a conference because the audience would expect the quality of presentation to be good (personal communication, Stockwell, 2006). Although it may not be the norm of the whole society, such association of perceived evaluation of self by others can modify the next course of actions taken by the individuals.

It is thus difficult to ignore the notion of *kao* in favour of the notion of face, nor rely solely on the notion of *kao* to analyse face in interaction in Japanese. In the reminder of the thesis, I will use both face and *kao* concurrently; face to refer to that defined by Goffman and Spencer-Oatey, and *kao* to refer to the evaluation of self in relation to society.

2.1.4.2.2 *Wakimae* (Discernment)

Wakimae "refers to the almost automatic observation of socially-agreed-upon rules and applies to both verbal and non-verbal behavior" (Hill, Ide, Ikuta, Kawasaki, & Ogino, 1986). The notion of *wakimae* (discernment) was introduced by Ide to explain the rules for using politeness expressions in Japanese, including socio-culturally appropriate use of language (Hymes, 1972, 1974), i.e., what utterance to make when, where and how (Hill et al., 1986; Ide, 1989, 2006). As such, *wakimae* constitutes the rules of *politeness*, not face; to be more specific, the concept of *wakimae* is developed to explain the use of politeness expressions in Japanese culture (politeness1), so it is conceptually slightly different from Brown & Levinson's approach to politeness (politeness2) (Eelen, 2001). Therefore this framework is not directly applicable to the current research. However, because appropriate use of politeness in Japanese enhances one's social identity face, the understanding of how *wakimae* works in the Japanese society will explain some of the behaviours observed by the participants in this study.

Ide (2006) contrasts *wakimae* with Brown & Levinson's view of politeness as follows:

> In Brown & Levinson's framework,
> (1) the speaker is viewed as an individual;
> (2) the use of language in accordance with the "politeness strategy" is a strategy objectively calculated by the speaker to formulate the utterance based on the fundamentals of politeness that is appropriate to the listener.
> In *Wakimae* framework,
> (1) the speaker views him/herself as embedded in the context and situation that is created with his/her relationship to the others (both listeners and the third persons)
> (2) the use of language in accordance with the "politeness strategy" is by "reading" the context, understanding, not by calculation but by instinct, various construals of the context, and choosing the appropriate language

form from his/her past experiences (Ide, 2006, pp. 186-187, my translation).

It is important to recognise that the strategic use of politeness (volition) and socially-motivated use of politeness, such as *wakimae* (discernment) co-exist in both Japanese and Western interaction (Ide 2006: 74-76). Japanese people may use linguistically polite expressions strategically to deviate from social norm to mark an utterance in order to achieve the desired outcome from the interaction, as described by Brown and Levinson. However, Ide argues that compared to English, the choice of lexical items assigned to different levels of politeness in Japanese that a speaker can make seems limited by whom he/she is addressing (Hill et al., 1986; Ide, 2006).

By abiding by rules of *wakimae*, one can reduce the chance of offending the others involved in the interaction, because the choices of appropriate lexical and speech acts are limited by *wakimae* for the given context (Ide 2006, p. 108). When the context in which the interlocutors are involved is modified, for example, by participation of an extra interlocutor or a bystander, or by the shift of topic being discussed, interlocutors quickly reassess the context and dynamically apply a different set of rules of interaction according to the modified context. The choices made by the speaker are not a result of a careful consideration of all available options to the speaker within a given context, but made instantly by the speaker from a range of options (Ide, 2006, p. 109). Therefore the matching of the context and lexical items is not one-to-one; the speaker can still have a number of choices to perform various functions, such as to shift the frame of interaction. Ide calls this the "Super system of *Wakimae*" and explains it as follows:

> When an interactant who does not have a strong interactional goal interacts in
> a given context, he (a male interactant) recognises the elements of identity that
> constructs him, for example, the role as a senior member of the group, and

creates the relationship between the listener and the third party dynamically. In the ever-changing context, he sometimes chooses to use "*ore*" [the term that has more casual, more masculine connotation] and some other times "*boku*" [the term that has more formal, polite connotation] from his bank of lexical items to refer to himself. And the choice of the term varies depending on the intention of the speaker, and what kind of relationship and distance the speaker wants to create. The expression is interpreted at the moment the term is uttered, within the context. For example, say within a context where the speaker constantly uses "*boku*" to refer to himself, there is a situation when the speaker suddenly changes to using "*ore*" to exclaim "*ore ga yaru*" (I will do it). At that time, the speaker is not only referring to himself but also emphasising his strong will to do so. It is not that only one expression is possible under a certain context, but the speaker has a freedom to choose from a range of linguistic forms (Ide, 2006, p. 109, my translation).

On the surface, it seems to work in the similar way to Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model of codeswitching (see Section 2.1.2). By shifting from *boku* to *ore* to refer to oneself, the speaker invokes different RO sets than can be expected from a closer relationship (cf. Cook, 2006). However, the boundary of what is appropriate/ inappropriate is not merely decided on the relationship between the interlocutors involved, as described by Spencer-Oatey as "behavioural expectation" (2005, pp. 96-97). In Japanese, a speaker must also consider that his/her utterance will be judged by *seken*, the others who are not present at the point of utterance. Ide includes such larger notion of being "socially appropriate" in her *wakimae* system.

For Ide, using honorific expressions in Japanese is a part of *wakimae* system that marks the speaker's position within the social order (Ide, 2005). Ide (2006, p. 191) uses an example of the head of the Japanese professional baseball player's guild who presents himself at a press conference after the players and owners failed to agree on the condition of the playing, and later lead to the first strike action by the players. After

briefly apologising to the fans of the game, Mr. Furuta, the head of the players guild

explained the reason for going into the strike as follows:

> Furuta: *"Raiki ni mukete"   to   "saidai-gen doryoku suru"   to iu*
> *kotoba wo <u>itadakenakat-ta</u>   node…*
> next season towards and maximum possible effort put in   say
> words Acc. <u>receive(Hon)-neg.-past</u> because
> (lit.) Because we could not receive the words "towards the next season" and
> "put in the maximum possible effort" … (Ide, 2006, p. 185, my translation)

By using the term "*itadakenakatta*" ('could not receive' in honorific form), Mr.

Furuta implied that the owners association's status is placed higher than the players in

the Japanese society. This is because the players are on the receiving end of the

relationship with the owners association, and by marking their position higher than

himself, Mr. Furuta showed his respect and gratitude that he can professionally play

baseball because the owners of the clubs pay his wages. Ide claims this is the result of

his *wakimae*, that he understands his position in the society at large (Ide, 2006, p. 191).

Among the Japanese population, such utterances, which show one's understanding of

one's position, are received with popularity and respect (Ide, 2006, p. 185). According to

one of Lakoff's definitions of politeness, "to make A feel good" (1973), this kind of

expression can also be included within the bound of politeness because it has won the

heart of the audience (Ide, 2006, p. 184). This is certainly not the kind of politeness

described by Brown and Levinson (1987), which is defined as a strategy to avoid

face-loss. It also seem to elude the notion of behavioural expectations (Spencer-Oatey,

2005), because based on her Rapport Management Framework that frames the

interaction between interlocutors who are present at the point of interaction, socially

appropriate marking of people who are not present may not be included as "legally

and/or socially obligatory" component of judging politeness (2005, p. 97) since it is not directed at each other.

However, it is certain that Mr. Furuta's action here has enhanced his face in interaction because he shows that he understands his position in society. Thus, the showing of such understandings works to claim one's face in a similar way as, for example, a violinist claiming his/her quality face by showing his/her ability to play a difficult piece of music. Rapport can be built with others in this manner because it can increase their desire to be associated with him/her.

2.1.4.3 Negotiation of Face in Interaction

Although the definition of face and its construal may vary between cultures, it is safe to conclude that an individual in any culture has face and they observe each other's face in interactions (Ting-Toomey, 2005). One can claim face on one's ability, knowledge, the position one holds in the society, and other social identities such as close friends or a valued customer (Spencer-Oatey, 2000, 2002). Interestingly, the areas for which one can claim face overlaps with the areas in which one can claim power bases: ability and knowledge can be considered as expert power, positions in the society can also become a basis of legitimate power as well as reward and coercive power, and social identities can be a type of legitimacy of reciprocity power (because I am your good friend, I expect certain treatment from you). One may feel that his/her face(s) is challenged or threatened when personal expectations, for example, to be treated in certain way because of his/her identity, is not met by others (Goffman, 1967; Spencer-Oatey, 2005, 2007). One's perception of face can be enhanced or diminished by the actions one may take or the state of being that one may, or fail to, achieve (Haugh & Hinze, 2003).

In Japanese culture, the face one can claim to have is not limited to his/her own

ability etc., but also that of the group members of which he/she is a member. The affiliation with a person and/or a group that has a greater base of power can constitute one's face. He/she is also responsible in holding up the group's face as an action that does not meet the expectation can damage the group's face. Such a way of thinking may not be as strong in the Western cultures, but it has been noted by Goffman (1967, p. 42) as previously discussed.

In an interaction, the interlocutors must observe each other's face at the same time as upholding their own face. This applies even more so in the case of an interlocutor with less face (*kao*) than others involved in the interaction. They may actively avoid threatening the face of the one who has more face. For example, Bacarr (1994) advises to people who want to do business with Japanese companies that, "the Boss Must Never Lose Face" (p.190). Even if the boss makes a mistake in translating English into Japanese, others in the company are not to point it out in front of the rest of the members, because making a mistake in public will damage his face. It is the socially acceptable, or even expected, protocol (*wakimae*), but how individuals feel about such a protocol depends on their feeling towards the boss. One's perception of the boss's ability to use English can be questioned, but whether that leads to question his social status as the company's head depends on individuals. However, the face of the person who follows the rules set by *wakimae* will be enhanced.

A similar protocol, i.e., not to offend the face of one's superior, is often observed in Western interactions as well, as observed in Andersen's fairy tale "The Emperor's New Clothes".[16] However, as the fairy tale suggests, in Western cultures, upholding the

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[16] An emperor who hires two swindlers to make new clothes from material that is invisible to anyone who is stupid. When the clothes were presented to the emperor, he cannot see the (non-existing) clothes, but pretends that he can see them, fearing his subjects may think he is stupid. When the emperor wears the clothes in public, a small

superior's face at the cost of ignoring the truth does not appear to be encouraged.

Considering the different aspects that can influence the choice of, or constrain the range of actions to be taken by the interlocutors, limiting an analysis to specific aspects of interactions may fail to capture the cause of face threats or face enhancement observed in a given interaction. An utterance made by an interlocutor must be analysed from a variety of perspectives, including linguistic, para-linguistic, non-linguistic features and references to culturally diverse views of what constitutes face threats or face enhancement in an interaction, in order to get a complete view of the interaction. Furthermore, the reactions made by the receivers of face threats, whether verbal or non-verbal, must also be analysed to determine if the face threats were interpreted by the receiver. There is one framework that considers all these variables inclusively: the Rapport Management Framework developed by Spencer-Oatey (2000, 2005). The term "rapport" can be defined as "the relative harmony and smoothness of relations between people (Spencer-Oatey, 2005, p. 96). Rapport management is therefore the ways one can manage rapport between interlocutors. However, just as the term "politeness" can be used to describe any point on a continuum between impolite and polite (e.g., Eelen, 2001; Watts, 2003), the management of rapport "include[s] not only behaviour that enhances or maintains smooth relations, but any kind of behaviour that has an impact on rapport, whether positive, negative, or neutral" (Spencer-Oatey, 2005, p. 96).

The Rapport Management Framework analyses how an interlocutor's intended rapport orientation, whether to enhance or challenge rapport, is shown through various aspects of interactions, namely illocutionary, stylistically and non-verbally, in order to attend to the face-needs of their communication partners (Spencer-Oatey, 2000, 2005).

child cries out, "but he has nothing on!"

The framework also takes into account the situational contexts of the interaction, namely power relationships, roles of the interlocutors and the goals of communication that may limit the social acceptability of a given utterance. The analysis of an intercultural business communication using the Rapport Management Framework will be presented in the next section.

2.2 Key Studies in Intercultural Business Communication

In this section, I will briefly analyse four previous studies in intercultural business communication. As mentioned before, intercultural business communication can occur in two different domains: communication between companies (inter-company communication) and communication within a company (intra-company communication). The following sections will firstly present studies in inter-company intercultural business communication, then secondly studies in intra-company intercultural business communication. All of the works reviewed here are based on ethnographic analyses of naturalistic intercultural communication, focusing on how face and power have emerged within the context of respective situations. While gaps in these previous studies will be identified, these reviews are not intended to criticise their works, but to justify my choice of business situation to be analysed in this thesis.

2.2.1 Inter-company Intercultural Business Communication

2.2.1.1 Spencer-Oatey and Xing: Welcome Meetings between a British Company and a Chinese Company

In intercultural communication, the acceptability of various rapport management strategies and the execution of them by interlocutors from different cultural backgrounds can be different. By categorising possible actions taken by an

interlocutor and reasons for such actions, the Rapport Management Framework can identify which alignment is taken by him/her, in what manner, and what effect it had on the others' face. In intercultural communication settings, identification of these can help discover what mismatched expectations in which category lead to communication breakdown or caused threat and/or damage to the interlocutor's face. Spencer-Oatey and Xing use this framework to analyse the interaction between British and Chinese business delegates (Spencer-Oatey, 2005; Spencer-Oatey & Xing, 2003). The natural interaction data from two welcome meetings between British and Chinese delegates were video recorded for analysis, and supplemented with interviews and questionnaires to ascertain contextual information relevant to the meeting. An interpreter was used to facilitate communication between the two groups. Although both meetings followed similar scheduling and format, the first meeting was perceived successful by both British and Chinese participants, while the second was not. Spencer-Oatey and Xing found the reason for this dissatisfaction about the second meeting was due to mismatched expectations about seating arrangement, discourse content and discourse structure.

The mismatched expectations about seating arrangements, an aspect of the non-verbal domain, caused offence to the Chinese delegates in the second meeting. From the Chinese delegates' perspective, the two parties should have equal status, thus the seating arrangement must reflect this, i.e., two parties sitting at two sides of the table (Spencer-Oatey & Xing, 2003, p. 38). The Chinese thus perceived this a face threat in the non-verbal domain because their formal legitimate power based on their status was not recognised, in accordance to their (cultural and normative) expectation of how seating should be arranged.

The Chinese delegates were also not satisfied with the content of the speech made by the British chairman because he did not stress enough the importance of the company's relation with Chinese (Spencer-Oatey & Xing, 2003, pp. 38-39). The Chinese delegates expected "sincere gratitude" to be expressed by the British chairman, because they had heard a rumour that the "British company was in serious financial difficulties" prior to their entering into contract with the Chinese company that has "saved them from bankruptcy" (Spencer-Oatey & Xing, 2003, p. 39). Because of this knowledge that the Chinese company had rewarded the British company with the sale of their products, the Chinese delegates, in accordance to their culture, expected the message content to include more emphasis on their relationship to return the favour. It is the result of culturally perceived power bases held by both parties; Chinese as the buyer of the product and the visitor who made an effort to visit the British company, and British as the seller and the creator of the product that is of good quality and the host to the Chinese. The perceived difference in the power relationship emerged in the interaction, leading to the dissatisfaction on the part of both parties.

The fact that the Chinese leader of the delegation was not given an opportunity to present a return speech caused offence to the Chinese delegates too. It is customary in Chinese culture to give a return speech when the other party has given one (Spencer-Oatey & Xing, 2003, p. 40). When this protocol was not observed, the face threat was perceived as a result of how the discourse was structured.

The British chairman did not intend for any of these face threats, as the interview with him indicates he planned the meeting to be informal and forego formalities. It was, however, the British chairman who ultimately organised the meeting according to what he believed to be appropriate through the use of his

legitimate power. Therefore, Chinese delegates perceived the face threats as a reflection of the British chairman exercising his legitimate power.

The depth of analysis possible with the Rapport Management Framework encompassing different aspects of human social relationship advocated by various other researchers, as shown above, appears to show that the framework is suitable for analysing intercultural business communication. While aspects such as the bases of social power, number of interactants involved in an interaction and their roles, genre of the interaction, and culturally defined and expected role of the interlocutors all potentially influence the unfolding and the outcome of an interaction, not all of them seem to be included in other frameworks for analysis. The same is true for extra- and non-linguistic aspects of communication, such as turn taking, backchannelling and silence. In addition, the Rapport Management Framework seems to be only the framework that incorporates the dimension of power that is inherent in business communication (Bargiela-Chiappini & Nickerson, 2003, p. 7; Bargiela-Chiappini et al., 2007). The fact that Rapport Management Framework was developed in the context of intercultural communication, rather than intra-cultural communication, also underlies its suitability for analysing intercultural business communication.

In contrast, Brown & Levinson's Face Threatening Act (FTA) theory, although comprehensive in analysing individual speech acts, seem incomplete in analysing naturally-occurring interaction, which is the scope of this study. An analysis of a single speech act does not fully account for the impressions perceived by each participant in an interaction. For example, the example of seating arrangement seen above cannot be analysed using Brown and Levinson's framework, as the face threat perceived by the

Chinese party due to the seating arrangements made by the British chairman was neither intended nor uttered verbally. However, because Brown and Levinson's work has been successfully used in past studies, I will apply the concept of FTA to illustrate face threat projected by a single utterance when necessary.

The inclusion of socially expected behaviour (cf. the notion of *wakimae*, Ide 2006) is also a positive element in analysing an interaction in Japanese. By allowing cultural aspects of communication to be included in the analytical framework to contrast expectations that each interlocutor brings to the interaction, it makes it an ideal framework for analysing intercultural business communication.

However, although the Rapport Management Framework is comprehensive in analysing the cause of communication *failures*, the aspect of the development of interpersonal relationship does not seem to be the focus of the framework. To supplement this perspective, I will also adopt Arundale's stance in observing face as emergent within an interaction in order to see how interlocutors' face is interactionally constructed in my analysis.

2.2.1.2 Marriott: Business Negotiation between an Australian Producer and a Japanese Buyer

Marriott studied sales negotiation interactions between Australian and Japanese businesspeople (Marriott, 1995, 1997). The interactions were video recorded, followed by interviews. The participants first met when the Japanese buyer visited a trade show where he met the Australian seller. The Australian seller contacted the Japanese buyer at a later date, which led to setting up the negotiation meeting which was observed for her study. Therefore the participants had had minimal contact with each other prior to the meeting, and so there was no common ground between them on

which to base their interactional norms. It was also the first such intercultural negotiation with a Japanese buyer for the Australian seller, leading to much confusion on his part. The language used in the interaction was English and the interaction took place at the office of the Japanese buyer (Marriott, 1995, p. 251). Marriott analyses her data in terms of its deviation from the norm of "normal" Australian English interactions by interviewing the participants' evaluation of the interaction in terms of dissonance it created in them.

Marriott found that the Japanese-Australian negotiation discourse deviates from the norms of Australian English negotiation discourse in three ways. Firstly, the progression of discourse was slowed by the Japanese buyer's low level of proficiency in English. Constant repairs and clarification requests were initiated by the Japanese buyer to facilitate his understandings. The Australian seller also slowed the rate of his speech to accommodate. However, this aspect of deviation did not seem to upset either of the parties.

On the other hand, the deviation from norms in content and discourse seems to have led to dissatisfaction on both sides. The Australian seller left the meeting dissatisfied because despite going through detailed trade proposals, no definite conclusion, whether to go ahead with trade or not, was reached at the end of the interaction. During the meeting, the Australian seller was also confused because he felt that the Japanese buyer did not ask many questions, above all, the price of his product. The Japanese buyer, too, was dissatisfied with the interaction because he had to ask questions in order to find out information he was looking for. Both the Australian seller and the Japanese buyer were dissatisfied with the order in which various pieces of information were exchanged. This was the direct result of different expectations the two

parties brought to the meeting; while the Australian seller expected a definite deal to be made at the meeting, the Japanese buyer was only looking for information from the Australian seller regarding the company and the products (Marriott, 1995, pp. 262-263). However, despite feeling dissatisfied with the interaction, neither seemed to sense the dissatisfaction their respective interlocutor was feeling during the interaction (Marriott, 1995, p. 263).

Marriott also found that the feeling of dissonance in interaction can lead to misperceptions about the outcome of the interaction itself. For example, despite the Japanese buyer offering the next course of action, which is to continue further discussion, the Australian seller perceived that there had been no definite outcome from the meeting (Marriott, 1997, p. 58). Also, Marriott claims the Australian seller perceived that not many questions were asked by the Japanese buyer because the key question, the price of his product, was not asked, despite discourse data clearly showing that the Japanese buyer initiated more questions than the Australian seller (Marriott, 1997, pp. 59-60).

Because the data has been analysed in terms of dissonance created through deviations from the expected norms of interaction that each interlocutor brought to the interaction, the results cannot be directly interpreted in terms of the degree of face threat that each interlocutor perceived. However, the fact that one party failed to notice the dissatisfaction felt by the other suggests that threats to face in intercultural business communication can be incurred to the hearer without the speaker realising it.

On the other hand, sensitivity to the face of the Japanese buyer was also evident from the slower pace of speech by the Australian seller. This was also

appreciated by the Japanese buyer (Marriott, 1995, p. 259), suggesting that the face of the Japanese buyer was saved. Perhaps if they noticed each other's dissatisfaction during the interaction, they may have attempted more positive rapport managing strategies.

Finally, although Marriott does not analyse the power relationship between the two interlocutors, it is the Australian seller who seems to be in a weaker position, because he seems to be the one who is more accommodating to the Japanese buyer for continuing with the interaction despite not getting the information he was looking for. This coincide with Charles's (1995, p. 153) claim that the buyer is in a more powerful position at the early stages of sales negotiation interactions. However, the Australian seller also seems to invoke his power through asserting his own norm of interaction, although Marriott suggests this has been caused by his lack of understanding of different norms of interaction in different cultures (Marriott, 1995, p. 267). A common understanding of each other's business practices may have prevented this, indicating that common ground can help interlocutors communicate better.

2.2.2 Intra-company Intercultural Business Communication

While interlocutors in the two studies presented above had no or minimal prior contact before the interactions that were investigated, all participants in intra-company situations have already built their methods of communication in order to function together in the same company. Everyone involved shares substantial common ground, is aware of the power bases held by each other, and has already developed their ways to enhance and/or reduce damage to each other's face. In this subsection, I will review two of the works in intercultural business communication that takes place in intra-company

contexts.

2.2.2.1 Miller: Americans Working for a Japanese Company in Japan

Miller studied natural interactions between Japanese and American colleagues working for the same company in Japan (Miller, 1995, 2000). Ethnographic data of interaction was collected from three companies (two advertising agencies and one shipping company) in Japan through the use of video and audio recordings. The Americans in these companies were hired as "full-time, regular employees" to "bring particular expertise that is needed, such as copywriting or proofreading in advertising agencies" (Miller, 1995, p. 145). These workers have worked with their Japanese colleagues for at least a year, and they communicate with each other in both Japanese and English.

Through the analysis of the interactions between American and Japanese co-workers to discuss the copy the American has written, Miller claims that the mismatch in perceived purpose and expected outcome of an interaction can cause offence no matter how well and culturally appropriately the expression of the negative evaluation is made (Miller, 2000, pp. 248-249). In the following extract of a meeting between an American employee and his Japanese co-workers, the American employee was summoned to check the correctness of English translation for a television commercial.

Extract 2

1   ....so you see the shot of the toothbrush with the
2   different kinds of toothpaste on them and you talk
3   about that and you immediately understand but
4   you've never said 'well we brush our teeth differently'
5   ahh which is kinda a s::tra::nge-I mean its jus not a-

6   (0.3)

7   (hhh)

8   (0.2)

9   it's not a pleasant image (hhh) to start a commercial

10   with necessarily ahh so: I ahh don't say it directly

11   since you have a visual but

(Miller, 2000, p. 248)

In the follow-up interview, Miller discovered that both Japanese and American interlocutors had different expectations about the meeting. The American worker thought the meeting was to explain his reason for changing the direct translation of the television commercial, but the Japanese co-workers expected him to "check the grammatical correctness of their English, not to offer his advice" (Miller, 2000, p. 249). Miller concludes there that the mismatched expectation caused the well-formed indirect negative comments to still be perceived as "too direct" (Miller, 2000, p. 249).

Such negative evaluations of each other can be the result of perceived face threat. The American employee offered an evaluation of the commercial based on his expert power of English language and culture. However, his showing of power was perceived negatively by the Japanese co-workers because they did not expect advice from him; his claim of expert power was not recognised in this interaction from the beginning, thus it was evaluated negatively.

In terms of building rapport, or enhancing quality face, Miller identifies incidents where joking, teasing and cooperative complaining were used (cf. Holmes & Stubbe, 2003). In all of the cases, the interlocutors find something they share a common view on and elaborate the interaction based on it. By doing so, they "exhibit a sense of co-membership and alignment" (Miller, 1995, p. 154).

Other aspects that Miller observed to be involved in building group solidarity

were exchanging praise and the co-construction of utterances (Miller, 1995, p. 156). The former is an aspect included in Brown and Levinson's positive politeness strategy (Brown & Levinson, 1987), while the latter is a common discourse feature of Japanese interactions (Hayashi & Mori, 1998; Mizutani & Mizutani, 1987).

Finally, Miller also touches on codeswitching observed in the interaction (Miller, 2000, p. 251). For example, in the following extract, a Japanese worker (Tanaka) and an American worker (Penn) are discussing where to place an advertisement.

Excerpt 6

1 P   OK you guys figure it out please recommend magazine Cosmo or
         Abbey Road

2 T   Cosmo or Abbey Road, *hai*
                        (right)

3 P   or radio or more posters

4 T   poster enough I think enough

5 P   maybe Nagoya

6 T   *Nagoya mô ii*
         (Nagoya is fine already)

7 P   *dame*?
         (no good?)

8 T   Nagoya is country town

(Miller, 2000, p. 252)

Miller explains the reason for codeswitching in offering a negative evaluation to be a result of the speaker showing "a reluctance to deliver too many negative assessments in a row, and so, in essence, begin a new series in the other language", thus working as a buffer (Miller, 2000, p. 251). Although such a explanation for the cause of codeswitching seems to be in line with the analysis using the Markedness Model, to mark the utterance, its interpretation differs from various other studies, where it is said

to be used to present a strong opposition (e.g., Bain & Yu, 2000; Fredsted, 2008).

Miller's analysis also does not seem to make explicit reference to the face of the interlocutors. Although Miller notes that Tanaka is in the position of supervising Penn, she does not specify what kind of power bases each interlocutor may possess. For example, at the start of the excerpt, Penn seems to be the one giving orders to Tanaka (lines 1-2). However, towards the end, Tanaka initiates the codeswitch in line 6, which indicates Tanaka may have more power than Penn (Myers-Scotton, 1988). Because of the various functions performed by the employees in a company, it is conceivable that each of them may have special skills they perform. Perhaps providing more backgrounds to establish roles that each interlocutor plays and information on other participants who may influence their behaviour may help clear such confusion.

2.2.2.2 Sunaoshi: Japanese Engineers and American Workers Working in Japanese Transplant in America

Sunaoshi's study of interactions between Japanese engineers and technical support members and American workers at a manufacturing plant situated in USA primarily investigates the means of achieving understandings when the interlocutors do not share much linguistic common ground (Sunaoshi, 2005). The interactions are analysed in terms of "historical" and "contextual" factors, which mostly overlap with the bases of social power (Raven, 1965, 1993) and common ground shared between interlocutors (H. H. Clark, 1996). In the study, Sunaoshi claims that the course of interactions is shaped by five historical factors and four contextual factors (see Table 3 below). In addition, she argues that the motivation for interactions comes from the potential benefit the interlocutor can expect from the interaction (Sunaoshi, 2005, p. 189).

Table 3

Factors Contributing to the Interaction Between American and Japanese Workers on the Production Floor (Sunaoshi, 2005, p. 190)

Historical Factors [Positioning two parties vertically]	(1)	*Nationality*: Capital deriving from the interlocutors' nationalities
	(2)	*Vitality*: Ethnolinguistic vitality of English and Japanese
	(3)	*Social Positions*: Social positions and associated cultural capital the interlocutors possessed in their communities of origin
	(4)	*Hierarchy*: Corporate hierarchy within JDC (the location of the study)
	(5)	*Skills*: Skills and experience as legitimate capital within JDC
Contextual Factors [Bringing the two parties closer]	(i)	*Knowledge*: Shared knowledge and content
	(ii)	*Goals*: Shared goals and priorities
	(iii)	*Time Together*: Time spent together
	(iv)	*Low English*: Japanese supporters' low English proficiency level

The first of the Historical Factors, Nationality, compares the power given to the interlocutor by virtue of their nationality, based on how their country is perceived by others. The second factor, vitality, compares the perceived prestige of the language spoken by the interlocutors, which seems to echo the notion of "cosmopolitan face" that affects the choice of language (O'Driscoll, 2001). The third and fourth factors, social position and hierarchy, clearly overlap with the notion of formal legitimate power (Raven, 1993). The fifth, skills, can be considered as expert power held by the interlocutors (Raven, 1993). All these factors also seem to constitute respectability face (Spencer-Oatey, 2005). Sunaoshi states that in this setting, American workers had the first two factors in their favour, thus English was the code used in the interactions,

although it was taken for granted by all involved (Sunaoshi, 2005, p. 191). However, the power relationship described by the social position in their country of origin did not vary a lot, and the Japanese managers and supporters clearly had power in the fourth and fifth factors (Sunaoshi, 2005, p. 191). Sunaoshi asserts that the relatively high power held by the Japanese in these factors afforded them to communicate with minimal English language proficiency, and American interlocutors to accommodate the lack of English proficiency by Japanese (Sunaoshi, 2005, p. 192).

Of the contextual factors, knowledge, goals and time together overlap with the notion of common ground (H. H. Clark, 1996, p. 93). The more common ground is shared by the interlocutors, the easier the communication between them may become because they can rely on the contextual information when they strike a problem. The fourth factor, low English, refers to the Americans' patience over Japanese's low level of English proficiency, based on the observation that "the lower the non-native speaker's competence level, the more tolerant a native-English-speaker interlocutor can be with the non-native speaker's mistakes" (Sunaoshi, 2005, p. 193). Such a phenomena is also included in Raven's bases of social power model as legitimacy of dependence (Raven, 1993). Sunaoshi also suspects that the observed interaction did not seem to follow the interactional norms of American English, despite English being used as the vehicle of communication, because the Japanese interlocutors could not sustain such interactions.

Sunaoshi outlines the use of non-verbal communication strategies, such as gaze, gesture, positioning and object, in the interaction. This demonstrates how contextual information can help achieve understandings in group of people who work together over a period of time. It clearly builds a case for the common ground as an important factor in achieving interactional goals in intra-company communication, even

if the interlocutors' linguistic proficiency is limited. Solidarity amongst the group also seems to be enhanced through the Americans' showing of patience over the limited linguistic proficiency of the Japanese.

It seems that many of the elements used in Sunaoshi's study can be found in other studies. By applying those different terms, the study appears to describe how power relationships between interlocutors shape the course of interaction and how face emerges through non-verbal channel of communication and discourse features. Sunaoshi's claim that historical factors as emergence of social power shaping the interaction seems acceptable. It can also shed light on what constitute respectability face.

However, the lack of linguistic proficiency by the participants means interactional achievement of face through the linguistic channel was not observed. One of the six power bases, the informational power was also not apparent because of limited language proficiency, thus how such power is used in intercultural business communication was not explained. The situational constraints may also have prevented such speech acts from occurring.

A summary of the four studies are outlined in Table 4 below.

Table 4

Summary of Key Studies on Intercultural Business Communication

Studies	Situation	Participants	Language used	Proficiency level of NNS	Relative power held by
Spencer-Oatey and Xing (2003, 2005)	Welcome meeting	British executives, delegates from a Chinese company & an interpreter	English & Chinese, through an interpreter	N/A	Both parties seem to think they have more power
Marriott (1995, 1997)	Sales negotiation	An Australian seller & a Japanese buyer	English	Minimum required to communicate	Japanese buyer
Miller (1995, 2000)	Japanese company in Japan	Japanese and American co-workers	Japanese and English (code switch)	Beginner to intermediate	Expert power in English language by Americans Japanese cultural knowledge by Japanese
Sunaoshi (2005)	Japanese transplant in USA	Japanese engineers and American workers	English with Japanese communicative norms	None	Expert and legitimate power by Japanese engineers

2.3 Summary and Research Questions

In intercultural business communication, as in any other types of communication, the interlocutors attempt to achieve two inter-related goals, namely, transactional goals and relational goals. Both of these goals are achieved to different degrees in single utterances and sequences in order to communicate effectively. In order

to achieve transactional goals, interlocutors from different cultural backgrounds may need to initiate frequent repairs and/or clarification requests to negotiate meanings as observed by Marriott (1995, 1997). Codeswitching as well as reliance on non-verbal communication can also be used to achieve interactional goals between interlocutors (Miller, 1995; Sunaoshi, 2005). Between more fluent bilingual interlocutors, codeswitching can also mark important information to be communicated, thus achieving transactional goals. At the same time, accommodation, to help NNSs better understand, can also occur through codeswitching, thus achieving relational goals.

The power relationship between interlocutors also affects the interaction in a number of ways. For example, the choice of code seems to be dependent on the dominant culture in the larger context (Marriott, 1995; Sunaoshi, 2005), i.e., Japanese in Japanese companies and English in Britain, America and Australia. However, English is used in key interactions where explicit business-related transactional goal needs to be achieved, as observed by Miller (1995, 2000).

Power bases held by interlocutors also appear to affect the norms of interaction and the expectations of the interlocutors. For example, despite providing the language of interaction, the American workers in Sunaoshi's study follow the discourse norms of their Japanese superiors. Expectations towards the interaction are also carried over from the interlocutors' native language, causing dissatisfaction when expectations are not met (Marriott, 1995, 1997; Spencer-Oatey & Xing, 2003). This may lead to a threat to interlocutors' face if expected treatment according to the cultural norms of the interlocutors is not received (Spencer-Oatey, 2005; Spencer-Oatey & Xing, 2003). This tendency seems to be stronger if the purpose of the meeting is leaning more towards the achievement of relational goals rather than transactional goals, i.e., a missed

expectation in a welcome meeting is more likely to cause threat to the interlocutors' face than in a sales negotiation meeting.

However, the achievement and maintenance of face itself seems to be affected by power relationship between interlocutors. For example, although Miller does not relate this to the notion of power relationship, the opinion tabled by an American employee in her study was considered inappropriate in the given situation and was not given due consideration by his Japanese co-workers. Depending on how they are carried out, codeswitching and repair initiated by NS, who has more power than NNS in language use, can be used in both rapport-enhancing and rapport-challenging orientations depending on the language proficiency of the NNS.

A key question that arises when a Japanese company operates outside of Japan and employs non-Japanese workers who are fluent in Japanese language is "what will be the mode of communication?" While this situation can be considered as a cross between Miller's and Sunaoshi's studies, the higher proficiency of NNS in Japanese may shift the norm of interaction towards Japanese. However, it may not be completely Japanese as the company is in Australia.

Thus, the following research questions are asked:

1. How does face arise through NS-NNS interactions in Japanese in an intra-company intercultural business situation?

2. How does power affect the interactional achievement of face in intra-company NS-NNS intercultural business communication in Japanese?

3. How are face and power inter-related to transactional dimensions of communication, specifically, repair and codeswitching?

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The next chapter will outline the research methodologies used in order to answer the above questions.

3. Research Methods

3.1 Overview: Research Approach and Justification of Research Methods

This research is qualitative in approach and case study in design (Ghauri, 2004; Yin, 1994). Following the current research trends for studying face in interaction (e.g., Miller, 1995, 2000; Nakane, 2006, 2007; Sunaoshi, 2005), as something which is constructed and negotiated within the context in which it is embedded (Arundale, 2006; Spencer-Oatey, 2005), ethnomethodology and conversation analysis will be used to analyse face as it emerges in context (Hester & Francis, 2000; McHoul, 2008). The main data collection method used is ethnographic observation, supplemented by semi-structured interviews and non-participant observation (Agar, 1986; Spradly & McCurdy, 1972). The main focus of the study is on the non-native Japanese-speaking participants interacting with their superiors, peers and subordinates in business communication contexts, in terms of management of face and power. A company that meets the following criteria was located in Australia and the interactions that occurred naturally within the company were observed.

- The company must employ NNS of Japanese, so that interactions between NS and NNS can be observed.

- The norms of communication within the company are largely Japanese, so that interactional achievement of face in Japanese interaction can be observed.

- There must be more than three people involved in the company occupying various positions within the company, so that the differences in managing rapport and face can be observed and contrasted between different combinations of people.

However, finding a location in which to conduct this ethnographic case study

was difficult. On top of the limited number of Japanese companies in Australia, finding a company to match the above criteria, along with the sensitive nature of business interaction, made it difficult to obtain access to the naturalistic business interactions. Furthermore, the number of companies that use Japanese as a mean of interaction between NS and NNS was considerably less than I first anticipated. Gaining access to the company, especially where business information is openly discussed was also difficult.

I found the company after contacting a local government business consultant who is Japanese and used to work as a go-between for Japanese companies wishing to expand their business in Australia. With his recommendation and introduction, I contacted the president of a company in another city, who allowed me to record and interview its workers. The only condition that he imposed was that the workers and their business contacts remain anonymous.[17] In relation to this, I have assured him that by the time the thesis is published, the business related information may become outdated.

Once a potential site of data collection was identified, ethical clearance was obtained from the university ethics committee in October 2003. When the data collection commenced in February 2004, research consent forms were presented and explained to the participants in both Japanese and English, and signed by the participants.

3.1.1 Ethnographic Observation

Ethnographic case study is chosen as a research method for the reasons

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[17] It seems that businesses are cautious about letting researchers into their offices because their competitors may find out secrets of their production and other external relationships, such as their suppliers, through research publications.

discussed previously in Section 1.2.2. As mentioned above, this study aims to analyse the management of face in naturalistic intra-company NNS-NS Japanese business communication. Because face is not only created within a single interaction, but is built socially, as has become apparent from the literature review, the context where the interaction is embedded must also be taken into account when analysing the interactional achievement of face (among others, Arundale, 2006; Spencer-Oatey, 2005). The data to be collected must include para- and non-linguistic aspects of communication as well, in order to analyse the various ways meanings are created in interaction and through which face and power are projected (e.g., Nakane, 2006; Sunaoshi, 2005). By observing a naturalistic interaction between people with different social power, I was able to obtain rich interaction data including para- and non-linguistic ones. A case study where NNS participants interact with a number of NS participants with different social status and power would thus appear to be the most suitable for these reasons.

The data was collected from a Japanese company "S" operating in Australia. The company exports Australian food items to Japan through their own distribution network. Under the Japanese president, the company employs nine people (ten are working in the office altogether), with two of them being NNS of Japanese. The Australian worker, Matthew, is head of the Marketing and Development section. His subordinate, Carl, is also a NNS of Japanese, but his background is South-East Asian and his first language is another Asian language. The details of all participants are outlined in the next section.

The ethnographic observations were conducted for six days over a 10-month period in 2004, in three steps. The first step was the observation of the interactions

taking place in the office over two days, which provided the preliminary data for the second step, the stimulated recall interview with each participant. Finally, a semi-structured interview was organised with each participant to supplement the data gathered in steps one and two. A variety of interactional situations were observed both in terms of participants involved and their interactional goals.

During the first step, the interactions in the office were recorded in March with a video camera and supplemented with three microphones placed at various locations within the office to maximise the range and sensitivity of the microphone to capture conversational data.

The first day of observation was conducted in the office itself to observe interaction between various people in an ordinary work environment. The video camera was left unattended for seven hours to minimise the interference observation may have had on the interaction[18]. A Canon MV530i video camera, being set on a wide-angle view, was mounted on a tripod in one corner of the office. A standard VHS video recorder was connected to the camera in order to take an 8-hour video tape to allow continuous recording of the interaction for the entire working day. A shot-gun microphone and two small desk-top microphones were also connected to the VHS video recorder via a sound mixer. The shotgun microphone, that captures sound in the general direction it is pointed at, was also mounted on a stand and placed next to the video camera. The small desk-top microphones were placed on the desks of the two NNS participants. The leads connecting the microphones to the sound mixer were attached to the floor using gaffer tape to satisfy workplace health and safety regulations. A detailed plan of the office,

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[18] Observer's paradox was being considered here. Both camera and microphones are hidden out of the way of the workers to reduce interference with their work.

along with the location of the camera and microphones is presented in Figure 2 below.

The second day of observation in July 2004 took place in the meeting room where two meetings were conducted. (Although it seems like a separate room within the office in the figure 2 below, the section is only separated from the larger part of the office by removable partitions.) The first meeting was a presentation by Carl followed by a discussion of the marketing concepts for the new prune juice product he presented. The second meeting was between Matthew, Carl and Ken, where Matthew and Carl reported on future product development plans and their planned progress for the next 12 months. The same video camera and VHS video recorder were used to record the meetings, but an unforeseen error caused the video recorder to malfunction, thus failing to capture the video data. The 60-minutes video tape inserted in the video camera, prepared as a back-up, successfully recorded the first 60 minutes of the 100 minutes meeting, where Carl presented his findings. The layout of the meeting room as well as the seating position of the participants for the first meeting is presented in Figure 3 below. The seating for the second meeting is presented in Figure 4 below.
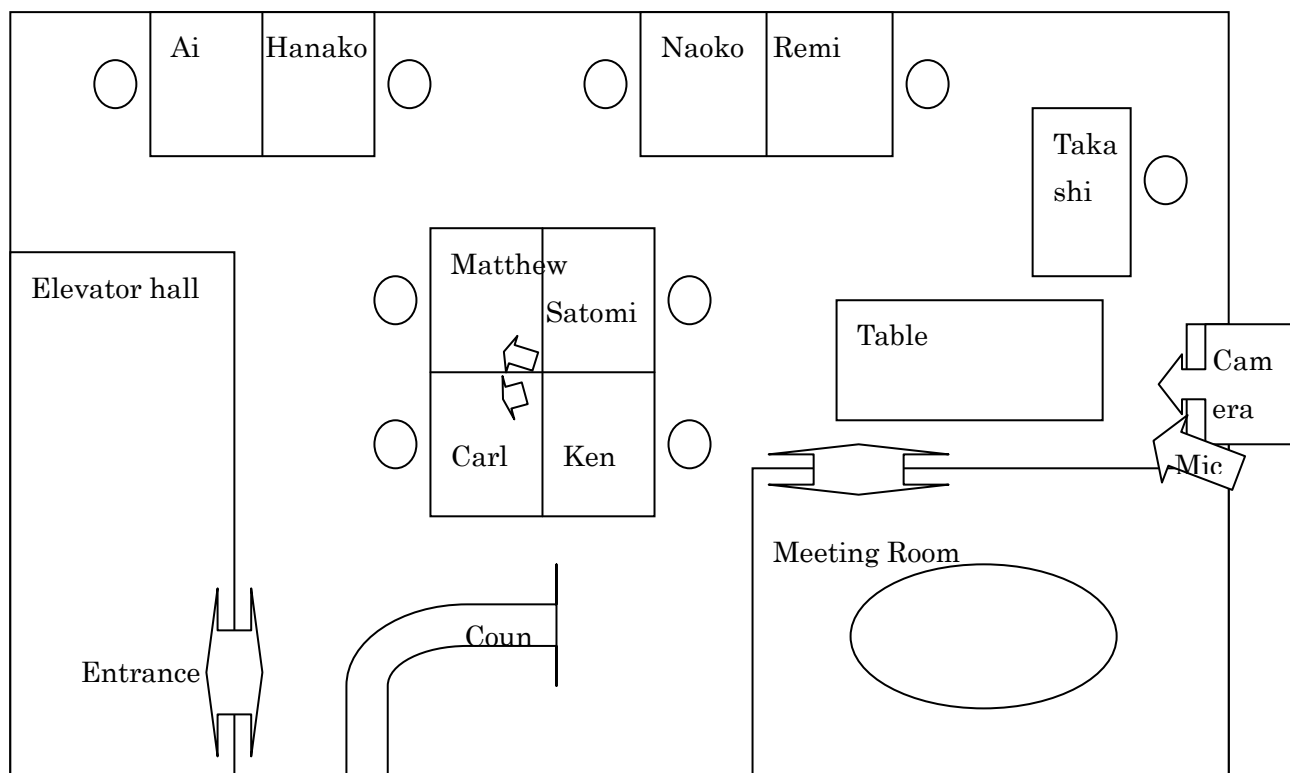
Figure 2: Plan of the office. Each desk is labelled with occupier's name
The double-headed arrow marks indicate the doorways. Smaller arrows represent
microphones.
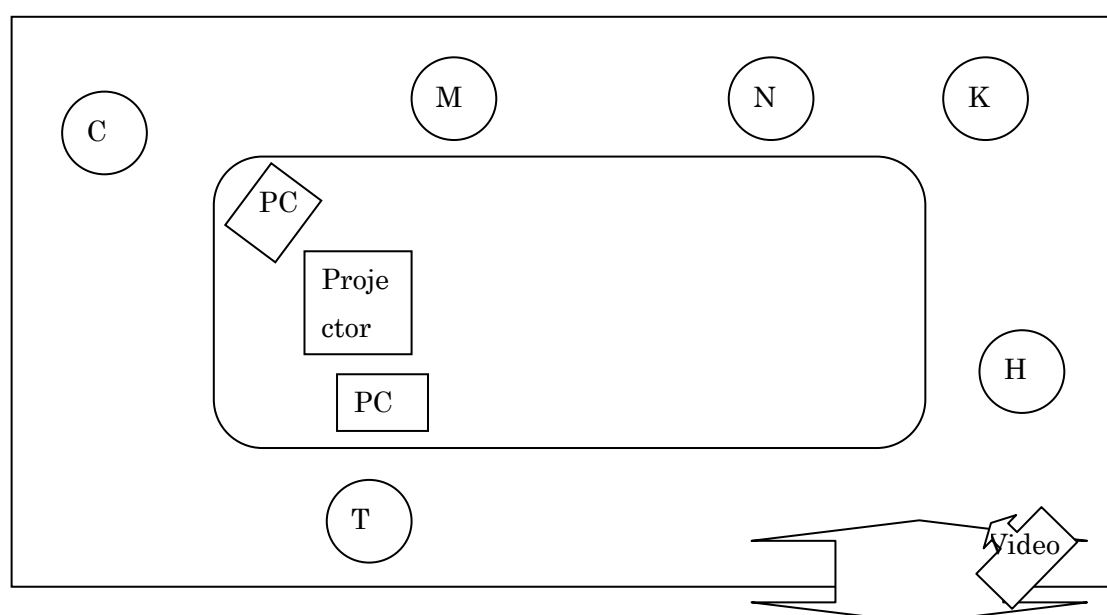
Figure 3: Plan of the meeting room in meeting 1 (Presentation meeting)
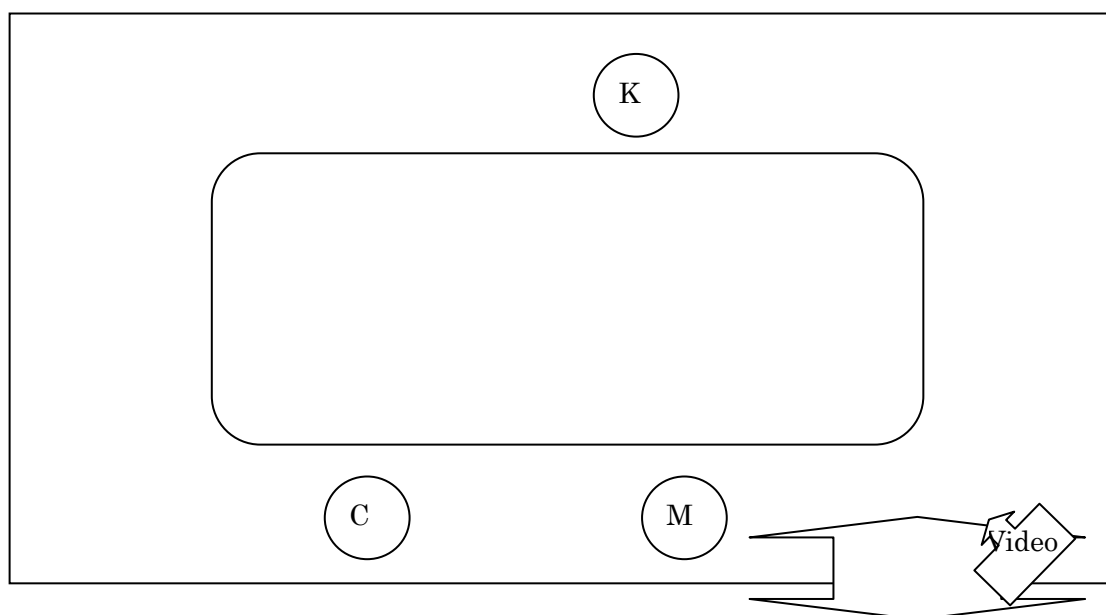
Figure 4: Plan of the meeting room in meeting 2 (Report meeting)

The video recordings were transferred to DVD for ease of access on computer, then transcribed using Japanese script. This was done for ease of accessing information for Japanese participants as well as for myself. All extracted segments cited in the analysis section from the transcripts, however, are presented in Romanised letters with English translation, using an abbreviated version of transcription conventions outlined in ten Have (1999, pp. 213-214, see Appendix 1). For segments where non-verbal aspects of communication also seem to play a significant role in the management of rapport, such features were also included in the transcript. Ethnomethodological conversation analysis was then applied to focus on how the interaction unfolds (ten Have, 1999), specifically where face seems to be projected and observed by various interlocutors. An interim analysis was done to identify those situations within the recorded interactions that seem to be showing the negotiation of face, along with the video recording of the interaction, to make inferences about the participants' emotive reactions.

3.1.2 Stimulated Recall Interview

In the second step of the case study, the transcribed interactions along with video-recorded segments of interactions were used for stimulated recall interviews (Gass & Mackay, 2000). Stimulated recall is a method used to investigate participants' thoughts retrospectively. When given stimuli, such as a recording of the event in the past, people are able to remember what was going on in the past events and what they were thinking at the time accurately (Rhodes, 1990). As stimuli, sufficient quantity of video-recording of the situation under study is usually shown to the participant (e.g., Bryan, Bay, Shelden, & Simon, 1990; Liimatainen, Poskiparta, Karhila, & Sjögren, 2001). Stimulated recall allows the participants to comment on their own performance and behaviour as they see necessary. The researcher asks no specific questions, except for a general question to prompt the participants to continue. This research method is considered suitable for the investigation of the participants' thoughts in the past (Gass & Mackay, 2000).

In accordance to the structure of stimulated recall interviews, a list of questions was shown and explained at the start of the session in order to explain what is expected of the participants. The questions were prepared in both English and Japanese (attached as Appendix 2).

Both stimulated recall interviews took place about one month after the recording of the interactions. Although it is preferable that stimulated recall sessions occur as soon as possible after recording, the lack of availability of the participants prevented this from happening. The first stimulated recall interview occurred in April, and the second was conducted in early September.

The meeting room in the company was made available for me to conduct the stimulated recall interviews. Participants were invited individually during their break from work for 30-40 minutes, and asked to comment on the recorded interaction. The participants and I sat together on the same side of the table and viewed the interactions played back on a portable DVD player (Voxson ZK-8). A transcript of the interaction, prepared in the previous step, was also made available for viewing. The entire session was video-recorded with a single video camera (Canon MV530i). Headsets were used (Roland RH-50) to reduce noise from the workplace, because the room was only partitioned from the other parts of the larger office as discussed above. Participants were free to stop, rewind and start the video as necessary in order to comment on particular aspects of the interaction. This allowed the participants to concentrate on commenting on aspects they considered important and make as many comments as they like (Tannen, 1984, p. 39). Although the video recorder was there to record verbal interactions, notes were taken at the same time in order to graphically clarify proximities of the interlocutors and reason for utterances. In some cases, additions and corrections to the transcript was made incorporating special terms that the participants used. The plan of the meeting room is shown in the Figure 5.
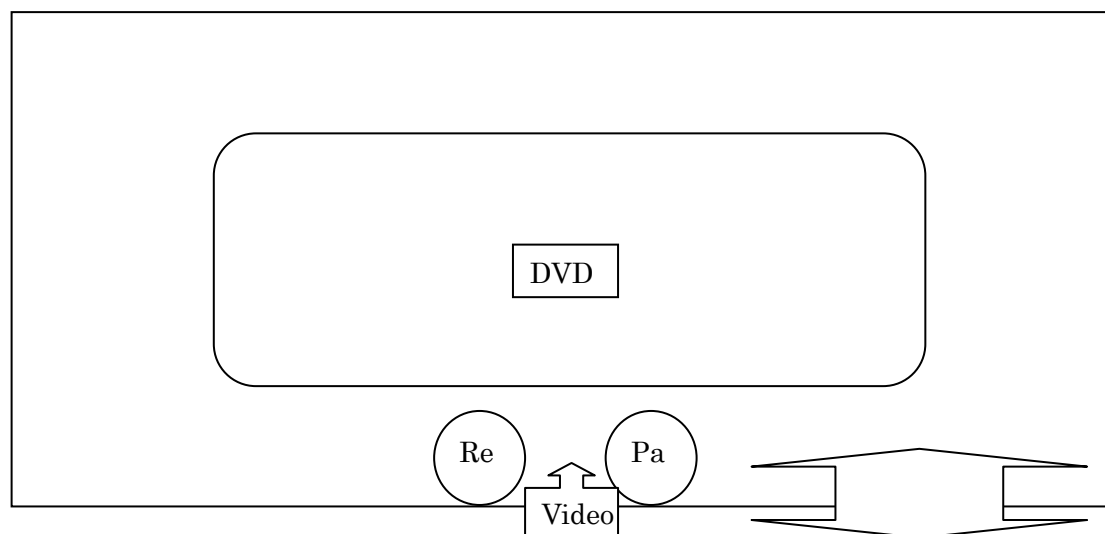
Figure 5: Plan of the meeting room during stimulated recall interviews and semi-structured interviews

The result of stimulated recall interviews were then analysed in terms of content, in order to see the motives for the utterances and behaviours that shows face concern and sensitivities. Conversation analysis was thus supplemented with ethnographic information in this way.

3.1.3 Semi-structured Interview

Finally, semi-structured interviews (Rubin & Rubin, 1995) were conducted with each of the key participants in November. Following ethnographic research methodology (Spradly & McCurdy, 1972), this kind of interview is used to elicit specific comments on their reactions to each other's utterances that were not evident in the stimulated recall data. During the interview, the participants' interrelationships with others in the company were also investigated, and their formal positions, job descriptions, their expectations of each other were clarified. To NNS participants, their perception of Japanese language and studying methods were also asked, and to NS

participants, their expectations of future NNS workers were also asked (see Appendix 3).

In addition, some specific questions were asked of some participants to clarify their

responses in the previous interviews.

The interview was recorded using the same methods as the stimulated recall

interviews discussed above. The answers gained through the interviews were analysed

in terms of content, to further refine the analysis.

3.2 Ethnographic Findings

In order to understand the working culture of company S and the relationship

between each participant under investigation, a brief ethnographic report is prepared in

this section.

3.2.1 Participants

The company S, which was founded in 1994 by the Japanese president, exports

Australian food products to Japan. As mentioned before, there were ten people working

in the office at the time of the investigation in 2004, two of whom were non-native

speakers of Japanese. The formal structure of the company, as defined by the president,

and the relationships between key figures in this research are shown in Figure 6 below

(pseudonyms are used). However, when I asked key participants individually during

interviews to draw their perception of how they see the working relationships between

workers, some variations were found depending on what task is to be accomplished.

This will be explained after the formal structure and explanations of key members

below.
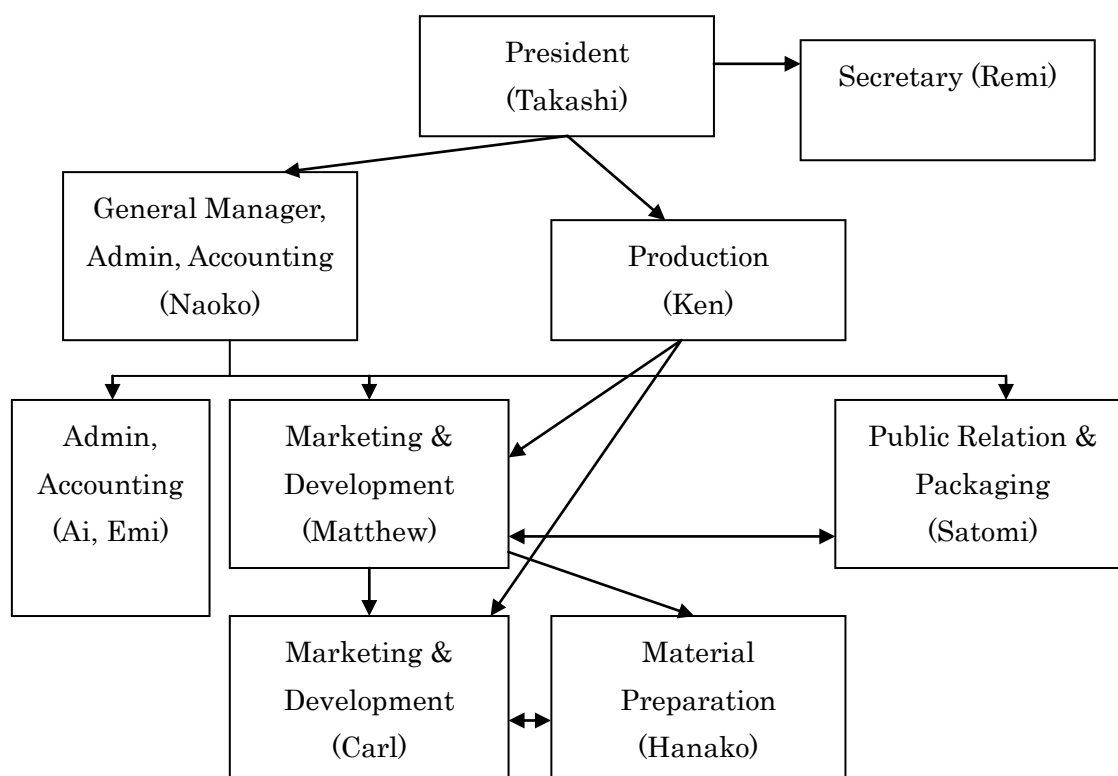
Figure 6: Company structure of Company S

Takashi (Japanese male, mid-30s) is the President of this company. He founded the company after working in Australia for four years. He saw the demand for quality food products in Japan and founded his own company to export food from Australia to Japan. He travels interstate and internationally often to expand his business opportunities. When he is in the office, he oversees the entire operation of the company. Takashi also steers the direction the company is to take, and has the final say in any decisions made within the company. He has a personal secretary (Remi, Japanese female) who makes his travel arrangements and organises schedule. However, Remi left the company mid-year, and this position became vacant.

Naoko (Japanese female, mid 30s) is the General Manager of the company, who

is in charge of the office when Takashi is not in. She has been with the company since the foundation of the company. She also keeps financial records, and by doing so she oversees what is happening in various parts of the company. There are several employees under her to manage the financial affairs of the company (Ai and Emi, both Japanese female). However, both Ai and Emi are not included in the observations because their working space is somewhat separated from the main section of the office.

Ken (Japanese male, mid-30s) is the head of the production division. He works at the company's factory in the morning and in the office in the afternoon. When in the office, Ken also supervises Matthew and Carl on their development work. In one of the situations observed, Ken helped Carl prepare his presentation and experiment in front of the rest of the company. Ken is relatively new in the company S. He used to work for a company that was a customer to the company S.

Matthew (Australian male, late 20s) is a division head of the Marketing and Development division. His duties include developing and presenting marketing materials, liaising with food producers and suppliers, and managing shipping of products. He also has a subordinate, Carl, to help him complete his work. Once Matthew receives completed work from Carl, Matthew must liaise with Satomi to design labels for the product, and with Ken to coordinate production and processing of the product, depending on what the product is. These tasks are called "Stage 2". When a new product is introduced, Matthew may also be called upon to explain the product to retail store managers at "*Tencho-kai*" (shop-managers' meeting) in Japan. The contents and the conduct of these liaising tasks are outside of the scope of this thesis.

Matthew is a native speaker of English and is a university graduate with a

degree in Japanese language and culture. He also has spent a number of years in Japan, both as a student and a worker. His communication skills in Japanese are sufficient to conduct business in this company. Matthew joined the company two years ago (at the time of data collection) through a formal job interview.

Carl (Australian male, early 20s) is a subordinate of Matthew in the marketing and development division. His role in the company is to do basic research, called "Stage 1", for potential new products the company is trying to sell, and come up with a basic outline of the products. He is to find the values of products, how appealing the product is to the Japanese market, how the products can be packaged, and how much the products will be sold for. This includes developing a sales concept for the products, finding and preparing the food processing plants, and arranging the printing and affixing of necessary labels. Once this information is gathered, Carl passes it on to Matthew, conditional upon approval of the base research by Takashi, so that Matthew can develop it further and make them presentable for potential customers.

Carl is a native speaker of another Asian language. This makes English his L2 and Japanese his L3. He has no formal Japanese language instruction and his level of Japanese is limited compared to Matthew. However, he likes Japanese and to communicate with others in Japanese. In fact, I have observed a marked improvement in his proficiency in Japanese over the year. Carl joined the company three years ago (at the time of data collection) through his personal friendship with Takashi.

Satomi (Japanese female) is the head of PR and packaging division. Her role is to design labels for the product. In order to design a label, she must know: the name and the content of the product, the nutritional value of the product, the design of the bottle,

the number, the size and the quality of the label, and have knowledge of Japanese market requirements. Satomi only works part-time, so the chance to discuss and coordinate work is limited. Everyone else in the company must coordinate the work so that necessary information is prepared in time for her.

Hanako (Japanese female)'s role is less defined. She is there to help both Matthew and Carl to compose texts in Japanese, so she also has knowledge of the products being developed in the company. Her participation to the recorded situation is minimal in this research. She was present for the first meeting (presentation meeting) but she remained silent throughout the meeting.

As seen so far, the role of each employee is well defined, and coordination of work among them plays the critical role in the development and marketing of the products sold by this company. Each member knows what is happening at different part of the company. However, employees work with different people at different stages of product development.

Although there is a set structure to the company, depending on the tasks to be accomplished, workers involved are different. Thus, they take different chains of command and relationships. Figure 7 shows two of these chains that involves NNS workers.

To order products   Development of new products

```
┌──────────────┐                              ┌──────────────┐
│    Naoko     │                              │   Takashi    │
└──────┬───────┘                    ┌─────────┴────┐        │
       │                            │     Ken      │        │
   ┌───┴────┐                       └──────────────┘        │
   ▼        ▼                              ┌──────────────┐  │
┌──────┐ ┌──────────┐                      │   Matthew    │◄─┘
│  Ai  │ │ Matthew  │                      └──────┬───────┘
└──────┘ └──────────┘                             ▼
                                           ┌──────────────┐
                                           │    Carl      │
                                           └──────────────┘
```
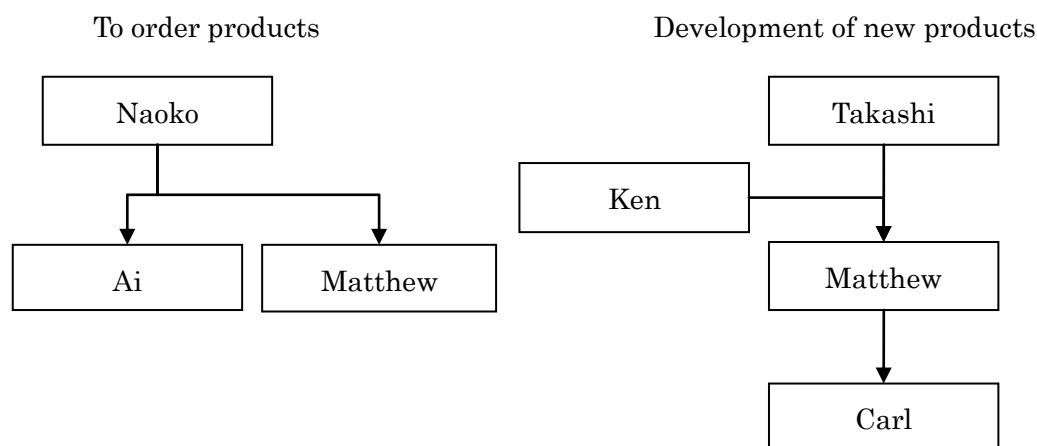
Figure 7: Workers involved in ordering and development of products
and their chains of command

When asked to draw their own perception of the company's hierarchy, everyone interviewed seemed to draw different diagrams, including only the people they directly work with. For example, in Carl's drawing, all Takashi, Naoko, Ken and Matthew appeared above him without any line linking between four of them, and Hanako was featured beside Carl at the bottom of the page with a double-headed arrow linking them. This may indicate Carl sees himself as dealing with Takashi, Naoko, Ken and Matthew individually as necessary, and sees no links between the works being asked by his superiors. Matthew, on the other hand, drew his diagram with himself in the centre, linked to Ken, Naoko and Takashi above him in that order, and Carl below himself. He also listed Satomi and Ai separately and linked himself with them, indicating he works with them as necessary too. The smaller number of people drawn by Carl compared to Matthew indicates Carl's limited role in the company, as opposed to Matthew who coordinates various aspects of production as a head of his division.

3.2.2 Ethnographic Description of the Company

The main business of company S is exporting food items produced in Australia and overseas to Japan through their own distribution network. When a product that may sell in the Japanese market is identified, the company accesses the supplier of the raw product, prepares the product, ships them to Japan and then sells them. This process involves dealing with the producers and suppliers, processing and packaging of the food, shipping of the products both domestically and internationally, and dealing with the importer of their products in Japan.

The demand on the workers in company S to use both Japanese and English is quite high. As the company's suppliers of the raw produces are in Australia, the workers need to contact them in English to negotiate with them, and because the buyers are in Japan, the marketing must be done in Japanese. The workers in the company are all Japanese-English bilinguals to various degrees. The communication within the company is mostly conducted in Japanese, although many business-related terms are "borrowed" (e.g., Myers-Scotton, 2006, p. 258) from English, such as invoice, expense and admin.

The content of communication within the company includes various stages of marketing and production of products, e.g., confirmation of action and giving and receiving instructions, but there were others seemingly non-related to the business at hand. At one stage, the workers all commented on one particular trading partner of the company, company A, and their personal experiences with that company. Such sharing of non-related information, as well as personal information can be considered as way of building solidarity within the group (Yamada, 1992). However, one of the participants later revealed in the interview that this particular exchange of information on company

A proved to be useful when the members of company S needed to confer with the

company a few days later. This seems to support my earlier suggestion for a continuum

between transactional goals and relational goals because the division between them can

be blurry; in this case, the pooling of comments on company A from different members of

the office was a means of enhancing the solidarity of the group, thus achieving a

relational goal. However, the information exchanged was also useful in achieving an

transactional goal when they met the people from company A at a later date.

The next section explores the process of developing a product in this company,

since various interactions that occur in the company fall somewhere in this process.

3.2.2.1 Development of a Product

The flowchart below (Figure 8) outlines stages involved in developing and

marketing a new product.
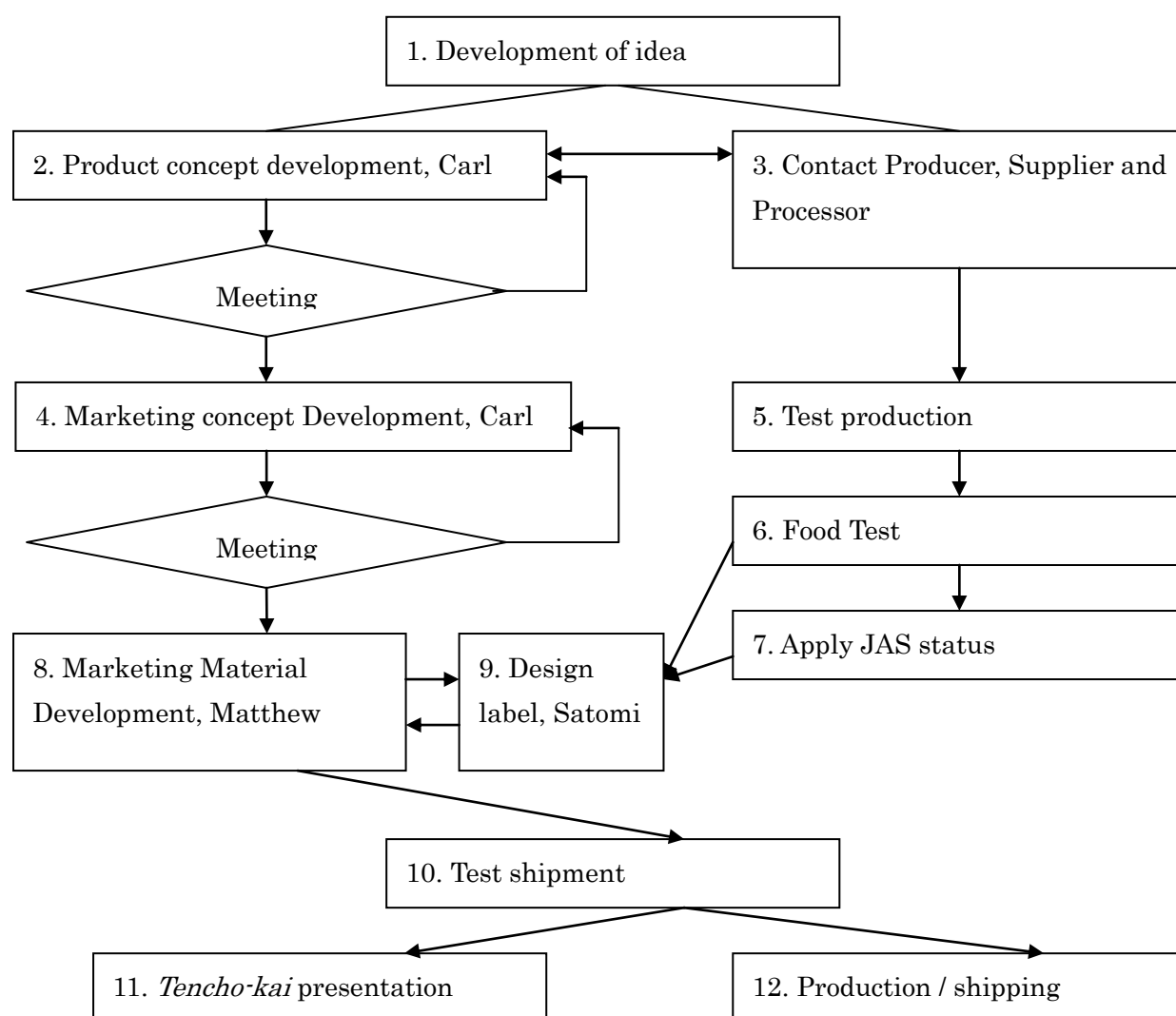
Figure 8. Flowchart for development of a product

1. Development of Idea: firstly the idea for a new product is tabled by someone. The idea for the new product is backed by market demand and/or the direction of the company. Takashi is ultimately responsible for the idea for the new product. The idea is then divided into the marketing side and the production side.

2. Product concept development: on the marketing side, Carl, under the supervision of Ken and Matthew, conducts research about the market for competitor(s) and their products. Carl also develops ideas on how the product can be marketed by

researching the nutritional value of the product and its health benefits. Once Carl develops the outline of the product, he presents it at a meeting and seeks approval from Takashi.

3. Research into producers and provider of other services, such as processing and packaging are sought at the same time as step two. These suppliers and their facilities are then investigated by the company member to see if the product meets the demands of the company.

4. When step two above is approved, Carl, under the supervision of Ken and Matthew, proceeds to further research about the product. The growing and manufacturing processes are also investigated to come up with the retail price, marketing strategies and potential sales points. Again, Carl presents the findings to other members of the company and seeks approval from Takashi.

5. Meanwhile, the manufacturer produces a sample of the product. The company then assesses the product for its quality, not only the content but also the appropriateness of packaging.

6. The company must also test the product for its nutritional contents. Such information is required to be listed on the label of the product to meet Japanese government regulations.

7. The company also apply for JAS (Japan Agricultural Standard) approval, so that it can be imported to Japan without further trouble.

8. When Carl completes step four above, Matthew takes over and expands on the marketing concept developed by Carl. Matthew is to develop actual marketing material for the product by putting together an information package for the importer and the distributors in Japanese. The package will include information

such as ingredients, potential nutritional benefits and recommended retail price.

9. Concurrently, Satomi designs the label for the product. The rough idea for the design is already made in step four, so Satomi must include other necessary information on the label. The results of steps six and seven must also be included in this process. The content of the label must be consistent with the product information prepared by Matthew.

10. When all is completed, a "test shipment" occurs. Matthew must coordinate this process. It includes getting the producer and processor to produce and pack the product, printing the label and affixing them onto the product, packaging them into transportable containers, transporting them to Japan, helping the importer with customs paperwork, and checking the condition of the product after being imported to Japan. Approvals for the cost involved in this process come from Takashi. This process is to check if the whole production and logistic processes will work as intended. One or two cartons of the product is produced, packed and shipped to Japan.

11. Once the product arrives in Japan in satisfactory condition, heads of the distributors are gathered for the explanation of the product. Nutritional benefit, sales points, production process and price are explained.

12. At the same time, full production of the product begins.

3.2.2.2 Office Day

The main participants in the first situation, a day in the office, were Matthew, Carl, Naoko, Ken and Satomi. They all worked individually at their respective desks and interacted with others as necessary. Ken came in to the office after lunchtime, and Takashi came in to the office at around 3pm after returning from interstate travel. All

participants conducted business as usual at their respective desks until late in the afternoon when new office furniture arrived. They then proceeded to arrange furniture and tidy the office. A somewhat casual mood of communication took place during this time.

The day started with a morning meeting at 9am. Unfortunately I was not able to observe this meeting because of the delay in transportation. I was told that at these meetings, one person presents a short speech about what is happening in the company, then each member says what he/she will do during the day.

After the meeting, the work starts. Because everyone said what he/she would do, they all know what will happen around the office during the day. On this particular day of the observation,

- Matthew and Carl discussed various issues about the new product, a fruit juice, in English and Japanese,

- Both Matthew and Carl made several phone calls to suppliers / producers in English,

- Naoko made several phone calls to potential buyers in Japanese,

- Naoko dealt with outside visitors in English,

- Matthew and Satomi discussed issues with packaging and labelling of the new product in Japanese,

- Carl and Naoko discussed shipping and finances in both Japanese and English, and,

- All participants engaged in arranging furniture upon their arrival to the office.

The first impression from watching the recorded interaction was that everyone is trying to get the job done by cooperating with each other. In between these work-related activities, there were a few talks about issues arising from various parts of the day. The tone of the conversation was relaxed but the talks did not last long (about one minute) before they all went back to their respective work. Even when they were arranging the furniture they seemed keen to get the job done as quickly as possible even though they were discussing who will get the new chair.

All workers can engage in interactions with anyone in the office if necessary; there is no restriction on whom one may be allowed to talk with. However, because the roles of individual workers are defined according to the types of work, they tend to interact more with a limited number of people in the office. Everyone is invited to take the floor on the interaction to contribute to the topic being discussed. An interview with one of the participants revealed this kind of spontaneity helps the workers to deal with a situation where one is acting on behalf of the other because they share the common information. The interlocutors in various interactions always face each other or move closer to whoever is speaking in the given situation. This means one must stop whatever one is doing and look at the speaker. Each occurrence of interaction between interlocutors was short, consisting of only three to four turns. Questions were asked without summons, and answers were usually concise without any unnecessary redress. There were only limited number of longer interactions. In each of them, the participants were engaged in either a decision-making process, instructing or confirming information with others, or sharing trivial information.

3.2.2.3 Carl's Presentation Meeting

In the second situation, Carl was presenting his research about a potential new product to the rest of the company (the meeting after step four in the above flowchart, Figure 8). The participants, Takashi, Matthew, Naoko, Ken and Hanako all sat around the table in the meeting room, with Carl showing PowerPoint slides on the screen at the front of the room. Although there were six people in the room, not everyone had a speaking turn (please refer to Figure 3 for the location of each participant). There were three parts to the meeting: firstly, Carl presented his findings, then there was discussion of other points, and finally, Carl presented an experiment with another new product with some help from Ken. Carl's presentation was in English, but the following discussion and experiment were conducted with frequent codeswitching between Japanese and English.

When I arrived at the company to set up the recording equipment on the day of observation, Carl was also preparing for his presentation by setting up his laptop computer and the projector for his PowerPoint presentation. The presentation started at 1:30pm and lasted for about 20 minutes, then a questions-and-answers meeting went on for almost 30 minutes. In his research, Carl found nutritional values, identified an appropriate market segment and major competitors, and formed a product concept to be further developed by Matthew. The meeting also played a role in consolidating everyone's understandings of the current situation regarding the development of the product.

During the presentation, all participants listened to Carl quietly. However, once the discussion started, Takashi started to point out what was lacking in Carl's presentation. Takashi made a series of suggestions, some of them almost threats, on

how to improve the presentation, or his work performance at large. The areas of comments Carl received during the discussion are categorised and listed below.

- product information sheet for retailers, which includes:

    ➢ points for sales promotion

    ➢ comparison of nutritional value of the product with those of the competitors'

- packaging of the product

- price and justification

- production and shipping schedule

- the language to be used in future presentations (all of this information to be presented in Japanese)

Under each topic, there were several questions that were framed to make Carl think about how he should approach these issues. All of the topics, or the shifts to the next topic were initiated by Takashi.

The first series of questions related directly to the preparation that Carl did for the presentation and, ultimately, his given tasks within the company, which is to outline how a potential product can be marketed. Carl's presentation primarily focused on the nutritional values, the producer and production process, costing and the timing of selling the fruit juice. Although this presentation described the fruit juice well, it lacked information directly relevant to actually selling the product in Japan. Takashi picked up on this and explained how Carl had failed to complete his task.

The product information sheet lists points that the distributors can use to sell the product. For example, information on the nutritional value of the product, the

usefulness and benefit of taking each of the nutrients, information on the ingredients, and comparisons with existing products in the market are all included. This information can help distributors recommend a product to potential customers by matching their needs with the range of products on offer by the company. For example, for people who have iron deficiency, the distributors can recommend their own product that is rich in iron instead of others in the market. If the information sheet shows the customer the product being offered has a higher potency of the certain nutrient than others in the market, it can convince the customer to buy it. In this company, it is Carl who must do the background research for such information (stage 1) so that Matthew can develop it further, Hanako can put them into Japanese and Satomi can design and produce the actual information sheet based on it. For Carl not to present this information means he did not do his work properly.

The questions were asked by Takashi to directly elicit such information from Carl. He started by identifying what kind of information he was looking for from Carl. Then Takashi continued to tell Carl what he must do to prepare that. While Takashi was giving these instructions, no other participants spoke, unless they were invited to do so. Some of those occured when Takashi could not find the right English word to explain what he wanted to say. Once others supplied Takashi with the correct word, he continued with an example of what to add as a promotional point for the information sheet with his understanding of the Japanese market.

The process of Takashi instructing Carl was constructive and Carl proceeds to take notes from the discussion. From this, it appears that the actions taken by both Takashi and Carl strengthened their *giri* relationship between a superior and a subordinate. Carl seems to play the role of a good subordinate by following the

instructions given to him from his superior carefully, and Takashi seems to be taking

the role of a mentor (Holmes, 2005), by guiding Carl in the right direction, which is an

expected role of a superior (Yamada, 1997). It is for the good of the team to develop Carl

as a competent member of the team, as it will ultimately reduce the workload of the

others. In addition to giving Carl guidance on how to proceed in preparing the

information, Takashi also organised groundwork for Carl to follow. For example, after

telling Carl that the future presentations and information presented there must be

prepared in Japanese, Takashi suggests seeking help from Hanako to translate from

English to Japanese. Straight after saying that, Takashi asked Hanako for her consent

to help. While Carl may or may not know that this is happening, but Takashi was doing

the groundwork for Carl so that he would be able to complete his task smoothly.

3.2.2.4 Report Meeting

The third situation was a debriefing session involving Matthew, Carl and Ken.

Both Matthew and Carl reported to Ken what they had been working on, while Ken

gave them suggestions on how to proceed with their next move. The issues discussed

include:

- future marketing plan and rolling-out of new products

- update on various product development:

  - pricing arrangement with the suppliers

  - packaging issues for some items,

- some feedback on Carl's performance at the previous meeting.

The whole meeting was conducted in Japanese, with occasional use of English

words to clarify some of the points when both Matthew and Carl did not understand the

item being discussed.

In regards to product development issues, Ken is both Carl's and Matthew's direct supervisor (see Figure 7). However, because Ken has been at the company for the least amount of time, Matthew feels he can forego reporting to Ken because the work was done without him in the past. At the interview, he admitted that at times he feels uneasy when he has to explain everything to Ken, because some of the items have been discussed and decided with Takashi earlier. However, the meeting appears to be a good opportunity for both Matthew and Carl to consolidate their understanding of the products, in particular their uses and significance for the Japanese market. Based on these understandings, they can develop marketing and promotional strategies.

Through my observations of interactions in the office, I got the impression that the norm of communication was closer to Japanese than Australian, as will be explored more in the next chapter. Everyone in the office seems to work well with each other. There seems to be no disharmony between anyone in the office, and everyone's attitude towards working there was positive. The rapport among the group seemed positive, incorporating a number of strategies to enhance group solidarity, including laughter (Coates, 2007; Rogerson-Revell, 2007), jokes (Norrick, 2003; Rogerson-Revell, 2007; Ting-Toomey, 2005), and sharing of common information (Miller, 1995). In addition, one participant informed me during the interview that he and his partner socialise with his superior's family outside of the working hours. It can be said such an emphasis on group solidarity seems to resemble the broader atmosphere of Japanese society (e.g., Nakane, 2006; Sueda, 2004).

Chapter 4 Analysis

In this thesis, the Rapport Management Framework proposed by Spencer-Oatey (2000, 2005, 2007) is used as the main analytical framework. The focus of the analysis is how face is claimed by interlocutors in intracompany intercultural business communication, what and how threats to face were perceived by interlocutors through the interaction, and how face of interlocutors are managed by other participants in the interaction. Spencer-Oatey's distinctions between face and rights (2000), relational goals and transactional goals (2005), and situation-specific face and pan-situational face (2005), as well as construals of face (2005, 2007) have been useful in identifying which aspect of face is threatened by what action(s) in the interaction. Raven's basis of social power theory, which is a part of Spencer-Oatey's framework, is utilised to ascertain the face being claimed by individuals.

Through the course of this analysis of various interactions in this company, it was found that quality face and social identity face were most likely to be claimed or threatened. The rights of individuals, on the other hand, did not appear to be threatened very often. Although the members of the company work hard to achieve business goals, no one complains that they are being treated unfairly or prevented from associating with certain members of the company. To give an example, after the first meeting in which Carl presented his research and received critical comments, while I was packing up the recording equipment, Carl was also packing up the laptop computer and the projector he used for his presentation. He was smiling despite saying "*muzukashii, muzukashii*" (it's so hard, so hard) to me, which appeared to me as a sign of his acceptance of work at the company despite difficulties he is experiencing in achieving that goal.

The rights each individual has seem to vary significantly depending on the position one holds in the company. The lack of focus on rights thus may be the result of the workers understanding their respective places in the company (cf. Haugh, 2005) and accepting their responsibility to work as a part of the team. This can be seen as a showing of *wakimae* within the group, as well as acceptance of other people's place, where social identity face is upheld. This is arguably a sign of solidarity of the group. Face is gained when one can perform his/her functions within the company well and knowing his/her place and playing that part (Matsumoto, 1988). On occasion, some members go out of their way to support the face of the others so that he/she will not lose face. Doing so can be reflected positively on that member's face because it shows their understanding of their position.

Individual's quality face seems to be threatened if one fails to meet expected achievement in terms of one's work. This also has implications for the *kao* of their superiors, because it also means his/her superior did not supervise him/her sufficiently to meet the expected goal. Conversely, by meeting the expected achievement, one can claim not only one's quality face, to be accepted as a competent individual, but also is demonstrably accepted as a competent member of the group, thereby claiming social identity face. In other words, claiming quality face seems to be a pre-requisite for claiming social identity face in intra-company business situations.

In this chapter, I will analyse various video-recorded interactions in terms of face threats and face enhancement projected and interactionally achieved. The first section will set out the tenor of the analysis by examining strategies of and situational limitations imposed on projecting threat to one's face. Its relationship with the achievement of interactional goals and business goals will also be considered. The

second section will consider the inter-relationship between face and social power bases

held by interlocutors by analysing the degree of face threat projected by an interlocutor

and the reaction it causes within the interaction. The third section will examine the role

of repair in projecting and interpreting face threats and face enhancement. While repair

is usually understood as being primarily used to achieve transactional goals, a repair's

implication for achievement of face and power will also be considered. Finally, the fourth

section will analyse the effects of codeswitching on interactional achievement of face.

The final section will also investigate the inter-relationship between repair,

codeswitching, face and power.

4.1 Face Threat and Face Enhancement

4.1.1 Face and Interactional Goals

As stated earlier, in intra-company business communication, a threat to one's

quality face can arise when one's work does not seem to be at an acceptable level. A

threat can be projected by others in such cases in order to rectify the lack of

achievement. If a junior member of the group fails to complete his/her tasks

appropriately, his/her superiors enforce acceptable outcomes by threatening the junior's

face. It is important that the member of the group successfully complete the tasks

because it will lead to success in business, which ultimately leads to the superior

claiming *kao*. Similarly, a junior member also attempts to claim his/her quality face by

showing that he/she can do the job appropriately.

The first excerpt below from Carl's presentation meeting illustrates how he is

attempting to claim quality face by presenting his competence in doing "stage 1" tasks.

However, his claim to quality face was shuttered by a blunt statement by the company

president, Takashi, where he asserted that his work "missed the point". In this excerpt, Carl is asked the differences between the new prune juice that company S is going to sell and the ones already sold in the Japanese market by the competitors. Carl starts by pointing out that the claim the competitor makes is incorrect.

(1) [Presentation meeting: 0:22:00~]
Carl is responding to a question from Ken to clarify the difference between the proposed new product and other French prune juice in the Japanese market. He goes on to point out the competitor's claim that it is 100% juice is actually incorrect

216	C:	ok (.) this is like the back label samples (0.7)	((Pulls out a photocopy of the back label of the competing product and place it on the table for others to see))
			((T and M lean over to see the photocopied label))
217		<this is like just black and white> ((quick & quietly))	((M straightens up, arms crossed, still looking at the label))
218		and in here they mention that	((T leans back))
219		*sutoreeto hyaku paasento juusu desu* "It is 100 percent straight juice"	((C points the label with his left index finger as he reads from the label))
220		in <u>here</u>	((C stands up straight, look around and right hand swishing pencil downwards))
221		I will mention that it is (0.5)	((C looks down to his notebook on his right))
222		<u>wrong</u>?	((C swishes pencil downward, looks up to T, both hands lift up))
223		'cause like (.) you can't get 100% straight juice,	((picks up the competitor's bottle with right hand, left hand moves towards the bottle while talking to the audience))

224	out of the prunes,	((left hand swished twice, face to left))
		((T puts down his pen, eyes off C and sits back on his chair))
225	like you have to add waters,	((bottle to left hand, looks around, straight posture, right hand swished numerous times for emphasis.))
226	because prune itself is very thick,	((holding right hand up in front, fingers closed together, looks around at the audience and swishes hands numerous times))
227	its only contains 20 percent of moisture	
228	and I did asked them (.) to the manufacturer (.)	((both hands tumbles in front, then right hand points up with pencil))
229	to the ((Company)) V (.)	((puts his hand on the bottle))
230	like whether do you know	((lifts the sample bottle up with left hand and looks at it))
231	((Product)) E,	(looks up to the audience))
232	what about the manufacturing process chart and everything,	((bottle to the right hand, moves it and his left hand in front of his chest))
233	T: hmm::	((T nods once))
234	C: and they said no, they are all the same,	((C starts to smile a little))
235	T: hmm	((T starts to nod))
236	C: and they can't claim the straight juice=	((C arms opened))
237	T: =any other point	((looks at T, stunned, mouth opened, holding the bottle with both hands))
238	C: ah:::::m other point from that	((looks up, hands movement become bigger)),
239	they are using the hybrids (.) prunes, so they have	((looks at T))

```
240       selected (.) the prunes      ((right hand swishes once))
241   T:  hmm                          ((T nods once))
242   C:  no- no- not any other, not   ((shakes head left-right))
          any prunes
243       (2.0)
244   T:  you missed the point (1.2)   ((looks at C, tilts head))
245       you have to compare the (.)  ((lift his right hand to left
          fibre                        side))
246   C:  um hm?=
247   T:      =and fib[re,             ((moves right hand from left to
                                       right))
248   C:              [un ummm
249   T:  and (.) the sodium, s[odium  ((moves right hand from left to
                                       right))
250   C:                       [ah ok
251   T:  they are the nutritions      ((puts hand down))
252   C:  ah, ok=                      ((puts bottle down, picks up
                                       notes))
253   T:      =did you?=  [did you
          do that?
254   C:              =ah [no, no I    ((looking at T, arranging bottles
          didn't [I-                   on the table with mouth opened))
255   T:          [sore important
          point da ro Caaru
          "That is an important point,
          Carl"
256   C:  ah (.) sou des-, ye=         ((looks down))
          "Ah righ-, ye-"
257   T:                  =U::::n
                          "Yeah"
```

From line 216 to 236, Carl appears to be presenting himself as a competent
member of staff by confidently 'showing off' his knowledge of the product to everyone
present. He shows a photocopy of the competitor's label (lines 216-217) to point out the

misleading claim made by the competitor (lines 218-219) and corrects it in his marketing strategies (221-222). He goes on to explain why it is the case by talking about the moisture content of prunes and how it is not possible to produce a juice without adding water. By explaining this, Carl is trying to claim his quality face, that he has done his work to find a point he can use to market the new prune juice. However, this claim is not upheld by Takashi in turn 237, when he impatiently asks Carl whether he has any other points to make. On hearing this remark, Carl appears to be lost for words in line 238, but then comes up with another comment on the manufacturer selecting the ingredients to produce a better quality prune juice. However, his claim to quality face so far is met with an extremely threatening remark to his quality face by Takashi's comment in line 244, "you missed the point", which completely denies the work Carl has done, thus denying his claim to quality face. From then on, they jointly establish what Carl should have done in his research, which is to find out the nutritional content of the prune juice (lines 245-252). Having established this, Takashi repeats the question, "did you do that?" in line 253, to which Carl replies negatively, further damaging Carl's face claim because he did not do what is required to be a part of the team. The transactional goal that Takashi intended through the face threat is one of mentoring, which is an expected role of a superior in a Japanese company (Yamada, 1997). By jointly establishing Carl's next courses of actions, Takashi is guiding Carl to do his work better, so that the whole company will benefit from his work. Takashi also explicitly explains the consequence of Carl's incomplete work later in the meeting.

However, the threat to quality face can be softened while still achieving the transactional goals, i.e., delivering instructions on what the subordinate should do.

Excerpt 2 below took place prior to Excerpt 1 above, at the point where Carl has nearly finished his presentation. When Carl assumes the ETD (estimated date of departure) for the product should be January in time for the special sales (*tokuhan*) that will occur in February, Naoko takes the opportunity to frame a correction of this assumption as a clarification. In doing so, Naoko reduces the threat to Carl's quality face as a competent member of the team.

(2) [Presentation meeting: 0:19:30~]
Carl is finishing up his presentation about the new fruit juice when Naoko
interrupts to ask for clarification

```
182   C:  and then the first tokuhan        ((reading from his notes))
          (.) it mentioned on
          "And then the first sales, it
          mentioned on"
183       February, so the ETD will be      ((looks up to the audience, playing
          on                                with his pencil in his right hand))
          "February, so the ETD will be
          on"
184       (2.0)                             ((looks up towards the ceiling,
                                            squinting his eyes))
185   C:  January                           ((looks down to the audience))
          "In January,"
186       (3.0)                             ((flicks notes))
187   C:  desu (1.0) January oh (.)         ((C stands up straight, looks at
          ye[ah                             the audience))
          "(it will be) (1.0) January,
          oh, yeah"
188   N:  [hum? how- how- how long does     ((off screen))
          it take?=
189   C:         =it takes like about       ((swishes right arm))
          one month
190   N:  transit time=                     ((off screen))
191   C:            =transit times=         ((nod once))
```

```
192   N:   =dakedo ni gatsu ge- tokuhan        ((off screen))
           desho:?
           "But the sales are in
           February, right?"
193   C:   a:: soo desu ne (.)                 ((stunned face, mouth opened))
194   N:   shi:- (.)                           ((off screen))


195   C:   [ah maybe:        [December         ((swishes right hand))
           "Ah, that's right. Ah maybe
           December."
196   N:   [shipment must be [December         ((off screen))
           or end of November=
197   C:   =a:: (.) soo desu ne (.) yep        ((big nod, squint his eyes))
           (1.0) a: December or=
           "Ah, that's right, yep (1.0)
           ah December or"
198   N:   =end of Nove[mber                   ((off screen))
199   C:               [ah ok (.) yep          ((flicks paper, checking note))
200        a:: soo desu ne                     ((looks up at N))
           "Ah that's right"
201   N:   (    ) or beginning of              ((off screen))
           December
202   C:   hm (.) yeah (2.0)                   ((takes notes))
203        un (.) okay (1.1)                   ((slowly turns to the screen))
204        yeah basically like that           ((looks down to the table and
           the::                              shuffles paper))
205        ahem ((clears throat))
           rough idea and the situation
           about the prune juice, at the      ((looks at the screen, then to the
           moment,                            table))
```

When Carl says that the ETD for the new product will be in January (lines
183-187), Naoko asks a question in line 188 as to how long it would take for the product
to be delivered to Japan. Carl responds confidently at first that it should take about one

month (line 189), but when confronted with Naoko's claim that the special sales begin in February, he notices that an ETD in January would be too late. Carl then quickly modifies his plan to have ETD in December (line 195) before Naoko can verbalise her suggestion. The point is further enforced by Naoko who repeats and adds "or end of November" (line 196). Carl finally seems to have understood the point in line 197, when he repeats Naoko's suggestions with a big nod.

Although the threat to Carl's face was not directly projected as in the previous excerpt, the threat was perceived by Carl, which is evident from his apparent discomfort shown through his non-verbal expressions such as stunned face (line 193) and attempt to break his eye-contact with the audience (lines 202-205). Naoko's projected threat to Carl's face is not as strong as the one projected by Takashi in Excerpt 1 above, but still achieves her transactional goal in modifying Carl's plan to a more desirable one, which the company as a whole can benefit from. The transactional goal is achieved while still being sensitive to the face needs of Carl.

Naoko informed me in an interview later that she always tries to let her subordinates "notice what is needed" in their work, which is consistent with her approach to correcting Carl above. A similar situation arose during the working day in the office, when Naoko, Carl and Satomi were discussing the implications of the changes in distribution network for the exporting of existing products. No claim or threat to face is projected, yet the transactional goal is achieved.

(3) [Office day: 11:50AM]

Naoko tells Carl and Satomi about the implications of the changes in distribution network on who has to do the food test.

20	N:	*soi dorinku toka <u>mo</u>: nyuu purodakuto <u>mo</u>: ((company)) J ni kaeru mae <u>ni</u>:* = "<u>Before</u> we change [the distribution route of] the soy drinks <u>and</u> others to Company J,"	((C already standing up and walks closer to N's desk and stops in front of her.)) ((C nods))
21	N:	=*chotto Satomi san mo kiite oite ne* "Satomi, can you listen to this as well?"	((C looks around the office, then turns back to N))
22	S:	*n*:? "Huh?"	((S sits up and turns to N's direction))
23	N:	*((company)) J ni kaeru mae ni*: (.) *tesuto ga hitsuyou kamo shirenai*= "**B**efore [we] change to company J, we might have to do the tests."	((off screen))
24		<*ima sore Itami san ni kakunin shite moratte-ru*> *kara*: "I have asked Mr. Itami ((their colleague in company J)) to check that for us."	
25	C:	*a↑h*::↓ "Yeah::"	
26	N:	*ima made hora ((company)) Y ga fuudo tesuto wo shite* "Until now Company Y did the food test"	
27		*inpootaa mo ((company)) Y*	

		datta desho= "and the importer was also Company Y, wasn't it?"	
28	C:	=*n*:: *sou sou* "hm:: yes yes"	((Big nod, takes a step closer to N))
29	N:	*dakedo ((company)) Y no kono* *tesuto wo tsukatte* "but using [the result of] the test conducted by Company Y,"	((C moves towards the printer to pick up what he has printed))
30		*((company)) J ga inpootaa ni* *narenai kamo shirenai kara*: (.) *pakkeeji jou de*? "Company J may not be able to print on the package that they are the importer,"	((S turns her head to N))
31		*dakara sore ga doo nanoka tte* *iu no ha ima itami san ni* *kiite moratte-ru kara*: "so I have asked Mr. Itami to investigate what is happening with that for us."	
32	C:	*kibishii ne*: "That's tough."	((C still working on the printer))
33	N:	*dakara ((product)) N no* *honrai wa ima kakatteru* *oodaa? kyo kakeru oodaa mo* "so I wanted to change the label of what-should-be the current order, the one we are going to order today as well,"	((C turns his head to N))
34		*((company)) J ni raberu wo* *kaetakatta-n dakedo* ( ) *dakedo tesuto* (.) *ga*: *dame* *dattara*: (.) *sonomama*	((C nods numerous times))

```
            "to Company J, but if [we
            can't use] the test
            results,"
35    C:    ((company)) Y ni sonomama
            "leave it as Company Y."
36          (4.5)
37    C:    a sokka (2.5) moshi              ((C looks up to the ceiling))
            ((company)) J ni nattara
            Satomi san wa zenbu jissai ni    ((looks at S, then turns back to N))
            shinakya ikenai
            "Ah, that's right, if it
            changes to Company J, Satomi
            must actually do all [of the
            new labels]."
38          (1.0)
39    N:    <sou sou sou> sore mo aru        ((C looks at S))
            kara
            "Yes yes yes that is the case
            also."
```

In this situation, Naoko, who noticed that the labels on the products must be changed to reflect the change of the importer of their products in Japan, tells both Carl and Satomi that the information contained on the label must be changed. This is because the importer in Japan must provide the nutritional contents of the products they import to the Japanese government through conducting their own tests. Because there is a change of importers, the new importer may need to provide their own test results. Consequently, the nutritional information provided on the label must be changed to reflect the results of the new test.

Naoko starts to explain the changes to the food test to both Carl and Satomi (lines 20-24), but does not give an explicit order to either of them. Instead, she explains the legal obligations of the company J who will be the new importer (lines 26-31), and

along the way, attempts to gather the consensus of the group. Carl gives backchannels (lines 28 and 32) to show that he is following the explanation. When the explanation moves on to the labels to be affixed on to the current standing order, then he suddenly realises that the labels must be redesigned accordingly (lines 35-37). Again, Naoko implied what has to be done through jointly constructing the scenario to achieve her interactional goal while being sensitive to her subordinate's face. This may have even enhanced Carl's face because he noticed the information himself, thus claiming face on the understanding of the work to be done.[19]

These interactional achievements of threatening and saving one's face seem to be connected to the achievement of transactional goals, which is the smooth execution of the work at hand. Although the right to choose whether to threaten or save the interlocutor's face seems to reside with the one with higher status, when instructing their subordinates, the most important issue to be communicated is to make sure that the subordinates understand what is to be done, i.e., achieving transactional goals. On the other hand, it seems that the interlocutors with the lower status are not to threaten the quality face of the interlocutor with a higher status, as discussed in the next section. The weight on achieving relational goals seems to become heavier in such situations.

4.1.2 Face and Relational Goals

While the interlocutors of the higher status can choose to threaten the face of the interlocutors with a lower status, it does not seem to be reciprocated the other way. It seems the interlocutors with a lower status must always observe the face and *kao* of the interlocutor with a higher status in order to maintain the existing relationship, or perceived differences in *kao*, thus moving closer to the relational goal end of the

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[19] This coincide with the notion of politeness implicature proposed by Haugh (2007a).

interactional-relational goals continuum. In the next excerpt, when Takashi tells Carl

what information to include in the promotion package, he fails to recall an English word

"diameter". When Takashi initiates self-repair, the members of the group, the "side

participants" to the interaction (Verschueren, 1999, p. 85), attempt to complete the

repair sequence. In doing so, Takashi's face is upheld and the existing relationship is

maintained.

(4) [Presentation meeting: 0:28:30~]
Takashi tells Carl what information to be included in the promotional
package.

382	T:	*soreto*: PR *pointo de ore ga*	((looking down to his notes))
		zettai tsukete hoshii no <u>*wa*</u>	
		"And, what I really want you	
		to include in your PR point	
		<u>is</u>,"	
383		*ano* region, where the prunes	((looks at C))
		from	((C blinks))
		"ahm, the region, where the	
		prune is from."	
384		*kore wa* <u>big</u>gest (.) one of	((a nod to emphasise 'biggest'))
		biggest sales point *desho*	((C nods and start taking notes))
		"This is the biggest, one of	
		the biggest sales points,	
		isn't it?"	
385	C:	*un*	
		"Yeah"	
386	T:	*furansu kara kimashita*(.)	((gaze at C))
		"It came from France."	
387		*<shikamo> furansu no doko*	((looks at M))
		dakke kore a- [*agen*	
		"And where is this in France,	
		Agen?"	
388	C:	[*agen*	((looks up to T))

"Agen"

389	T:	*agen da yo ne,*	((nods to M))
		"It is Agen, isn't it?"	
390		*agen kara kita*	((faces C))
		"It came from Agen."	
391		*what agen*	((opens his arms, shakes his body))
		"What is Agen?"	
392	C:	*un*	((nods))
		"Yeah"	
393	T:	Japanese people *sono hou ga ureshiku nai*?	((arms come around to front of his chest))
		"Don't Japanese people feel happy that way?"	
394		*age*[*n tte nani*?	((big nods twice as he starts))
		"What is Agen?"	
395	C:	[*a: a: a:*	((smiles, nods as he speaks))
		"Ah, ah, ah"	
396	T:	<*soshitara*> *agen tte iu no wa sa*, if you research about agen,	((shift his body to left, right hand starts to move in a circular motion from the lower end))
		"Then Agen is, if you research about Agen,"	
397	C:	*un*	((nods numerous times))
		"Yeah"	
398	T:	*soshitara mou agen tte iu no wa sa*	((keeps drawing a circle in the air, stops at the top of the circle))
		"Then it is, the place called Agen is,"	
399		*e:to* English *de nante iu*? *chokkei -tte*	((faces M, both arms opens wide to show 'diameter'))
		"How do we say '*chokkei*' (diameter) in English?"	
400	M:	region?	((facial expression of uncertainty))
401	T:	*chokkei* ((articulates clearer)) for *en no*=	((maintain the same posture, then draw a circle with right arm))

```
            "'chokkei' (diameter), of a
            circle"
401  N:  =a:: diameter                ((from off screen. M, T, C all face
         "Ah, diameter"               N's direction))
403  T:  dia[meter                    ((turns to C, arms still opened
                                       wide))
404  C:     [diameter ((very          ((Turns to T))
         softly))
405  M:  a::: diameter ne             ((mouth opened, blank face))
         "Ah:::, you mean diameter."
406  T:  no thirty kiromeetoru by     ((both arms opened wide
         "of 30 kilometres by"        horizontally from the centre))
407      thirty kiromeetoru,          ((both arms move vertically from
         "30 kilometres,"             the centre))
408      kore ga ze::nbu prune tree   ((draws a circle again with right
         nan da yo                    arm, then puts the hand down at the
         "that is a::ll prune tree."  end of the utterance))
399  C:  sou nan desu ka              ((nods several times))
         "Is that right..."
```

Takashi starts to tell Carl what information he wants Carl to include in the promotional materials in line 382-383. Scanning of the company's website as well as other marketing and promotional materials for other products that the company S sells, gathered as a part of the ethnographic study, reveals that the information on where the ingredient for their products comes from is an important branding factor to market the products in this company. However, when emphasising that this is one of the biggest points to be included, Takashi struggles a little in recalling where the prunes are produced. He foresees the problem in line 387 and, from his non-verbal cues, he seems to be asking Matthew for the information on which region of France the prune comes from. This call for help is answered by Carl in line 388, which comes at the same time as Takashi's own recollection. Then in line 389, he confirms that with Matthew, despite

hearing the repair from Carl.

After confirming the region, Takashi goes on to make his point to Carl on why such an information should be included in the promotional package using rhetorical questions (lines 391 and 394), and the value of such information to the Japanese consumers (line 393). But in the process, Takashi comes across another term that he does not know. He starts to make his point in line 396 while drawing a circle in the air, but repeats the same line in line 398, suggesting he is not able to come up with the term in English. Takashi then asks Matthew for the term in English in line 399. In response to this, Matthew provides a translation "region" (line 400), but this is rejected by Takashi in line 401 when he repeats the same word "*chokkei*" with a clearer pronunciation, giving Matthew another chance at supplying the translation. Naoko takes the floor in line 402 to come up with the correct translation. Upon hearing this, Takashi, Carl and Matthew all focus their attention on Naoko and repeat the word (lines 403-405). After receiving this information, Takashi continues with his explanation as to why this information should be included in lines 406-408 by illustrating the whole area covered with prune trees, as if the previous request for translation did not exist. This may suggest that the face of the superior is to be observed at all times in order to uphold his/her face. Takashi's face was interactionally saved by Naoko who responded to the repair initiated by Takashi, the interlocutor with a higher status.

To whom the repair initiation is directed also appears important as part of Takashi's effort to maintain the hierarchical relationship with Carl. On two occasions, in lines 387-389 and 399-402, he directs his self-initiation of repair to Matthew, who is a side participant to this interaction. It could be the result of Takashi's belief that Carl is not expected to know the Japanese term for "diameter" in the second case, but Takashi's

deliberate backchannel to Matthew in line 389 in the first case may indicate that

Takashi does not wish to be saved by Carl, but by others in the group. If Takashi accepts

the repair by Carl, Takashi is also admitting to that Carl knows more about the product,

thus his *kao* and face as the president and the expert of the product he sells can be

threatened because Carl may think less of Takashi (Haugh & Hinze, 2003). Also, at this

particular point, because Takashi is projecting a face threat to Carl, accepting Carl's

repair can reduces the perceived difference in their status, thus weakening the effect of

the face threat intended by Takashi. This issue will be dealt in more detail in Section

4.2 below.

In some cases, when an addressee with a lower status attempts to save the face

of another with a higher status, they can sacrifice their own face in order to maintain

the perceived difference in *kao* relationship (Ervin-Tripp et al., 1995). In Excerpt 5

below such an instance was observed when Carl offers Takashi to taste a new propolis

product that the company S is going to sell. It appears that everyone present at the

meeting except for Takashi has tried the product prior to the meeting and knows the

taste of the new product. When Takashi fails to taste it, Carl blames himself for Takashi

not being able to taste it.

(5) [Presentation meeting: 0:59:20~]
Carl introduces a new propolis product that the company is going to sell
to Takashi, and offers him to taste the new product.

```
1066  C:     ah, and the taste, this is      ((lifts the cup and shakes it a
             too little but,                   little))
1067         chotto nonde mitai desu         ((straightens his back and
             ka.                               offers the cup to I))
             "do you want to try it?"
1068         (0.5)                           ((T leans over and reaches for
```

			((the cup with left hand))
1069	C:	do you like propolis?	((C pulls the cup back to himself))
1070	T:		((tries to take the cup from C))
1071	K:	*kore* <u>*zehi*</u> *nonde mite kudasai* "I would <u>really</u> like you to try this."	((off screen))
1072	C:	*a:,* <u>*zehi*</u> *nonde mite kudasai* "Ah, I would <u>really</u> like you to try this."	((C lets go of the cup))
1073		(8.0)	((T tries to take a sip, but move the cup away from his mouth slightly and smells it, then takes a sip slowly)) ((after taking a sip, moves the cup away from his mouth and squints his eyes a several times. Makes no verbal response))
1074	C:	*are*? "Huh?"	((shrugs his head, then smiles))
1075		(4.0)	
1076	T:	*ama:i* "It's swee:::t."	((slowly face others and smiles))
1077	All:	*hhhhhh*=	((laughter))
1078	T:	=*uso* "I lied."	((shakes his head))
1079		*iya nannimo aji shinai* (.) no taste= "No I don't taste anything. No taste."	((turns to C))
1080	C:	=↑no↓ taste (.) not even wate- not not even <u>propolis</u>	((T takes another sip)) ((C points at the bottle))

```
1081        oh ↑may↓be too much        ((lighter tone))
            water
1082        (2.0)                      ((T long shrug))
1083  T:    <anmari aji ga shinai ne>  ((to C, quickly))
            It doesn't taste much.
1084  C:    ah maybe too much water but ((right hand trying to reach for
            (.) ah (.)                 the cup, then shrugs))
1085        <chotto shippai shita>=    ((quickly))
            "[I] made a mistake."
1086  T:    =shi(h)ppai shita:?=       ((laughingly))
            "[You] made a mistake?"
1087  All:  =hhhh ((laughter))
```

Prior to this excerpt, Carl has been demonstrating that the new product dissolves in water quicker than other products in the market by lining up four cups in front of him and dropping a few drops of each product in separate cups. Carl first offers Takashi to taste the propolis dissolved in water in line 1066-1067, because the taste of the product itself is another sales point Carl is going to make. Takashi, on the other hand, seems hesitant to taste it because everyone else in the room has already tried it and he can lose his quality face and *kao* if he fails to identify the taste correctly. Perhaps sensing such anxiety in Takashi, Ken utters his request to try the product in Japanese (line 1071). By putting his *kao* behind Carl's offer, Ken seems to be supporting Takashi's face and encouraging him to taste it. Carl quickly follows it by repeating Ken's line (line 1072). Takashi then tries the propolis in line 1073, but remains silent for eight seconds. Seeing this, Carl becomes impatient and expresses his confusion (line 1074). Takashi takes further four seconds before turning to others and jokingly say "*ama:i*" (it's sweet) in line 1076. This is received with laughter (line 1077), indicating that everyone took this utterance as a joke. Takashi's real answer comes in line 1079, when he turns to Carl

and declares he does not taste anything. By admitting this, Takashi seems to sense that he has lost his credibility as someone who can taste the difference, and takes another sip (line 1080). These two lines of Takashi can be interpreted as follows: rather than making a blunt declarative statement, "I don't taste anything", giving an incorrect answer as a joke eases the tension, reduces the degree of face-loss and makes the interaction continue. This is because the joke changes the context of the interaction from a formal meeting, where one must give a formal reply to a cue, to a more casual context, where the comradery of the interlocutors is emphasised (cf. the super system of *wakimae*, Ide, 2006, pp. 109-112). By making a joke out of a potentially face threatening situation, the answerer may gain respect from others that he/she has a sense of humour, "he/she can make a joke out of a bad situation". Although as a result of the incorrect response, Takashi may have lost his *kao* as a competent president of the company, the degree of loss of his *kao* is reduced or even nullified because of his sense of humour.[20]

In line 1080, Carl also seems to be surprised by Takashi's reaction and quickly comes up with a potential reason for this (line 1081). He then waits until Takashi comes up with the next reply after tasting the propolis again, which also turns out to be negative (line 1083). Carl then repeats his suspicion that he has put too much water (line 1084), then quickly declares "*chotto shippai shita*" (I made a mistake) in line 1085, taking the blame for Takashi's failure to taste the propolis. Carl interactionally avoids Takashi losing his face by sacrificing his quality face, the act referred to in a Japanese expression "*kao o tsubusanai*" (not to cause *kao* to crumble), by framing the entire incident as being his fault. On the surface it appears that his relational goal, to save his

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[20] This may not apply to the notion of face being reclaimed through making a joke out of his own lack of competence because it is not a "positive social value" in Goffmanian sense.

superior's face, seems to take priority over his transactional goal, but his transactional goal is not compromised because by framing it as a mistake, he can gain another chance to ask Takashi to taste the product again. In fact, Takashi asks Carl to add more propolis to his cup so that he can taste it two turns later.

It is also evident from Takashi's behaviour that he is also trying to maintain his own face and *kao* in interaction. As the president and the founder of the company who exports food items to Japan, not being able to taste the item he is about to export can damage his quality face. He attempts to taste the products again when he could not taste it the first time (line 1082) lessens the degree of his (lack of) perception from "*nannimo aji shinai*" (it doesn't taste anything) in line 1079 to "*anmari aji ga shinai ne*" (it doesn't taste much) in line 1083, and to change the tenor of the interaction to that of less serious one by making a joke (line 1076). He also brings out laughter in everyone when Carl admits his fault by starting to laugh first in line 1086, thus creating a less serious atmosphere. All this seems to indicate that Takashi is aware that his face is somewhat threatened and is trying to interactionally uphold it.

The next section will investigate the inter-relationship between power and face in the interactional achievement of face-threat and face-saving observed between interlocutors holding varying degree of social power bases.

4.2 Face Achievement with Interlocutors with Different Power Bases

As seen in the excerpts above, the acceptability of face threat that can be projected seems to vary between interlocutors depending on the status one holds within the company. In this section, I will apply Raven's Bases of Social Power framework

(Raven, 1993) to analyse the inter-relationship between power bases and projected face work. I will first contrast Takashi's projection of face threat to both Carl and Matthew to illustrate the difference derived from the different levels of proficiency in Japanese between the two. I will then consider situations where the perceived distance in power relationship is smaller, namely between Matthew and Carl, then between Matthew and Satomi. I will argue that soft power, namely expert power, as well as hard power, i.e., formal legitimate power, coercive power and reward power based on their positions in the company, held by the different interlocutors affects the strategy used by them when observing others' face.

Excerpt 6 below illustrates an incident that followed in succession to the Excerpt 1 above, where Carl once again loses face. In this excerpt, Takashi reframes Carl's suggestion of getting a list of nutrients by pretending to be a customer as farcical due to Carl's (insufficient) proficiency in Japanese.

```
(6) [Presentation meeting: 0:23:20~]
Carl is responding to Takashi's directive that he finds out further
information about the nutritional content of the prune juice
240  C:   I'll- I'll contact          ((flips pages, starts to take
          ((company)) M                notes, then look up to T))
241  T:   sore wo yaru:- kontakuto     ((gazes at C))
          ((company)) M?
          "If you do - contact
          ((company)) M?"
242       nutrition dete nai no?       ((points at the bottle with left
          kore                         hand, lean forward))
          "Are the nutritional not
          listed on this?"
243  C:   dete nai n desu ne (0.7)     ((picks up and shows the bottle
          "They're not listed."        with left hand while looking at it
                                       himself))
```

244		*kore dake shika dete nai*	((brings the bottle closer to T
		desu ne	while pointing at the relevant
		"There's only this."	part with right hand))
			((T leans closer))
245		(6.0)	((takes the bottle from C and
			looks at the label on it))
			((C takes a step back))
			((M starts taking notes))
246	T:	*((company)) M ni kiite*	((faster, looking at C))
		<u>*oshiete kureru?*</u>	
		"Do you think company M	
		will tell us if we ask?"	
247	C:	*a: ja boku wa okyakusan de:*	((right hand opened in front of
		(0.8)	his chest))
		"Okay, I'll [ask] as a	
		customer,"	
248		I bought the product from	((right arm moved to his right and
		you=	back to front))
249	T:	=*hhhh* ((laughter))	((M shakes head, hand on his
		chotto mate yo:	forehead))
		"Just a moment"	((others starts to laugh))
250		*Caaru wa okyakusan ja ne:*	((leans back, points at C with the
		yo:=	bottle in his left hand))
		"You're not a customer."	
251	C:	=*iya demo* ↑*sore yarikata*	((moves his hands up and down,
		↓*wa minna ano::*=	sounds a bit upset))
		"No, but that method,	
		everyone uhm"	
252	T:	=*iya II kedo Manabu ga yaru*	((gazes at C, then the bottle))
		nara ii kedo	
		"No, that's okay if Manabu	
		does it,"	
253		*Caaru ga yatte ta ra sa:*=	((looks at others))
		"but if you do it then"	
254	All:	*hhhhhhh* ((laughters))	((M right hand on chin, looks at

			T, and shakes his head))
255	T:	=*doko no kuni no hito nano ka=*	((C starts laughing as well)) ((T sits up straight, gaze at C))
		"what nationality is this person"	
256	C:	=↑*SOO* ↓*desu yo ne,* ↓*soo* ↓*desu yo ne, ja*: *Manabu san ni ano*:	((laughing, rocks his body back and forward))
		"That's right, that's right, okay then [I will ask] Manabu, uhm"	
257	T:	*a*↑*yashi*↓*i daro*::?	((gazes at the bottle))
		"It's a bit suspicious."	
258	C:	*Soo desu ne*	((looks down, then looks around to the audience, then to the screen))
		"That's right."	

Carl starts by announcing in line 240 that he will contact the competing company to find out the nutritional contents of the prune juice. Takashi initially repeats what Carl said, then asks whether or not these details are already listed on the bottle in line 242. Upon finding out they are not, he goes on to ask Carl whether he can find out further information by contacting the company directly (line 246). Carl then suggests in line 247 that he can pretend to be a customer when asking that company for the details. However, this suggestion is received with laughter by everyone present (line 249). Takashi points out in line 250 that it would be obvious Carl is not their customer. While Carl initially protests by saying it is a legitimate method to find out the information from the competitor (line 251), Takashi, goes on to point out in lines 251-252, 255 and 257 that while it might be okay for Manabu (the Japanese member of the firm that imports their products to Japan) to use such a strategy, if Carl tried then that (Japanese) company might become suspicious about the identity of the caller, since

Carl's accent and proficiency in Japanese would clearly mark him as non-Japanese. When this is made explicit, Carl finally joins in on the joke (on himself) in line 258, when he starts laughing and accepting that it might be strange for him to do such a thing.

It is clear that Carl's quality face was threatened in this incident because his serious suggestion was treated as a joke and he seems upset as a result in line 251. Through this incident, he was mocked as someone who does not have sufficient proficiency in Japanese language to follow through his suggestion. It is obvious that everyone in the audience does not think highly of Carl's ability in Japanese from their laughter as well as Matthew's obvious exasperation with Carl, apparent from Matthew shaking his head in lines 249 and 254. Thus, it can be concluded that the threat to one's quality face can be projected directly when one's social power base, in this case, Carl's expert power in using Japanese, is not recognised by others.

On the other hand, the projection of a face threat is softened when others recognise the social power base held by the target of face threat. A similar suggestion, which can undermine his ability to use Japanese, was posed to Matthew later in the meeting. In the following excerpt, Takashi suggests that it would be better for Hanako to translate information for their Japanese customers about the juice from Carl's presentation rather than Matthew. In doing so, Takashi is projecting a potential threat to Matthew's face, as it impugns his ability to translate from English into Japanese.

(7) [Presentation meeting: 0:35:05~]

Takashi is discussing the translation into Japanese of a PR sheet containing information from Carl's presentation

584	T:	*de maseyu ga toransureeshon*	((looks at M))
		suru yori mo (.)	((M with right hand on his chin
		"Then, rather than Matthew	looks at T))
		doing the translation,"	
585		*ano hanako san ga*	((scratches nose twice, then
		toransureeshon shita hou ga	turns to C))
		(.) *ii*	((M turns away from T and starts
		"uhm, it would be better if	nodding))
		Hanako did the	((C starts to nod numerous
		translation."	times))
586	C:	*sou desu ne* (0.3) *hai*	((C looks down and starts
		wakarimashita	taking notes))
		"That's right. Yes, I	((C looks down to his notes))
		understand."	
587		(0.5)	
588	T:	*sou suru to maseyu ga dono*	((turns to M))
		kotoba tsukae-ba ii ka tte	
		wakaru kara ne=	
		"If we do that then you will	
		know which words to use."	
589	M:	=*desu ne*=	((softly, nods twice))
		"yes"	
590	T:	=*doo shite mo yappari maseyu*	((faces C, right hand with pen
		mo toransureeshon dekiru	pointing at M))
		kedo::	
		"No matter what, actually	
		Matthew can also do the	
		translation but"	
591	C:	*un*	((nods once))
		"Yeah"	
592	T:	*nihonjin* [*ga nihon no sono*	((T facing C))
		tsukatteru kotoba no	((M starts nodding))
		kankaku de erabu no to ne?=	((C starts nodding))

"Japanese [can] choose with
Japanese, that kind of sense
in picking words"

593	C:	[hmm,	((standing still))
		=hmm	
594		(1.0)	

595	T:	·hhh but (.) *Maseyu ga* (.) *ji-*	((faces M, point at M with the
		jisho de? dictionary *de hiku*	pen in his right hand, then
		no to yappari <u>chigau</u> ka[*ra:*	moves his right hand as if to
		"But Matthew with a dic-	look up a dictionary))
		dictionary, picking words	
		using a dictionary is	
		<u>different</u>."	

| 596 | M: | ((softly)) [*chigaimasu ne* | ((looks at C, then nods to T)) |
| | | "It's different, isn't it?" | |

| 597 | C: | [*u:n* | ((looks at T)) |
| | | "Yeah" | |

| 598 | | (0.5) | |

599	T:	*datte* ((softer tone))	((indicates three with his
		dictionary hiita-tte three	fingers, then gestures to pick
		four words *atte sa:* choose	one with index finger))
		shinakya ikenai	((M keeps nodding))
		"Because even if you look up	
		in a dictionary you must	
		choose from the three or four	
		words there,"	

600		*wake desho*	((faces C))
		"so"	((M still nodding but faces
			down))

| 601 | M: | *hai* | ((nods numerous times)) |
| | | "Yes" | |

602	T:	*soshitara kono baai dore wo*	((right hand points at his
		tsukaeba ii ka tte ittara	note, then moves it to point at
		hanako san no ga wakaru mon	Hanako))
		"So Hanako will know which	((C nods))
		words are best to use in this	((M looks up to T again))

```
          case."
603   C:  un                         ((nods))
          "Yeah"
604   T:  sou sureba Maseyu ga sore ni    ((M nods, then looks down to his
          follow shite ikeba ii dake na   right, then look up to C))
          wake dakara=
          "If we do that then Matthew
          can just follow that so"
605   C:  =un                         ((C starts to face M))
          "Yeah"
606   T:  SOKO made Caaru no toko de   ((C and M look at each other,
          yatte hoshii wake yo=        then nods to T))
          "To THAT POINT, I want you
          [Carl] to do your bit."
607   C:  =wakarimashita              ((nods big))
          "I understand."
```

In line 584, Takashi starts by suggesting that it is better if Hanako translates Carl's presentation, which will eventually be used to promote the product in Japan, rather than Matthew. This can be threatening Matthew's quality face as a competent user of Japanese. In line 585, Matthew breaks direct eye contact with Takashi, possibly feeling his quality face is threatened, although giving a positive backchannel. The threat this suggestion seems to pose to Matthew's face is evident, although prior to this excerpt, Takashi gives Carl another reason for asking Hanako to translate his material, which is to reduce the workload for Matthew who also has to create the PR package for the product. Carl immediately agrees with this point in line 586, because it is he who is told to ask Hanako to translate his work. After a brief pause, Takashi faces Matthew in line 588 to explain that in this way Matthew will have a better idea of which words in Japanese would be most appropriate in developing promotional information for customers. His utterance finishes with *ne* to seek agreement from Matthew. However,

although Matthew again gives positive response in line 589 to Takashi's explanation, he only softly voices his affirmation, which can indicate his discomfort in interpreting this remark as a threat to his expert power and thus face as a competent user of Japanese.

Everyone present at the meeting is well aware of Matthew's ability in Japanese, i.e., it is included in their common ground. In fact, that is why Matthew got his position through a job interview. Takashi quickly attends to this by giving a positive remark on Matthew's ability (line 590), but then goes on to contrast between the translation produced by a native speaker and ones assisted by a dictionary (lines 592 and 595). Matthew verbally agrees with the reason in lines 596, but still does not seem convinced through his non-verbal motions. Takashi's continuing mitigation of the threat through softening of tone of voice in lines 599-600 and outlining benefits to Matthew in line 604 finally seem to lessen the threat to Matthew's face, when he looks at Carl and agrees with what is being said. Takashi then shifts his attention to Carl again in line 606 to ease the projected threat to Matthew. Although the threat to Matthew's quality face has been made in the process of explaining to Carl what he has to do, Takashi makes an effort to lessen the threat due to the comparatively more expert power held by Matthew than Carl. In this way Takashi tries to avoid Matthew losing face (or *kao o tsubusanai*).

The reaction one is allowed to make when a threat to one's face is interpreted seems to vary according to whom the threat was projected by. In Excerpt 1 above, when Carl's work was rejected by Takashi outright, Carl just accepted the projected threat to his face and became an obedient subordinate. By doing so, Carl may have gained his social identity face by showing that he understands his place. In contrast, when a threat to his face was projected by Matthew in Excerpt 8 below, Carl resists it with an

argument.

(8) [Presentation meeting: 0:48:20~]

Matthew points out an error on the label of the prune juice.

874	M:	*ato*	((lifts his face, turn to C))
		"And,"	
875		*nan-do mo itte masu kedo,*	((C turns his head to M))
		"(I) have been saying for numerous times,"	((M raises his right arm))
876	C:	*h[ai*	
		"Yes"	
877	M:	[*sono sutandaado, nihon no*	((lowers his arm, then two hands
		"the standard, the Japanese"	shaking in front of his chest))
878		*sutandaado,*	((leans forward and reach for the
		"standard"	sample bottle with right hand))
			((C looks down to the bottle as well)
879		*ano:*	((grab the bottle and starts to
		"ahm,"	turn to the audiences))
880		*ushiro no raberu ni*	((then looks at the label on the
		"on the back label"	bottle))
881		*koppu ichi-mai de:* (.) [*<ni-hyaku miri de>*	((holding the bottle with right hand in front of him, starts
		"in one cup, in 200 milliliters"	reading the label with left little finger moving across the label))
882	C:	[*so-*	((C raise his notebook to point at
		"tha-"	M, but lowers his arm, then rolls up his notes))
			((T raise his right arm to point at M, but lowers his arm))
883		*ichi-, ichi-nichi bun no sono:*	((raises his face to look at the audience))
		"one day's intake of, ahm"	
884		*tetsu-bun to <nantoka nantoka wo>*	((folds his fingers on left hand to count as he says "*tetsu-bun*" and

               "iron and something else in   "*nantoka nantoka*"))

               one cup"

885   *moraeteru-tte a[ru-n desu*   ((faces the audience and starts to

           kedo sore wa <hontou ka dou>   smile))

           ka,

           "can be taken, but whether

           it is right."

886   N: [hmm   ((off screen))

887   M: *nihon no- nihon no kuni ga*   ((bring the bottle down with right

           tabun sore,   hand and left hand comes up to draw

           "In Japan, in the country of   a square (a document)))

           Japan,"

888   *<sutandaado ga aru> to omou*   ((left hand put to his front))

           n de=

           "because I think there is a

           standard."

889   N: =hmm: ((off screen))

890   M: *airon wa kore ga* recommended ((keeps making square in front of

           de (.)   him))

           "For iron, the recommended

           amount is this."

891   *de amerika no waka-tte ru*   ((brings the bottle up to use as a

           kedo,   pointer to the audience))

           "And we know the American

           (standard),"

892   *nihon no wa chigau to*   ((puts both hands on the bottle in

           omo[imasu node sono kakunin front of him, then pats the label

           wo (   )   twice with his left hand))

           "but I think the Japanese

           one is different, so

           [please] check that."

893   N: [hmm   ((off screen))

894   M: *tabun futatsu wa*   ((puts the bottle down with left

           ichinichi-bun wa torete-ru   hand, but still trying to make

           to omou keredomo   points by moving the bottle sharply

           "I think two [of the three   as he says each word))

		items] can be taken, but,"	((C puts the note down on the table))
895		*demo, hitotsu faibaa ka nanka ga* "but, one, fiber or something,"	((turns his face to C, points his right index finger to C))
896		*torete nai hazu desu* "cannot be taken, I'm sure."	((turns to the audience again, pulls his right hand back under the table))
897	C:	*demo, Naoko san sakki itta toori desu ne,* "But, it is as Naoko just said,"	((picks up the bottle with his right hand and looks at the label))
898		<u>*kore*</u> *ichi-nichi bun* (.) "this is not one day's [recommended intake],"	((points at the label and starts speaking to the audience))
899		*ja naku-te* <u>can</u> help (.) no:= "but [it] 'can help', not -"	((face the audience, gestures to put something in front of him with both hand))
890	M:	=*so: dakara: sore ka, so: iikata wo kaeru* [*ka dou ka*= "Yes, that's why, or [we] change the way we put it."	((left hand extended to C, swish them to C as he makes his point)) ((C looks at M))
891	C:	[hmm:: =ok	

On the back label, there is information about how much of the daily recommended intake of various nutrients can be taken with a standard serve of the product. Matthew pointed out in the interview later that such information can be a good promotional tool for health-conscious products, such as the ones this company sells. However, at the time of the meeting, the information printed on the label was calculated based on the recommended daily intake published by the American authority, not the Japanese one, therefore the information could be incorrect for the Japanese market.

Matthew told me in the interview that he had asked Carl numerous times in the past to confirm if the claimed nutritional intake is correct, but Carl has not acted on it yet. Thus by bringing this issue up in public, he thought Carl may act on it. Matthew starts in lines 874-875 by mentioning that this has been repeatedly asked in the past to strengthen his intended projection of face threat in front of the audience. In line 877, Matthew outlines the potential problem by mentioning the standard, then quoting from the back label that iron and something else can be taken from the 200 milligrams' serve of the product (lines 879-885), and questions the accuracy of the claim. He then goes on to give a reason for his suspicion that the claim is not based on the information provided by the Japanese authority, but the American one (lines 887-892). This query receives attention from the audience, signified by Naoko's backchannelling in lines 886, 889 and 893, suggesting that she thinks this is a valid point too. To strengthen his point, Matthew shows that he knows one of the three main nutrients that this product claims to have in abundance will not satisfy the amount recommended by the Japanese authority (lines 894-896).

However, Carl does not accept Matthew's suggestion at first. He utters a counter argument in line 897, citing the comment previously made by Naoko, that this product is not meant to satisfy the daily recommended intake of various nutrients, but drinking this product "can help" satisfy one's intake of those nutrients. Matthew follows this counter-argument in line 890 that the wording on the label should be changed. Carl finally agrees with Matthew's instruction in line 891.

Throughout the entire recording of the meeting, this is the only time Carl talks back to the superior about the instructions being given to him. This could be the result of the lesser degree of difference in the status and relative power between Carl and

Matthew, compared to between Carl and Takashi. Carl remains agitated while Matthew is taking the floor, which is evident from his non-verbal cues, i.e., rolling up his notebook and squeezing it and attempting to interrupt Matthew in line 882.

The relatively smaller differences in power relationship seem to be perceived by Matthew as well. He uses a number of preparatory strategies to strengthen his exercising of power over Carl. For example, he starts by setting the stage by mentioning Carl's inaction despite his mentioning the issue numerous times (lines 874-875), invoking power of the third party by involving the audience by showing the bottle to them (lines 879-880), and exercising his legitimate power and expert power by telling Carl which of the nutrients fail to satisfy the Japanese standard (lines 894-896). His body movements throughout the excerpt remain rather expansive, perhaps reflecting Matthew's uneasiness and the need to appear strong in projecting this potential face threat. It seems apparent from both of their behaviour that the smaller power difference perceived by the interlocutors allows for the differences in reactions to perceived face threat. From Matthew's point of view, he needs to prepare to exercise his power as a superior by giving detailed background knowledge for the instruction. On the other hand, Carl does not seem to feel that he needs to follow Matthew's instruction straight away.

This also seems to explain why Takashi intentionally rejects Carl's offer to fill in the term he cannot recall in Excerpt 4. In order to influence power, i.e., to make Carl do what he tells him to do, the differences in power bases held between the two interlocutors must be maintained as large as possible in order to maximise his influence. If Takashi accepts Carl's repair, it can reduce the difference in power bases held by the two, thus weakening the authority of the instructions.

However, this particular instance in Excerpt 8 can also be regarded as epistomising the emergence of another aspect of intercultural business communication. While other interactions are between a Japanese superior and a non-Japanese subordinate, this particular interaction is between a non-Japanese superior and a non-Japanese subordinate, although they use Japanese as a means of communication. The expectations they bring to the interaction may be different. While Matthew expects Carl to follow his orders as in any other Japanese superior-subordinate relationship, Carl may think he is allowed to express his views freely with a non-Japanese superior.

Finally, to conclude this section, I will present a situation where interlocutors of a similar status interactionally achieve face in preserving each other's expert knowledge. The situation illustrated in Excerpt 9 below was observed during the office day between Matthew and Satomi, working on the label of a fruit juice. They have exchanged the draft design through email prior to this interaction, so they each have a copy of the draft with them. When making suggestions on what to include in the label, both listen and accept the work each other has done in their respective fields.

While seated at their respective desks, Matthew and Satomi are working on a print-out of the label for a fruit juice. The point of discussion is whether to include a graphic description of how much lycopene, a nutrient commonly found in tomatoes, is contained in one serve of the juice. Matthew seems to think it is important to include this information on the label so that the consumers can easily see the benefit of taking the product, but at the same time, he respects Satomi's expertise in designing the label. As a designer, Satomi's job is to design a label that suits the product, while Matthew's job, as a marketing manager, is to make sure the information contained on the label

reflects the true nature of the product and to maximise the marketability of the product. The label in question here currently has two distinctive features: one that explains the health benefit of the fruit juice in a paragraph, and another, a graphic depiction of how much nutrients can be taken with a single serve of the product.

(9) [Office day: 11:02AM]
Matthew and Satomi drafting a label for a fruit juice together

14	M:	*kore mo kaita hou ga ii to omoimasu*	((lifting a piece of paper over the bookshelf and shows S while pointing at it))
		"I think we should write this too."	
15	S:	( )	((leans forward to see the paper))
16	M:	*kore: hitotsu no koppu ni ni-ko bun toka=*	((looks at S briefly, then back to paper))
		"As for this, in one cup, [it equals to] two [lemons] and"	
17	S:	*=un*	
		"Yeah"	
18	M:	*kore i-kko han [bun*	
		"As for this, [in one cup it equals to] one and half."	
19	S:	[*un*	
		"Yeah"	
20	M:	*koko ni wa kaite aru-n dakedo:=*	
		"It is written here, but"	
21	S:	*=un*	
		"Yeah"	
22		(3.0)	
23	M:	*kono hen ni demo kono e wo ireru-n dattara: koko ni mo*	
		"But if you are going to put this picture around here, then"	

24		*ireta hou ga*	
		"it should be included here too,"	
25	S:	*un*	
		"yeah"	
26	M:	*wakari yasui to omou*	((become softer towards the end))
		"so that it is easier [for the customers] to see, I think."	
27	S:	↑*RE*↓*mon ga sa*: *demo wakaranai jan*	((takes the paper from M))
		"But [we] don't know about lemon, do we?"	
28	M:	( )	
29		(5.0)	
30	S:	*tomato koko ni sa*: *tomato ni-hyaku miri rittoru de tomato ni-ko bun te iu fuu ni kakeru kedo sa*:	((takes the paper from M and looks at it))
		"[We] can write about tomato, in 200 milliliters there are equivalent of two tomatoes, but"	
31		*ja*: *remon wa tte koto ni natta toki ni*	
		"when we are asked, 'well, how about lemon?'"	
32	M:	*Un*	
		"Yeah"	
33	S:	*nante ( ) shitara*	
		"how can we ( )"	
34	M:	*shiraberu?*	
		"[Should we] find it out?"	
35		(2.5)	
36	S:	<u>*do*</u> *shiyou ka* (3.0) *un sou*	((puts the paper on the desk, twist
		"What should we do...? hmm,	her head, then pick up the paper

		yeah"	again))
37		*dakara atashi koko no e ni wa kakanakatta-n dayo=* "that's why I didn't put it on this picture."	((leans forward and examines the paper on the desk))
38	M:	*=u::n* "Yeah::"	
39	S:	<u>bun</u>*shou de hidari-gawa ni kaitoita-n da yo* "I put that in a paragraph on the left"	
40	M:	*u::n* "We::ll,"	
41		(20.0)	((M stays still at his desk)) ((S looks around and shuffles paper on her desk))
42	M:	*atta hou ga ii to omou-n dattara kantan ni shirabereru to omou-n dakedo* "if you think [that information] should be there, then I can easily find it out."	
43		*<hitsuyou nano kana:> kore mo* "I wonder if this is really necessary."	
44	S:	<u>*HONto ni cho*</u>*tto desho* (.) *go-paasento miman dakara ne* "It's really a small amount, isn't it? It's under 5%."	
45	M:	<u>*iya*</u> *iya iya motto* (.) *motto aru motto aru* "No, no, no, more. It has more. It has more."	

```
46    S:   ↑a sou↓ na no?
           "Ah, is that really?"
47    M:   they are organic
48    S:   a sou na no
           "Ah, is that really."
49    M:   desho (.) ja:
           "It is, isn't is? So,"
50    S:   a: sou da ne ja: shirabete
           sa:
           "Ah, that's right. Then you
           find it out, and"
51    M:   un
           "Yeah"
```

Matthew starts in lines 14 by suggesting additional information to be included in the label. He goes into details to explain that the information on how much lycopene can be taken in one serve of the product should be included in the picture on the label as well as in the paragraph form (lines 16, 18, 20 and 23-24), so that the potential customers can easily understand the information (line 26). Satomi backchannels along the way to show that she follows Matthew's argument (lines 17, 19, 23 and 25), but when Matthew finishes his turn, she gives her reason for not including the information on the picture (lines 27, 30-31 and 33). Namely, because if she depicts the lycopene content in terms of equivalent amount in tomatoes, she will have to do the same with the other main ingredients, lemon, but she does not have that information at hand. By giving such a reason, she implies rejection of Matthew's suggestion, and thus shows sensitivity to his face. That is, the rejection is not based on her not accepting his expert knowledge in marketing, but rather her lack of the required information. When this concern is made known, in line 34, Matthew offers to find that information so that Satomi can put it on the label. But Satomi seems less enthusiastic about it. After taking

time to express her confusion in line 36, she repeats the reason for not putting in the information in the picture form again in lines 37 and 39. After that, they take quite a long time to think about the issue (line 41).

After a twenty-second pause, Matthew seems to give in to Satomi's direction in line 42 by giving her the choice to decide whether the information should go in or not, "*atta hou ga ii to omou-n dattara*" (if you think [that information] should be there), thereby respecting her expertise in designing the label. While doing so, he has not given up on the idea of including the information, shown through his next line "*kantan ni shiraberareru to omou-n dakedo*" (I can easily find it out). However, he becomes a little hesitant in line 43, and adds quickly "*hitsuyou nano kana: kore mo*" (I wonder if this is really necessary).

Upon hearing this, Satomi gives another reason for hesitating to include the suggestion, because she thought the content of the nutrient is negligible, thinking it is under five percent. In response to this, Matthew quickly negates her by repeating "*iya*" (no) three times and "*motto aru*" (it has more) twice to strengthen his point. Satomi seems to be surprised by this, shown through the intonation of her backchannelling in line 42. Matthew gives the reason for the higher content of the nutritional in line 43 by switching to English, "they are organic". After another backchannel from Satomi, Matthew seeks agreement from Satomi in line 49, and implies that she should follow his suggestion through a single Japanese sentence final particle "*desho*" (it is, isn't it?). According to Kamio (2002, p. 26), *desho* indicates that the speaker knows about the information being spoken and is more certain of the fact than the hearer, but the speaker assumes that the hearer also knows enough about the information as well. Thus, Matthew is exerting his expert knowledge in the product. Satomi finally seems to

be convinced in line 50 and asks Matthew to find out the correct information to be included in the label, to which Matthew agrees in line 51.

The interaction could have been highly threatening to each other's face because they both have to defend their position while persuading the other. However, there seems to be no overt threat to each other's face once their positions are known to each other, and they both seem to respect each other's expert knowledge, i.e., expert power. In the absence of hard power between interlocutors of similar status, it seems that overt threats to face is not used to avoid clear opposition to each other's opinion, except for perhaps Matthew's initial suggestion to make his position clear. Their positions to include or not to include the information are reinforced with reasons given in each turn. Interactional goals are thus achieved at the same time as they attend to relational goals.

So far, I have shown that both interactional goals and relational goals are attended to in Japanese business communication and sensitivity to each other's face is shown where needed. It seems to be connected to the degree of face (*kao*) and power held by the interlocutors that determines the acceptability of a projected face threat. Therefore in order to strengthen the effect of face threat, one must prepare all available power bases and avoid losing face to maximise the perceived differences in power bases held by the interlocutors before delivering the face-threatening utterance. The reactions allowed to a given face threat also seem to be determined by the perceived differences in the degree of power and face held between the interlocutors.

The subsequent sections will investigate the effect of repair and codeswitching, the interactional devices that are primarily used to achieve transactional goals in

NS-NNS interactions, and their inter-relationship with face and power.

4.3 Repair: Achieving Interactional Goals

Repairs are considered to be face threatening to the speaker of the trouble source utterance because the information contained in the trouble source is not accepted by hearers for some reason (Robinson, 2006). Thus it can be argued that an initiation of repair by an interlocutor with less power directed to an interlocutor with more power may be more threatening to their face than other way around, that is, a repair initiated by a member with a higher status. However, in the situations observed, repairs in NS-NNS business communication do not seem to affect the face of the interlocutors as much as anticipated. Rather, the achievement of interactional goals seems to overshadow relational goals by suppressing individual's interpretation of face threat. The flow of interaction is maintained despite possible face-loss incurred to an interlocutor.

Although Svennevig (2008) has categorised situations where repairs are carried out into three types, i.e., (1) clarify hearing, (2) clarify understanding, and (3) challenge the acceptability, of the statement, I could not find an instance of a repair on the basis of a hearing issue in the collected data. Although repair patterns resembling such situation were observed, they were actually clarifying meaning or acceptability of the statement carried out as hearing issue, as argued by Svennevig (2008). One such instance was in Excerpt 6 above, when Takashi repeats Carl's suggestion "contact Company M?" in line 241, which could be considered as a repair initiation based on the format of hearing problem, but as it turns out, it is more to do with the acceptance of the content of Carl's utterance.

It also seems that grammatical errors made in NNS's utterances cannot be categorised as a hearing issue, because upon the initiation of other repair, NNS may correct the error, making it a repair on the basis of understanding issue. In light of such considerations, the two subsections below will analyse instances of repairs based on understanding issues and acceptability issues, in relation to face and power held by interlocutors.

4.3.1 Repair of Understanding Issues

Most of the repairs that occurred in the recorded interactions seem to fall in this category. The repair initiation occurs when an interlocutor has trouble comprehending the content of trouble source utterance made by others. As mentioned above, I will also include repairs of grammatical errors in NNS's utterance in this section as well because the initiation of repairs of this type is obviously motivated by non-understanding of such utterances.

It seems from the data that a threat to face may be perceived by either of the interlocutors, both speaker of the trouble source and the initiator of other repair, depending on what is being repaired. The higher the status of an interlocutor, the more threat to their face (or *kao*) thay may feel if the understanding issue occurs as a result of lack of prior communication and sharing of knowledge between the interlocutors.

However, any threat to face seems to dissipate quickly upon completion of the repair sequence. When the repair sequence completes, the discussion goes on as originally intended, ignoring the possible threat to face incurred by the repair. The achievement of interactional goals seems to take priority over relational goals.

In this section, I will present excerpts of interactions to contrast situations

when a repair is initiated by an interlocutor with a higher status on the trouble source

utterance made by an interlocutor with a lower status with ones when a repair is

initiated by an interlocutor with a lower status on the utterance made by in interlocutor

with a higher status.

Excerpt 10 below was observed at the beginning of the second meeting in which

Matthew reports to Ken the timeline for introducing new products to the market. While

reporting, Ken, who holds a higher position in the company than Matthew, has trouble

understanding Matthew's reasons for introducing the products in the order he reports.

(10) [Report meeting: 0:01:45~]
While Matthew outlines the timeline for product rollout, Ken fails to
understand the reason for the rollout to occur in the order presented.

26	M:	*hai son-tsugi wa ichi-ge,* ah	((reading from his notebook))
		ichi-gatsu ni puruun juusu	
		"Yes. Then next, prune juice	
		in January."	
27		(2.0)	((K taking notes,))
28	K:	*a ni-gatsu-tte iwanakatta*?=	((but lifts his head up towards the
		"Ah, did you not say February	end to look at M))
		[before]?"	
29	M:	=*sou desu kedo <hontou wa*	((K looks down to his notebook))
		ichi-gatsu ni appuru saidaa	
		binegaa> de:	
		"Yes, originally [we	
		planned to introduce] apple	
		cider vinegar in January	
		and"	
30		*<ni-gatsu ni puruun juusu*	
		datta-n desu> kedo:	
		"prune juice in February,"	
31	K:	*un*	

"Yeah"

32	M:	*desuga*: *e*::*to*::: (4.5)
		"But, hmm::::::"
33		*chotto <henkou ni natta-n>*	((K briefly looks up to M, then
		desu yo (.) *naze ka-tte iu*	looks down to his notebook))
		to:
		"The plan has been changed
		slightly, because"
34		<u>*binegaa juusu binegaa juusu*</u>	((M moves his head right-left))
		ni narisou datta-n de
		"it would have become
		vinegar juice vinegar
		juice."
35	K:	*un*
		"yeah"
36	M:	*chotto* ( ) *tte*
		kaemashita
		"It's a bit ( ), so we
		changed."
37		(2.5)
38	K:	*binegaa juusu binegaa juusu*	((shifts himself in his seat, then
		tte douiu imi	starts speaking))
		"What do you mean by vinegar
		juice vinegar juice?"
39	M:	*ano*:: *saisho ore no puran*	((sits up, looks to his right
		desu to ima mottekite nai-n	briefly, then back to his
		desu kedo	notebook))
		"Hmm::, in my original plan,
		I don't have it here with me
		right now but,"
40		*e*:*to*: *ichi-gatsu ga*:
		binegaa de: (.) *de ni-gatsu*
		ga juusu de: (.) *san-gatsu ga*
		raamen de (.) *de binegaa*
		juusu
		"well, vinegar in January,

```
        juice in February, noodles
        in March, then vinegar and
        juice,"
41      dakara binegaa juusu raamen       ((moves his head as he speaks each
        binegaa juusu=                    word))
        "so vinegar, juice,
        noodles, vinegar, juice"
42   K: =a: naruhodo ne                   ((nods a few times))
        "Oh, I see."
```

The whole meeting is based on Matthew and Carl reporting to Ken. As such,
the meeting starts with Matthew explaining to Ken what has been discussed with
Takashi prior to this meeting. Excerpt 10 starts in line 26, where Matthew continues
reporting the plan for products rollout. He mis-speaks once, but repairs himself within
the same turn. To this, after a brief pause, Ken asks for clarification on the basis of
acceptability in line 28 because it differs from his prior knowledge of the rollout plan.
Matthew responds to this by explaining that there has been a slight change of plan
(lines 29-33). Then he gives a reason for the change by commenting "*binegaa juusu
binegaa juusu ni narisou datta-n de*" (it would have become vinegar juice vinegar juice)
in line 34. Although Ken gives a backchannel in line 35, after Matthew completes
another turn in line 36, he takes some time to think about the trouble source (line 34)
and initiates repair to clarify his understanding of Matthew's reasons in line 38,
"*binegaa juusu binegaa juusu tte douiu imi?*" (what do you mean by vinegar juice
vinegar juice?). To this, Matthew starts by giving the background of the original plan
and outlines the order of rollout month by month, thus explaining the order the new
products are introduced will be vinegar, juice noodle, vinegar and juice (lines 39-41).
Ken finally gives a sign that he understands what Matthew means in line 42.

It is notable that Ken's repair initiation in line 38 did not occur as a next-turn repair immediately after the trouble source, which was in line 34 (Schegloff et al., 1977; cf. Schegloff, 2000). Even then, Ken takes 2.5 seconds (line 37) before initiating the repair. Although Schegloff (2000, pp. 219-220) presents similar cases where repairs can occur after giving a response to the trouble source utterance, he does not seem to provide definite reasons for it. In this particular instance, however, it could be the result of Ken's perceived face-loss. When Ken initiates a repair in line 28 based on acceptability issues on Matthew's prior utterance, he seems a little surprised with the information. Until that point, he has been taking notes, but as he initiates the repair, he lifts his face up from his notebook to look at Matthew. It later became clear in the interview that the rollout plan was changed without him knowing. Being in the position to oversee Matthew and Carl's work, it is threatening to Ken's *kao* not to have the same information because otherwise he cannot maintain his face in relation to his subordinates' face, as discussed in Section 4.1.2. Thus, the change without his knowledge can be perceived as a face-threat (see Section 4.3.2 for repairs on the basis of acceptability issues). Because line 34 constitutes a part of Matthew's explanation of the reason for the change, for Ken not to understand it can further threaten his face. Thus, he probably did not want to admit that he did not understand the trouble source utterance immediately after it because it can weaken his *kao*. After some time to consider the meaning of line 34, while Matthew completes his explanation in line 36 and a further 2.5-second pause in line 37, Ken finally decides to initiate repair based on understanding issue. When he asks in line 38, he sits up in his seat to create a more formal context, thus framing his repair initiation as a formal question from a superior to a subordinate to reduce the degree of face threat to Ken.

Matthew also appears to be hesitant in providing explanations for Ken's request for clarification, as he pauses numerous times in lines 39 and 40. His hesitance can be explained by his attitude towards this interaction. It was mentioned in the interview that Matthew considers this meeting, to report to Ken on the results of his meeting with Takashi earlier, to be a waste of time, because Ken is relatively new to this company and prior to Ken joining the company, the work has been progressing smoothly without him. Despite such feelings, Matthew provided the information that Ken requested, thus contributing to maintaining the power relationship between them.

After exchanging the reason for the change, Ken seems content with Matthew's explanation and moves on to the next topic as if the threat to his face never occurred. Matthew also continues with his report without further hesitations. The achievement of transactional goals seems to be taking priority in this interaction, while the maintenance of their power relationship, i.e., the relational goal, was also attended to despite display of hesitance by both Ken and Matthew. This occurred in the similar manner to Excerpt 4, in which Takashi's face was saved by Naoko who provided the translation. The faces of the interlocutors are thus interactionally maintained.

Excerpt 11 illustrates repairs being initiated by Carl of Ken's utterances on the basis of understanding while discussing how to reduce the cost of packaging teabags. Carl fails to understand the reason given by Ken for not using zip-lock bags to package teabags.

(11) [Report meeting: 0:23:10~]

Ken is explaining how packaging for teabags can be managed, which attracts a clarification from Carl.

407   K: *sore ni tsumete sa: shiiru*   ((faces M, speaks fast))
               shite sa kondo dekai baggu ni   ((gestures of a bag in front of him,
               ireru tte sagyou ni naru-n da   uses right hand to gesture putting
               kedo (.)   something in it))
               "So [we will] put [the
               teabags] in it [small bags],
               seal it, then put them into
               a bigger bag, that's
               basically what we'll do."

408   *sono baggu da yo ne tatoeba*   ((nods numerous times, faces C,
               ((company)) B no ( ) aru   fingers crossed))
               kedo tsukau beki nanoka (.)   ((looks at C and M alternately))
               "(I'm talking about) that   ((C nods once))
               bag. For example, whether we
               should use the bag from
               ((company)) B,"

409   *motto yasui baggu ga aru no*   ((faces C, then M))
               ka (.) *sakki hanashita*   ((gestures of a bag, sealing the
               ((company)) H no sa: ano   top of it))
               nanka
               "or is there a cheaper bag?
               I told you about ((company))
               H's, that"

410   C: *jippurokku=*   ((right index finger pointing at
               "Zip-lock"   the gestured bag))

411   K: *=ji- jippurokku de iku no ka*   ((gazes at M))
               (.) *osoraku nihon ja*   ((C touches his head with left
               jippurokku nante kiite nai   hand))
               kara ne (.)
               "Should we use zip-lock.
               [The importer in] Japan
               wouldn't expect zip-lock"

412   <u>*kowai*</u> *kara*   ((looks slightly to his left, then

		"because it's scary."	gazes back to M))
413		(0.7)	((C blinks twice,))
414	C:	*kowai?*	((then tilts his head))
		"Scary?"	((K looks at C))
415	K:	*rosu- rosu seefu tte iu desho*: <u>*nani*</u> *ga haitteru ka wakannai janai* (2.0) *wakaru*?	((straight face, briefly looks at M, then back to C, then gazes at M with slight nods))
		"You know the term 'loss safe'? [we] don't know what's inside. Do you know what I mean?"	((C nods and faces down)) ((M stays still))
416	M:	<u>*shiiru*</u> *saretenai kara*	((head moves up slightly))
		"Because [the bag] is not sealed."	
417	K:	*U:N shiiru saretenai kara (5.0) to iu ka ikani yasuku dekiru ka da yo ne*	((nods)) ((sits up in his chair, while gazing at M and nods))
		"RIGHT, [it is] not sealed. Anyway, [it's the matter of] how cheaply we can do it."	((M nods back))

Ken first explains the proposed packaging procedure (line 407) and identifies where costs can be cut (lines 408-409). During his turn, only non-verbal backchannelling from both Matthew and Carl is observed. Ken also speaks almost motionlessly except for various gestures to indicate the packaging process. When he gives the name of the products they can choose to use in line 409, he seems to not be able to recall the name of the bag produced by Company H, but gestures the shape and type of the bag as a self-initiated repair. This is followed by Carl naming the product (line 410), which acts as other-repair. Ken continues explaining his point in line 411 after repeating the product name, suggesting he does not feel his face is threatened.

This seems to contradict the reaction of Takashi observed in Excerpt 4 above, when Takashi did not acknowledge such repair from Carl in line 389 (see Section 4.1.2). The differences in reactions and thus perceived face-threat seem to stem from differences between the contexts of the interactions. In Excerpt 4, Takashi was influencing his legitimate power, and possibly coercive power as well, over Carl to include certain information on the promotional materials, thus maintenance of the difference in face and power relationship as a superior and a subordinate was necessary. On the other hand, in this case, Ken's transactional goal is to jointly establish with Matthew and Carl how costs can be cut in packaging teabags. The difference in power relationship that is required in this case is perhaps not as great as in Excerpt 4, thus the degree of face threat to Ken is less than what was interpreted by Takashi[21].

In line 411, Ken continues with his explanation and mentions that using zip-lock bags may not be a good idea. After a brief pause, he concludes his turn with the phrase "*kowai kara*" (because it's scary) in line 412. This prompts an other-initiation of a repair by Carl in line 414, probably not understanding why it is "*kowai*" (scary) to use zip-lock bags (a repair on the basis of understanding issue). Ken starts to explain why it is scary to use zip-lock bags in line 415. However, his explanation does not fully explain it, leaving Matthew and Carl silent for a while. After a two-second pause, Ken asks Matthew "*wakaru*?" (do you know what I mean?). To this, Matthew responds "*shiiru sarete nai kara*" (because it is not sealed) in line 416. Ken follows it in line 417 with a positive token and continues with his explanation.

In the interview, Ken mentioned that he wishes Carl and Matthew to know

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[21] Ken's relatively shorter period of service at this company may also have contributed to the lesser degree of power differences perceived between Ken, Matthew and Carl. See also the previous section where Matthew comments this meeting is a "waste of time" (p.187)

about the characteristics of the Japanese market. The question "*wakaru?*" in line 415 seems to be his way of testing Matthew about his understanding of the market. At the same time, Ken seems to be exerting his expert power over Carl and Matthew. Japanese consumers are very particular about the safety of the food they buy. Introducing a product that cannot guarantee that it is not contaminated will not sell, and a zip-lock bag, which enables an easy access to open and re-seal the bag, cannot guarantee that. By jointly establishing why it is scary to use zip-lock, and seeing both Matthew and Carl understand the issue, Ken moves on to the next turn after a 5-second pause.

The differences in the context of communication, i.e., the intended transactional goals, seem to affect the degree of face-threat incurred by repairs. While repairs on trouble sources uttered by an interlocutor who is attempting to influencing power over others can be threatening to his/her face, if no such attempt is being made, a threat to face of the interlocutors may be minimised. If cooperative achievement of transactional goals is necessary, it appears that face threat may not be perceived as strongly or ignored altogether, as observed in Excerpts 10 and 11, because sharing of information and negotiation of meaning, which is facilitated by repairs, is a necessary part of such processes.

On the other hand, Carl does not appear to perceive any threat to his face from initiating the repair based on understanding issues in line 414. The perception of face threat from the perspective of an interlocutor with lower status will be analysed next.

In Excerpt 12 below, Matthew initiates a repair when he overhears the name "Ms. Kato" is mentioned by Naoko, who has just initiated an interaction with Carl. However, because Matthew's referent of Ms. Kato is different from Naoko's referent,

Naoko completes the repair sequence to repair Matthew's understanding. The whole repair sequence completes without anyone apparently perceiving face threat.

(12) [Office day: 12:00PM]
Naoko repairs Matthew's misconception of Ms. Kato of Company A

1	N:		((hangs up the phone))
2	N:	*Caaru kinou denwa atta-no*	((off screen))
		tte ((company)) A no Kato san	
		dakke	
		"Carl, the person who called	
		you yesterday, was that Ms.	
		Kato of Company A?"	
3	C:	*sou desu ne=*	((off screen))
		"Yeah that's right."	
4	N:	*=sou da yo ne* (3.5) *nanka po:*	((off screen))
		tto[22] *shiteru youna hito*	
		datta	
		"That is right, isn't it?	
		(3.5) She sounded a bit	
		immature."	
5	M:	*Kato san?*	((turns his head to N))
6		(1.0)	
7	N:	*((company)) A no Kato san* (.)	((slower, clearer pronunciation))
		atta koto aru?	((M nods once))
		"Ms. Kato of Company A. Have	
		you met her before?"	
8	M:	*tabun nai*	
		"I don't think so."	

After Naoko hangs up the phone, she asks Carl in line 2 if the person who called him yesterday was the same person to whom she was talking right now, Ms. Kato

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[22] *Po: tto* is a Japanese onomatopoeia that describes one's state of mind as being blank. Being on the telephone, Naoko has only heard Ms. Kato speak, but got the impression from how she speaks that Ms. Kato's mind is blank. Thus the translation "immature" was derived, to refer to someone whose intellect has not fully developed.

of company A. When Carl confirms that in line 3, Naoko follows immediately with a response token. Then after a short pause, she goes on to express her impression of Ms. Kato in line 4. Upon hearing this, Matthew suddenly joins in the interaction in line 5 by turning his head to Naoko and initiating a repair based on his understanding of Ms. Kato's characteristics. Naoko completes the repair sequence in line 7 after a brief pause by saying "((*company*)) *A no Kato san*" (Ms. Kato of Company A) with a slower pace and clearer pronunciation. Naoko then asks Matthew if he knows her, to which Matthew replies negatively in line 8.

In the later interview, Naoko explained her slower and clearer utterance in line 7 was because there are two Ms. Katos whom this company deals with: one from company A, and one from another company. At the time, Naoko's impression was that Matthew may know one of them but not both, and wanted to avoid confusing the two Ms. Katos, especially after her rather negative comment about Ms. Kato from company A. That suspicion also led her to ask the subsequent question in line 6 to confirm if Matthew knows Ms. Kato from company A in order to clear the confusion.

In this excerpt, both Naoko and Matthew do not seem to have interpreted any face threat. Although Naoko's slower and clearer pronunciation in line 6 appears to be the result of her perceived face-loss caused by Matthew's repair initiation, its intended goal as discussed above was to clear up Matthew's confusion[23]. Matthew's face does not appear to be affected either, because the initiation of repair did not change Naoko's evaluation of Matthew's ability or knowledge, which forms a part of his face; Naoko suspected from the beginning of the interaction that Matthew may not know Ms. Kato

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[23] It is possible that the interview comment may not reflect the true intention of the utterance at the time of interaction. However, the fact that the perceived face-loss was not mentioned in the interview can be taken as an indication that face-loss did not have a long-lasting effect and dicipated quickly after the interaction.

from company A. It appears from this excerpt, as well as from the previous one, the interlocutor with lower status do not interpret a face threat when he/she initiates a repair based on understanding issues, if he/she is not expected to understand the trouble source utterance. The superiors, too, do not seem to persue the lack of understanding by the subordinate with a further face threat, as seen in Takashi's utterances in Excerpt 1, if they do not expect their subordinates to understand. Rather, they seem to place priority in achieving transactional goals, i.e., to negotiate meanings.

Similarly, when a NNS's language ability is a direct cause of the repair, the judgement of face threat seems to depend on the expectations on the NNS's language ability held by the interlocutors in the given situation. In the observed interactions, Matthew, who is more proficient in Japanese, seems to perceive threats to his face more frequently than Carl. For example, in Excerpt 4 above, when Takashi asked Matthew for the translation of "*chokkei*" (diameter) in line 399, Takashi seemed to expect Matthew to know the translation of the term, as when Matthew failed to provide the correct translation in line 400, Takashi repeated the same question in line 401. When Naoko provided the translation in line 402, Matthew's response was "*a⦂⦂ diameter ne*" (ah⦂⦂, you mean diameter), with the final particle *ne*. Kamio suggests that the use of *ne* marks the information uttered in the same sentence is known more by the Hearer than the Speaker, but the Speaker also has a certain level of understanding to know that the information is true (Kamio, 2002, p. 27). Matthew's response implies that he had also known the word in English. This could indicate that he perceived face threat for not being able to provide the translation, especially when he was called upon as an expert in English by Takashi and that information plays a key role in continuing his making

points to Carl.

On the other hand, if the NNS is not expected to know the Japanese terms, and such expectation does not become the foundation of the subsequent interactions, there seems to be no face threat being incurred. The next excerpt was also observed during the office day, after Excerpt 12. When Naoko finishes making another phone call to company A, she starts sharing her further impression of company A, but before that she asks Matthew if he knows the Japanese term "*uguisu jou*" (nightingale lady) while he was working on an unrelated task.

(13) [Office day: 12:25PM]
Naoko shares her impression of Company A by asking Matthew if he knows the Japanese term "*uguisu jou*" (nightingale lady)

1	N:		((N hangs up the phone))
2	N:	*((company)) A sugoi ne*: (.) *uguisu jou tte shitteru?* "((Company)) A is unbelievable. Do you know 'uguisu jou' (nightingale lady)?"	((M turns to N))
3	M:	huh?=	
4	N:	=*Maseyu uguisu jou sugoi koe ga kirei na hito de*: *nanka*: (.) *depaato no annai wo shi*[*tari toka*: " 'Uguisu jou' (nightingale lady), Matthew, a lady with beautiful voice, who [is hired to] give information at a department store, for example."	((off screen))
5	M:	[*un un un* "yeah yeah yeah"	((gazing at N))

6	N:	*suru <u>ima</u> denwa deta hito*	
		<kato san> wa sou ja nai kedo	
		(.) sou iu kanji	
		"that sort of things. Not Ms.	
		Kato, but the person who took	
		my phone now was just like	
		that."	
7	M:		((nods twice))
8	N:	*marude <nanka watashi wa*	((S lifts her face from her desk and
		nihon no depaato ni iruno:>	looks at N))
		tte sakkaku suru youna kanji	
		no sugoi shaberikata suru	
		"The way she spoke made me	
		feel as if I was in a	
		department store in Japan."	
9		*nan nan darou ((company)) A*	((M slowly turns back to his desk))
		tte iu no wa	
		"What is it about company A?"	
10	M:	*ne (.) sugoi toko desu ne*	((smiles to N, then stands up and
		"Yeah, it's a weird place."	walks to the printer))

Since this is the second telephone conversation she had with company A during the day, when Naoko finishes talking, she starts sharing her impression of company A with others in the office. In order to better illustrate her point, she starts by asking Matthew if he knows the Japanese term "*uguisu jou*" (nightingale lady) in line 2. In the later interview, Naoko told me that because the topic of company A has been raised several times during the day already, and every piece of information they have on company A leads them to believe that the company is "weird", Naoko wanted to share the latest information with Matthew. The question was asked to get Matthew's attention as well as to establish common ground for the subsequent interaction. Matthew did not know the term, so he initiates repair on the basis of understanding so

that the question may be repeated (line 3). To this Naoko repeats the term and starts

explaining what nightingale lady is in line 4. Matthew responds with a backchannel

(line 5) and Naoko goes on to share her impression of the person to whom she was

talking on the phone (lines 6-8) and concludes with a question, "*nan nan darou*

((company)) A tte iu no wa" (what is it about company A?) in line 9. Matthew then gives

an agreement to Naoko's assessment of the company in line 10.

The way Naoko responds to Matthew's repair initiation by explaining the term

without any gap in interaction (line 4) indicates that she did not expect Matthew to

know the Japanese term. Matthew also listens to Naoko's explanation attentively and

gives backchannels to show his understanding in lines 5 and 7. There seems to be no

threat to face projected or interpreted by anyone involved in this interaction. Naoko's

intention for starting this interaction was to share her impression with others

(transactional goals) and to build solidarity amongst the workers (relational goals), not

to find out if Matthew knows the Japanese term, and Matthew's negative reply did not

change the course of the interaction. Matthew, whose lack of knowledge of the Japanese

term "*uguisu jou*" became apparent, does not seem to be affected by this either, because

knowledge of the term was not expected by either of the interlocutors.

As indicated before, the common ground shared by the workers in company S

seems to include the linguistic expectation of the NNSs as well, and it influences

subsequent repair by NS interlocutors. Although the pattern of repair initiation follows

that of hearing issues as described by Svennevig (2008, see also Section 2.1.1), NS

interlocutors seem to understand why particular repairs are initiated. For example, in

Excerpt 11, when Carl initiates repair in line 414 by repeating Ken's prior line "*kowai*?"

(scary?), Ken follows it by explaining why it is scary to use zip-lock rather than explaining the meaning of the Japanese term. In Excerpt 13, when Naoko received Matthew's repair initiation in line 3, a prototypical repair initiation pattern on the basis of hearing, i.e., indicating his non-hearing with "huh?" (Svennevig, 2008, p. 338, see also Table 1 in Section 2.1.1), she understands it as a sign of Matthew not knowing the term and starts explaining it. Such understandings of the intention of repair initiation also seem to minimise the chance of threatening NNS's face and maximise the achievement of transactional goals. The common ground, whether the NNS is expected to have the linguistic knowledge, also seems to be the basis for interpreting whether a face threat can be perceived or not.

Finally, Excerpt 14 illustrates a situation when Carl's utterance could not be understood by the interlocutors because of a number of grammatical errors in it. As noted by earlier researchers, not all grammatical errors are repaired in the interaction (e.g., Wong, 2000, 2005). The criteria for repair seem to be the understandability of the erroneous utterances. Interlocutors seem to observe the Cooperative Principle (Grice, 1989) and assume an grammatically inaccurate utterance is qualitatively and relationally valid, thus reconstructing the meaning in a plausible way and ignoring the error, unless such reconstruction of meaning is impossible.

Regardless of being repaired or not, there seems to be no face threat incurred by grammatical errors. In this excerpt, taken from the report meeting, Carl makes a suggestion on how to keep the cost of packaging teabags low by creating a cost standard, but the timing for creating the cost standard is not understood because of the grammatical error involved in his utterance.

(14) [Report meeting: 0:24:30~]

While discussing how to keep the cost of packaging the teabag low, Carl makes a suggestion but it does not come out grammatically accurately.

428   K: *iya so↑re:: ↓roku shurui*   ((to C, points at C with his pen,
           demo ii-n da yo <yousuruni>   then pen on his chin))
           jinkenhi toka sono sagyo
           chin da yo ne
           "Well, about that, 6
           varieties are alright, but
           <in a nutshell> [the issue
           is] labour and work-related
           costs."

429   C: *un*   ((to K, nods once))
           "Yeah"

430   K: *souiu sagyo chin takaku*   ((to C, sits still))
           nareba naru hodo sa:: (.)
           maajin nakunaru kara ne
           "The more expensive that
           sort of work-related cost
           become, the less margin (we)
           can expect."

431   C: *un demo sore jis- s↑tan↓*   ((to K, looks down to his notebook
           da- (.) standard nanka   briefly, then gaze back at K))
           tsukureba hou ga (.)
           yariyasui-n ja nai desu ka=
           "Yes, but if we make a
           standard (of the cost) it
           would become easier (for us)
           wouldn't it?"

432   K: *tsukutte kara? a tsukuri*   ((gazes at C, nods as he breaks the
           nagara?   question))
           "AFTER [we] make [a
           standard]? Oh, [you mean] AS
           we make [a standard]?"

433   C: *un tsukuri nagara tatoeba*   ((to K. opens and closes his
           ano saisho wa (.) kimete   fingers on both hands as he

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         tatoeba ichi-bako ichi doru      speaks))
         (.) tatoeba (.) kimete (.)       ((K nods numerous times))
         "Yes, AS we make (a
         standard), so at the
         beginning (we) decide, for
         example one box one dollar,"
434      de jissai yatteru- yatteru       ((looking at K))
         no wa wakaru n ja nai desuka
         "and we will know how much it
         actually cost, won't we?"
435      (1.5)
436  K:  ma ichiou kosuto dasou to        ((gazes down, looks at C towards
         omoeba daseru kedo ne            the end))
         "Well, [if we] want to work
         out the cost, we can."
437  C:  un
         "Yeah."
```

When Ken expresses his concerns regarding the increasing labour and production costs and decreasing profit margins (lines 428 and 430), Carl comes up with a suggestion which could prevent this (line 431), that is to decide on the amount to be spent on the packaging as the production progresses. However, when Carl attempts to express this suggestion, he fails to use the correct verb inflection and instead says "*tsukureba hou ga*", which is grammatically incorrect and makes the whole utterance incomprehensible. Ken initiates a repair in line 432 by providing a candidate correct form, then provides another candidate for the erroneous verb. Although Carl's utterance was correctly judged as a suggestion due to his use of "- *hou ga*" (it is preferred), and it coherently follows the concern expressed by Ken, what was actually suggested was not understood. When two versions of corrections were offered by Ken as a repair initiation, Carl picks what he thinks would be correct by repeating the word, then repairs his

trouble source utterance. The meaning was negotiated within the interaction to arrive at an agreement. This is in line with typical NS-NNS correction strategy found by Kurhila, and the purpose of the repair also aligns with her findings (Kurhila, 2001).

When Carl rephrases his suggestion in line 433, he adds further clarification of his suggestion in line 430. However, in the process, he makes another error: the word *ichi-bako* (one box) is not grammatically correct (the correct form is *hito-hako*.) Despite the ungrammaticality of his utterance, it is not repaired by either Ken or Matthew in the following turns. In fact, Ken moves on to the next issue, taking on board Carl's suggestion and comments that the costs can be worked out (line 436). This may be because the point made by Carl in line 434 is still transparent and would not affect their understanding of meaning directly.

Both of the repairs do not seem to project face threat to anyone involved in the situation. However, in NS-NNS interactions, it is necessary to recognise that NS will almost always hold expert power base over NNS in using the language because NS usually has superior knowledge of the language of the interaction. When an NNS's utterance is repaired by NS, NNS who recognise his/her weaker proficiency is not likely to feel his/her face is threatened because the power relationship between them is great. On the other hand, NNS with a high proficiency may feel threatened because their perceived power relationship would be closer, as discussed in Section 4.2 above.

To summarise, I would like to start by restating how one's face can be threatened: a threat to one's face can be perceived when one's face cannot be upheld through an interaction. By initiating a repair on the basis of understanding, it can flag that one does not have expertise that is rightly expected of one in the given situation,

thus resulting in face-loss. It can be remedied by the speaker of the trouble source

utterance providing the necessary information to uphold the face of the interlocutor who

is perceived to hold expertise to understand it. On the other hand, when one is not

expected to have the expertise to understand what has been said, the threat to face does

not seem to occur. The cases of NNS with lower language proficiency seem to fall into

this category as well. If he/she is not expected to understand or produce linguistically

accurate utterance, he/she may not feel his face is threatened as a result of

non-understanding. However, if understanding or production of grammatically accurate

utterances is expected, he/she must uphold such face in an interaction; failing to meet

such expectation can cause face-threat. The contrast between Matthew's responses to

uguisu-jou (Excerpt 13) and *chokkei* (Excerpt 4) shows the result of such expectations

and the face he must uphold based on his expected knowledge of Japanese. This notion

seems particularly relevant to repairs on the basis of acceptability issues discussed in

the next section.

4.3.2 Repair of Acceptability Issues

Repairs initiated on the basis of acceptability, that is, when a listener has

trouble accepting what has been said, can be face-threatening to both interlocutors at

two levels. Firstly because the initiator of the repair must point out a differing view, and

secondly because upon resolving the issue, one of the interlocutors will be proven wrong,

thus potentially losing face. In Excerpt 10 above, Ken initiates a repair based on

acceptability issue in line 28 because Matthew reported the prune juice will be

introduced in January in line 26, not in February as Ken understood it to be. By

pointing this out, a face-threat may have been perceived by both Ken and Matthew. As

established before, the change to the plan without Ken knowing it can be face-threatening to Ken because of the position he holds in the company. From Matthew's point of view, he is forced to explain why the change was made, a step he would not have to take if the repair was not initiated. When the repair sequence is completed, Ken's belief has been proven wrong, thus further damaging his *kao*, because the change has been made without his knowledge.

Similar to repairs based on (lack of) understanding, threats to face also occur when one fails to perform what can rightly be expected of one, thus failing to uphold one's face. In Excerpt 15 below from the debriefing meeting, Carl shares information on a potential supplier of teabags that he has found with Ken and Matthew. When they discuss the quantity of teabags they must purchase from the supplier, Ken makes an error in calculation, and a repair on the basis of acceptability is initiated by Matthew.

(15) [Report meeting: 0:20:10~]
Carl shares his findings on the cost of teabags with Ken and Matthew. In the process, Ken miscalculates the quantity of teabags to be purchased, to which Matthew initiates a repair.

352	C:	*de kuooteeshon moratta-n*	((reads from his note, then looks
		desu yo (.) *yon-juu-hachi*	up to K at the end))
		doru sen-ko	((M gazes at C))
		"And I got the quotation. 48	
		dollars for 1000."	
353	K:	*un*	((looks down to take notes))
		"Yeah."	
354	C:	*kekkou yasui-n desu ne* (.)	((gazes at K))
		hotondo- <*honto ni hotondo*>	((K looks up to C, then nods once))
		wa (.) *jinken-hi desu*	
		"It's quite cheap, isn't it?	
		Most, almost all of it is	

labour cost."

355 M: *sono*: *sen-ko de*   ((K turns to M, then looks down to

        yonjuu-hachi tte iu no wa <u>*sen*</u> his notebook))

        <u>teabag</u>   ((C turns to M))

        "Do you mean by 48 dollars

        for 1000, 1000 teabags?"

356 C: *sen tiibaggu*   ((nods and turns to K as he speaks))

        "1000 teabags."

357 M: *himo nashi no*=   ((C turns to M))

        "Without strings?"

358 C: =*de- demo* <minimum orders> ((turns back to K))

        wa (.) *ichi-man*   ((after finishing, briefly looks

        "But the minimum order is   at M))

        10,000."

359 K: *ii ja-nai*   ((looks up to K as he speaks))

        "It sounds good."

360 M: *un*   ((K looks at M))

        "Yeah."

361 K: *yasui yo*   ((gazes at C))

        "It's cheap."

362 C: *zenzen yasui desho* (0.6)   ((sits up in his chair, then looks

        demo ichi-man wa kanari   at M briefly))

        tsukaeru kara

        "It's really cheap, isn't

        it? But 10,000 [teabags] go

        a long way."

363 K: *tsukaeru to omou yo*   ((C looks down to his left))

        "I think we can use them   ((K looks down to his notebook,

        all."   then picks up a calculator with

                           left hand))

364 M: *koitsu hito-shurui de*   ((M leans slightly to C))

        ichiman?

        "Is that 10,000 of one

        variety?"

365 C: *iya zenbu*   ((C lifts his body and looks at M,

        "No, all of it."   then to K))

```
366   M:   zenbu de                    ((turns to K at the end))
           "All of it."
367   K:   un daijoubu de shou         ((Looks at M, then C))
           "Yes, I think that will be
           okay."
368   M:   go-shurui are-ba ni-hya- e, ((looks at C))
           ni-sen-ko zutsu?            ((K looks down to his notebook))
           "If [we order] 5 varieties,
           200, uhm, 2000 of each?"
369   K:   go-shurui are-ba go-sen-ko  ((looks up to M))
           desho                       ((M looks at K))
           "If (we order) 5 varieties,
           5000 of each, isn't it?"
370   M:   go-shurui                   ((to K, straight intonation))
           "5 varieties."
371   K:   sou ni-sen-ko dayo (.) ne:: ((points at M with right index
           "That's right, 2000 each.   finger briefly, then turns to C))
           Isn't it?"                  M turns to C))
```

Carl has been talking about the supplier of teabags he has been in contact with, and shares his findings on the cost of the teabags, which is 48 dollars for 1000 teabags (line 352). Ken acknowledges this (line 353) and Carl goes on to comment that it is quite cheap (line 354). Matthew clarifies Carl's statement (line 355), and then asks a question about the type of the teabags they sell, whether they come with or without strings attached to them (line 357), upon hearing Carl's initial clarification. Carl does not answer Matthew's second question, but shares another piece of information in line 358, that the minimum order is 10,000 teabags. Both Ken and Matthew seem happy with the price and the quantity they have to order (lines 359-361) and Carl agrees, but expresses his concern that ordering 10,000 teabags at once may be too much (line 362). Ken gives his support for ordering 10,000 at once (line 363), but Matthew asks another question,

whether the order must be of a single variety of tea (line 364). Carl replies "*zenbu de*" (all of it) in line 365, which is understood to be an affirmative response by both Matthew and Ken (lines 366-367). Matthew further clarifies this response by rephrasing his question in line 368, "*go-shurui are-ba ni-hya- e, ni-sen-ko zutsu?*" (if we order 5 varieties, 2000 of each?). However, in line 369, Ken repairs this question by saying "*go-shurui are-ba go-sen-ko deshō*" (if there are 5 varieties, 5000 of each, isn't it?). This is a result of Ken's miscalculation, so Matthew initiates another repair, "*go-shurui*" (5 varieties) in line 370, because Ken's utterance is not acceptable. Upon receiving the repair initiation, Ken notices his miscalculation and repairs his utterance to "*sou ni-sen-ko da yo*" (that's right, 2000 each) in line 371. This is followed by "*ne::*" (isn't it), lengthened with falling intonation, suggesting he is seeking agreement on his (correct) calculation and that he has known the correct answer all along (see also Matthew's attempt to assert his prior knowledge of "diameter" in Excerpt 4). This could suggest he is embarrassed to have made a mistake in his calculation, thus interactionally attempting to minimise his loss of face.

The loss of face was perceived by Ken at two points in this excerpt as well: firstly when Matthew initiated the repair by providing the correct calculation (line 370), and secondly when he noticed his own mistake in calculation and made it known to others in line 369 (line 371). Because these two causes for face-loss occur closely together, it seems to strengthen the degree of face-loss interpreted by Ken.

In NS-NNS interactions, NNS's lack of language proficiency may also play a part in repairs based on acceptability issues. In such cases, the repair does not seem to cause face threat. In the next excerpt, Ken asks Matthew and Carl why the production

cost of frozen vegetable is expensive. Matthew uses broccoli and cauliflower as examples to explain to Ken why the cost of raw material is high by giving him the background to the processing of these vegetables. In the course of the interaction, Ken asks them a question, which is met by a repair initiation by Carl on the basis of acceptability when he fails to understand a Japanese word for "core" of broccoli used by Ken.

(16) [Report meeting: 0:13:30~]
Mark and Carl explain to Ken why the cost of frozen broccoli and cauliflower is high.

228   M: *burokkorii to karifurawaa*   ((to K, leans forward, moves his
           to ichiban ookina riyuu wa   head vertically as he talks))
           rosu desu ne, goju-ppaa rosu
           desu ne
           "The biggest problem with
           broccoli and cauliflower is
           the loss, 50 percent loss"

229   K: *sore wa shin no bubun?*   ((to M, blinks once))
           "Is that the core part?"

230   C: *sore <u>kuki</u>=*   ((to K))
           "It is the <u>stem</u>."

231   M: *=kuki=*   ((to K))
           "stem"

232   K: *=kuki no kuki no bubun*   ((quietly, nods numerous times))
           "The stem, the stem part."

233   (2.0)

234   M: *sore wo: (.) sore wo totte*   ((gestures cutting and removing
           suteru to: (.) ueito teki ni: parts of vegetables with his right
           hanbun hette shimau.   hand))
           "When [they] dispose of   ((K nods))
           that, in terms of weight [it
           is] reduced into half."

235   *broccoli wo nana doru de*   ((right hand up in the air,
           katte   gestures holding the vegetable))
           "[They] buy broccoli at 7

```
                  dollars,"
236      hanbun ga suterarete        ((gestures cutting and throwing
         uchi wa nana doru de        out parts of the vegetable with
         kawanakya ikenai desu kara  left hand, then shakes it towards
         "half of it is thrown away, the end of the utterance))
         and we must buy [the
         remainder from them] at 7
         dollars."
237  K:                              ((nods numerous times silently))
```

Matthew starts by stating in line 228 that the cost of broccoli and cauliflower is high because 50% of the raw vegetable is lost in the production process. Ken asks a question in line 229 to clarify which part of the vegetable is thrown away by saying "*sore wa shin no bubun?*" (is that the core part?). However, the term "*shin*" (core) did not seem to be understood by both Carl and Matthew. After a brief pause, Carl initiates a repair in line 230, "*sore kuki*" (it is the stem). Matthew follows with a similar repair closely behind Carl in line 231. Faced with this, Ken repairs his utterance to match the repair initiation by Carl and Matthew in line 232. Following Ken's rephrasing of the question, Matthew continues with his explanation on why broccoli is expensive (lines 234-236).

Although both "*shin*" and "*kuki*" refer to the same part of broccoli, Carl and Matthew did not seem to know the former term which was used by Ken. However, because both Carl and Matthew knew that the part that is being discarded as "*kuki*", there was a mismatch and could not accept Ken's suggestion that "*shin*" is being disposed of. Thus Ken's utterance was repaired based on Carl and Matthew's acceptance of it. Although Ken is led to repair his original utterance in line 232, his face does not seem to be threatened. Perhaps this is because he also did not expect Carl and Matthew

to know the term "*shin*". He remains silent while Matthew continues with his explanations (line 234-236), and gives non-verbal backchannels at the end, seemingly content with what has been accomplished.

If Ken decides to interpret this as a face threat to himself because this repair can undermine his credibility as someone who knows about processing vegetables, and project his anger at Carl and Matthew, it can in turn damage their faces. However, this can also lead to adopting rapport-challenge alignment, thus compromising their relationships. In order to accomplish transactional goals, it seems relational goal is also attended to, in terms of not projecting a face threat.

To sum, face threats can be interpreted as arising from a repair initiation by interlocutors if the repair was initiated because of his/her inability to uphold his/her face, i.e., not being able to perform the given function within the company, was perceived. Repairs initiated on the basis of the (lack of) acceptability of utterances can project threats to the interlocutors' face not only when a differing view has to be presented, but also when the utterance is found to be not true. Not being able to provide acceptable content can cause loss of the speaker's quality face because it fails to uphold the face claimed by him/herself. When this is pointed out, it can cause an emotional reaction, which is a sign that one's face has been damaged. The degree of face-loss seems to depend on what can normally be expected of each interlocutor according to the common ground between the interlocutors.

Nevertheless the interlocutors do not seem to be concerned with potential threat to their faces in long term; they seem to ignore such face threats incurred by

repairs.[24] This may be a result of interlocutors placing priority on achieving their transactional goals, because failing to achieve transactional goals can lead to a larger loss of face and/or *kao*.

The next section will investigate the effect of codeswitching in NS-NNS interactions. It also seems to play a role in achieving transactional goals, but it can also be used to manage relational goals between interlocutors, whether it be enhancing interpersonal relationships or emphasising differences in power and face relationships. Assumptions about common ground also seem to influence the codeswitching behaviour of the interlocutors.

4.4 Codeswitching: Managing Relational Goals

Codeswitching, as mentioned earlier, can perform a number of functions in interactions between interlocutors who share more than two languages. When combined with other aspects of business interaction, namely face, power and repair, it seems to function as an interaction management device. The two major functions I investigate in this section are: (1) reinforcing understandings and (2) managing the floor.

4.1.1 Reinforcing Understandings

As indicated by the Markedness Model (MM), codeswitching can mark information that deviates from the norm that can be expected within the Rights and Obligations set (RO set) (Myers-Scotton, 1998c). Thus, by rationally choosing the code, the speaker can emphasise the point he/she wishes to mark. For example, in Excerpt 9 presented above, in which Matthew and Satomi are designing a product label together,

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[24] The claim is based on an examination of subsequent interactions between the interlocutors and the follow-up interviews.

Matthew switches to English from Japanese to say "they are organic" (line 47) when he

gave the reason for the high content of the nutrient (lycopene) in the fruit juice.

Although Matthew has sufficient proficiency in Japanese to convey the same

information, he switched to English for one utterance to strengthen his point.

Inter-sentential and intra-sentential codeswitching seem to have this effect.

In NS-NNS interactions, codeswitching may also work as a repair strategy

when a NNS does not have sufficient knowledge of the language. The selection of code

can work as face-enhancing device as well as face-threatening device between NNSs.

One can codeswitch to enhance the social identity face of the interlocutors involved in

the interaction because it enables him/her to be included in the discussion, thus

enhancing solidarity of the group (O'Driscoll, 2001). On the other hand, codeswitching

can increase the threat one intends to project at another's face, depending on the

direction of the codeswitch and the tenor of the utterance.

Excerpt 17 below shows an example of the former kind, where codeswitching

enhances the solidarity of the group. It was observed directly after Excerpt 12. When

Carl does not seem to be following a discussion conducted in Japanese in the office,

Matthew codeswitches to English in an attempt to help him understand the content of

the discussion.

(17) [Office day: 12:02PM]
While talking about Japanese youth culture in Tokyo in Japanese, Carl does
not seem to be following the discussion. Matthew codeswitches to English
to explain the topic of interaction to Carl.

```
18    M:  nihon: <sugoi desu kara> ne:        ((looking down to his desk))
          ima
          "Speaking of Japan, it is
```

		crazy there nowadays."	
19		*yamamba iru desho yamamba* (.) *sugoi gyaru gyaru no* "You know about *yamamba*, don't you? The one who is really girly.[25]"	((turns to N))
20	N:	a: *souiu nanka otoko-ba*[*n ga* "Ah, I heard there is a male version of them now."	((off screen))
21	M:	[*ar e no* <u>*otoko*</u>*-ban ga deta kara* "There is a male version of them now."	((turns to S))
22	S:	*he*:: "Really?"	((responds but still working on her things, moving her upper body))
23	M:	*minna furu meeku shite* "Everyone wears makeup,"	((hands in front of his face to gesture "make up"))
24		mo: *konna extension toka irete* (.) *otoko de ne*, "and they put extension on their hair, and they are male."	((hands gesturing "long hair")) ((S gazes at M)) ((C turns to M))
25		*de souiu arubaroozu toka iu hawaian no* (.) *kiji*, (.) "and they wear Hawaiian type shirt called alba-rose"	((turns to N at the end of the line))
26	S:	*fuketsu da yo ne*: <u>*iya*</u>::: "It's unhygienic, uh:::"	((sounds like screaming, disgusted))
27	M:	*yabai yo*::= "Looks awful."	((scratches his head and turns to C))
28	C:	=*sore yada yo i*[*ya*:: "Aw, I don't like that. Uh::"	((turns back to his desk and shakes his head at the end))
29	M:	[*arienai*	

---

[25] Both "*yamamba*" and "*gyaru*" refers to the fashion styles of Japanese girls, hence the translation "girly". See Figure 9.

```
           yo:=
                          "unbeliebav
           le."
30    S:   =mita?    (   )=
           "Did you see them?"
31    M:   mita mita (.) =iru futsuu ni        ((turns to S))
           iru shibuya toka                    ((C turns to M))
           "Yes yes I saw them. They are
           everywhere in Shibuya."
32    S:   fu::n                               ((looks down to her left on her
           "Really."                           desk))
33    M:   [yabai                              ((shakes his head briefly))
           "It's awful."
34    C:   [a demo harajuku ore mo itta        ((M turns to C))
           toki ni mo ↑hen: na hito ↓          ((N starts talking on the phone
           ippai iru yo                        (off screen)))
           "But when I went to Harajuku,
           there were lots of strange
           people there too."
35    M:   ippai iru kedo: (.)                 ((M leans closer to C))
           "There are lots of them, but"       ((C nods))
36         <d'you know> yamamba?
37    C:   yeah I know yamamba like a
           lot of make ups I've seen

38    M:   white make up, make up [here        ((gestures where on the face they
           and bussaiku na yatsu=              wear make up))
           "White make up, make up here
           and they look horrible."
39    C:                     [yeah             ((waves his hand))
                 =sou sou sou
                 (          )
           "Yeah,   yeah yeah yeah.
           (      )"
40    M:   are no otoko-ban
           "The male version of that."
```

```
41   C:  (hhhh) that's- that's          ((leans back on his seat))
         horrible

42   M:  so all the guys wear makeup,   ((gradually turns back to his
         put hearts all over their      desk))
         faces
43   C:  what are they thinking         ((turns back to his desk))
         seriously
```

Matthew initiates the discussion in lines 18 and 19 to share his experience in Japan, where he saw a group of young men who dress up in Hawaiian shirts and wear white make up, which is called the "*yamamba* style". *Yamamba* is a figure in a Japanese folklore, an old woman who lives in the mountains. Because she lives in the wild, she is said to have dark skin and long, dirty hair that is not washed. The recent fashion style of young Japanese girld resembles such an appearance, with the style being referred to as the *yamamba* style (see Figure 9 below).

Figure 9: Yamamba style make-up

Following Matthew, Naoko takes the floor and starts talking about what she has heard from Matthew previously, that there is a male version of the style in Japan now (line 20), but Matthew continues with his turn in line 21, and that catches Satomi's

attention (line 22). Matthew continues with his explanation of what he saw, using various gestures (lines 23-25). Satomi expresses her disgust upon hearing Matthew's explanation in line 26, and Carl joins to share the same view in line 28. The exchange continues for a further five turns, before Carl decides to share his experiences in Japan in line 34, stating that he saw strange-looking people as well when he went to Harajuku, another busy district in Tokyo. When this happens, Matthew starts by agreeing to his utterance in line 35, but switches to English in line 36. This is the result of Carl not following what has been discussed so far. Matthew has been talking about boys who dress in the *yamamba* style, not any strange-looking people Carl saw in Harajuku. Following Matthew's codeswitch to English, Carl answers in English as well in line 37. Matthew then continues to explain what *yamamba* is in English in line 38, to which Carl replies with positive backchannel in line 39, showing his understanding. Matthew switches back to Japanese to deliver the final statement on the topic of discussion so far with others in line 40. Carl finally seems to understand what has been discussed, and contributes his thoughts in line 41. Matthew continues with his explanation in line 42, but towards the end of his turn he turns away from Carl, implying the discussion is over. Carl has a final line as he turns back to his desk as well in line 43.

During the interview, Carl indicated that he interpreted Matthew's codeswitching to English in line 36 as a positive sign because it made him understand what the others were talking about. Thus, Carl's social identity face was enhanced interactionally through codeswitching. Again, it seems the face-threat was not perceived because Carl is not expected to understand the interaction as a result of his limited linguistic proficiency.

In contrast, however, Excerpt 18 below shows an example of codeswitching being used to threaten another's face. While discussing how to develop a new product *gokokumai* (five varieties of grains), Matthew asks Ken what it is, but the question is answered by Carl. Matthew shows his annoyance when Carl's explanation does not satisfy his question.

(18) [Report meeting: 0:27:35~]
While developing the product *gokokumai* (five varieties of grains), Matthew
asks Ken what it is and Carl provides the information, which is countered
by Matthew.

484	K:	*dakara*:: (.) *koitsu* (.) "So, for this,"	((looks at M, right hand touching his chin, elbow on the table)) ((M leans back on his chair, his left hand on his chin))
485		*ma oosutoraria de sagasare-* *sagaseru* (.) "well, (we) should use what we can find in Australia,"	((looks at C, right hand swishes down as he starts speaking)) ((C nods))
486		*oosutoraria NAraDEwa no* *gureen wo tsukatte* (.) "the TYPICAL Australian grains we can find,"	((looks at M, right hand swishes down again))
487		*ma:* <u>*roku*</u> *shurui ka* <u>*nana*</u> *shurui ni osamete* (.) "say 6 or 7 varieties,	((hand swishes as he counts))
488		*sorewo kawari de yarou kana*: *to omotteru*= "and do it that way, [I am] thinking"	((hand back to his chin, looks at M))
489	M:	=*sore-tte*: (.) *ore* ↑*dou*↓ *iu mono nanoka ma*<u>*ttaku*</u> *wakannai-n* [*desu kedo* "about that, I have <u>no</u> idea <u>what</u> it is."	((leans forward, gestures "don't understand" by opening his arms)) ((C looks at M)) ((K gazes at M, sits still))

490	K:	[*a intaanetto de*	((points at M with his pen in right
		kondo miseyou ka (.)	hand))
		"Ah, should I show you [that]	((C turns to K))
		later on the internet?"	
491		*nde*:=	((looks at his right))
		"And,"	
492	C:	=*tada no*: [( )	((leans over the table to pick up
		"It's just ( )."	paper))
493	M:	[*oosutoraria*	((to K))
		ni tabun [*nai-n ja nai-n desu*	((C still shuffling papers))
		ka	((K turns to C))
		"[I guess] such a thing	
		doesn't exist in	
		Australia?"	
494	C:	[*ie, tada no*: *kore*	((holds the bundled paper in front
		dake desu	of him on the table with both
		"It's just like this."	hands))
			((M turns to C))
			((K sits back on his seat, hands
			crossed in front of him))
495		it's just like a (.)	((holds up the paper with two hands
			in front of him))
496		this is like a plastic bag,	((looks at M))
			((K looks at C))
497		you put like a variety of	((looks back to the papers,
		beans, like five varieties,	gestures to "pour" grains into a
			bag))
498	M:	yeah	((nods numerous times))
499	C:	mix, mix all together,	
500	M:	yes	((nods))
501	C:	and then <u>label</u> that's it=	((gestures to put label on the bag,
			then looks at M))
502	M:	=*iya <u>sore wa</u> shitteru yo*=	((moves his head as he speaks))
		"Yes I know THAT. I	((K turns to M))
		understand THAT."	
503	K:	=*hh*[*hh* ((laughter))	((moves his upper body as he

```
                                       laughs))
504   M:    [sore wa wakaru (.)       ((laughing, looks at K briefly,
           ta(h)da (.) douiu sono     then back to C))
           tsukaikata [toka (.) douiu
           aji toka=
           "just, ahm, how to use it,
           and how it tastes,"
505   K:           [tsukaikata wa-    ((to C, left index finger pointing
                                      upwards))
506   C:  =a aji wa wakannai kedo     ((leans back on his seat))
          "Ah, I don't know the taste."
```

Company S has decided to introduce *gokokumai* (5 varieties of grains) as a part

of its range of products and Ken is explaining to Matthew and Carl how the product will

be developed in lines 484-488. As soon as he finishes explaining, Matthew asks Ken

what *gokokumai* is in line 489. Without knowing what it is that he is trying to develop,

it is difficult for Matthew to play his role in the company, to contact producers of the

grains and develop sales promotional materials. Ken starts to intervene by offering to

show Matthew what it is on the internet in line 490, and attempts to move on to the

next phase of explanation in line 491. However, this is interrupted by Carl who starts to

"show off" his knowledge in line 492, and Matthew himself who does not seem content

with Ken's intervention asks further question in line 493. Carl finally claims the floor by

continuing his utterance into line 494 and starts explaining what *gokokumai* is in

English in line 495. This is probably the result of his lack of proficiency in Japanese to

explain this, but by switching to English, Carl can show the rest of the group that he

knows what *gokokumai* is, thus claiming his quality face as a competent member of the

company. Matthew gives numerous backchannels in lines 498 and 500 in English,

seemingly accepting Carl's attempt to claim his face. However, when Carl finishes his

explanation, Matthew immediately counters Carl's explanation in Japanese, "*iya sore wa shitteru yo*" (yes I know that) in line 502. He further explains in line 504 that what he wants to know is not what it is, but how the product is used and how it tastes. During the interview, Matthew expressed that he was annoyed by Carl's explanation, because Matthew already knew that it is a mixture of five different types of grains. This annoyance seems to be implied by Matthew codeswitching to Japanese to counter Carl's explanation. By codeswitching back to Japanese, he is claiming his superior knowledge of the product. This was also received with laughter by Ken, who then starts to offer explanations that Matthew is looking for in line 505. Carl also admits in line 506 that he does not know the taste of the product either.

Codeswitching observed in this excerpt seem to mark attempts to influence stronger power by the interlocutors. Firstly, Carl switches to English to claim his quality face based on expert power, that he knows something that Matthew does not, thus marking a shift in RO set. Then Matthew switches back to Japanese, again to make the point that he already knows what Carl said, thus restoring the original RO set in which Matthew outranks Carl. Matthew mentioned in the interview that sometimes Carl has to be "told in strong words", indicating this utterance was intended to threaten Carl's face.

Matthew's codeswitch back to Japanese may also show his intention to seek further information from Ken because what is explained by Carl is not satisfactory and Ken understands Japanese better. It thus indicates who should take the next turn. This aspect of codeswitching is further explored in the next section.

4.4.2 Managing Floor

As mentioned briefly before, another function of codeswitching that has been identified is the use of a different code to select the interlocutors with whom one wishes to communicate (Poncini, 2003). When this is performed by a person with power, it plays a gatekeeping function.

Excerpt 19 presented below is from Carl's presentation meeting. When Ken asks Carl about the taste of the new prune juice product 31 minutes into the meeting, Carl starts to explain the taste. When Carl forgets to mention the atypical characteristic of the juice, Takashi starts by addressing Carl to add another characteristic. Then Takashi continues to explain the taste in Japanese to Ken and other audiences directly. During this time, Carl attempts to retain his floor, but unsuccessfully.

(19) [Presentation meeting: 0:31:00~]
When asked about the taste of the prune juice, Carl starts to explain in
English, but Takashi takes over the explanation in Japanese

444	K:	*aji ni tsuite dou chigau-n*	((C looks at K, who is off screen))
		desu? ((cough))	
		"About the taste, how is it	
		different?"	
445		*sakki: satou no <u>toudo</u> no*	((C looks down to the note briefly,
		hanshi ni narimasita kedo:=	then looks back at K))
		"Just then you talked about	
		the sugar content"	
446	C:	*=un* (.) *hai*	
		"Yeah, yes"	
447	K:	*dou, <u>fureebaa ga chigau-n</u>*	((softly, quickly))
		<u>desu</u>?=	((C looks down to the bottle))
		"How <u>is the flavour</u>	
		<u>different?"</u>	
448	C:	*=sou desu ne*: (.) *ano*: (3.0)	((Puts right hand on the
		"Well, ahm, (3.0)"	competitor's bottle and moves it

		((turns towards the audience))
449	*jissai-wa* (.) *kore* wa *nonda koto arimasu ne* "actually [you] have tried this ((the competitor's product)) already."	((turns the bottle around to show label to K, and look up to K))
450	K: *un* "yeah"	((off screen))
451	C: *nan-da kedo* (.) "But,"	((looks up))
452	*Ukita san*, and some of their people drink, "Mr. Ukita, and some of their people drink,"	((shakes right hand up and down))
453	these two comparison they told	((points at the two bottles in front of him in turn))
454	Takashi san,	((T looks up))
455	they mention this product this taste better (.)	((puts right hand on the own product's bottle))
456	taste more sweeter (.)	((wiggles right hand, open eyes wider towards the end))
457	little bit sweeter (.) *un* "Yeah"	((looks down))
458	T: (1.0)	
459	*ato,* acid= "And"	((T nods as he says each word. Slightly accented at the start of each word.)) ((C faces T as soon as T starts talking, opens his eyes slightly wider))
460	C: =ah the ac- ac- acid	((C faces back to K, roll up his notebook in his left hand))
461	acidity too=	((as soon as finishing the word, briefly looks down to the table, then face the front, not looking

			at the audience))
462	T:	=hmm ((lightly))	((small nod))
463	C:	so,	((keeps wiggling his right hand upwards, eyes looking up))
464		(1.2)	((T slowly turns to K))
465	T:	*ii sanmi ga atte*= "It has just the right amount of sourness"	((C stops hands movement, and turns to T as soon as T starts speaking))
466	K:	=a*a* "oh"	((off screen))
467	T:	*amasa to sanmi ga* (.) "It has sweetness and sourness."	((C nods, puts his right hand on his notebook)) ((T slowly turns to the bottles in front of C))
468		<*dakedo*> *mukou no yatsu wa*, "But the other one,"	((faces the bottles, uses his left hand to point at the competitor's product))
469		*nan-te iun-darou na* (.) "how can I put it,"	((brings the left hand back to his eyes))
470		*puruun juusu*= "prune juice,"	((left hand goes to his left – hidden behind his head and not observable from the camera))
471		=*oosutoraria no puruun juusu mae non-da no to issho de,* Just like the last time (we) tried the Australian prune juice,	
472		*furatto nan-<desu yo ne kore ne* ((faster))>* "it tastes flat, I tell you."	((tilts his head to right, then moves his left hand from right to left to make a straight line))
473	N:	[*fu*↑::*n* "right"	((off screen))
474	C:	[*un* ↓ *un* "yeah yeah"	((slowly turns his head to the audience's direction))

475	T:	*dakedo: kocchi wa mou sanmi ga aru wake.* "But this one has sourness."	((leans forward to point at the own product with left index finger))
476		*sore wa suggoi nanka mou* (.) "That really makes this"	((brings the left arm down, moves his head to various directions)) ((C starts tapping his right fingers on his notebook))
477		*oishii*? "delicious."	((turns to K))
478	C:	*un un* "Yeah yeah"	((looks away from T briefly as he nods, then gazes T again))
479	T:	*nan-ka mo <u>berii</u> no juusu mitaina* "Like, a berry juice."	((sits back on his seat))
480		*sou iu, nan-ka sanmi ga atte* "It has that sort of sourness."	((slowly turns back to face C. C looks up to T))
481	C:	[*un* "Yeah"	((nods and looks down))
482	N:	[*he*:: "Right."	((off screan))
483	T:	*buruu berii juusu da to omo-cchatta ore.* (0.5) "I thought [it was a] blueberry juice."	((to M)) ((C looks up again and smiles))
484		*Bruu berii ando razuberii no youna* [*ne*: "It was like very much blueberry and raspberry [juice]"	((to M))
485	C:	[*a*:: "Ah,"	
486	T:	*sanmi no kiita you-na ne*: "with just a hint of sourness."	((turns to C)) ((C looks down to the table))
487	C:	*a*:: *u*:*n*	((lifts his face, smiles and faces

"Ah, yeah."   back to the audience. Stops
                                         tapping fingers.))

Ken starts to ask the question in lines 444-445 about the taste of the prune juice. After a short backchannel from Carl (line 446), Ken finishes his question (line 447). Carl starts to answer in line 448, but he seems to have trouble formulating the answer and his answer does not really give the information Ken is looking for. Nevertheless, Ken acknowledges Carl's attempt and give a backchannel in line 450. Carl then re-positions himself in line 451 by codeswitching to English to start describing the taste by quoting others who have tried it (lines 452-457). However, when Carl starts to struggle for further description, Takashi takes the floor in line 458. He starts by uttering the connective in Japanese, followed by a noun in English, as in "*ato*, acid" (and acid). Carl then repeats Takashi's additional information to incorporate it into his own answer and say it to Ken (line 460-461). However, he fails to provide any further information (line 463). While Carl is struggling to come up with his next utterance, Takashi selects himself as the next speaker and starts to talk directly to Ken in Japanese (lines 464-465). His self-selection is accepted by Ken, who now backchannels directly to Takashi (line 466). Takashi continues with his explanation in Japanese to the group (lines 467-472), while Carl watches over Takashi. Takashi's explanation elicits a backchannel from Naoko (line 473), which coincides with Carl's acknowledgement (line 474). The different words used by Naoko and Carl, however, seem to indicate that Carl still considers that it is his responsibility to answer Ken's question. While Naoko's backchannel "*fu:n*" (right) indicates that the information provided by Takashi is new to her and she accepts the truthfulness of the information, Carl's backchannel token "*un un*" (yeah yeah) is usually used to show agreement, thus he is trying to incorporate

Takashi's information as his own utterance. It seems as if Carl is trying to maintain the floor as the rightful authority to answer Ken's question, but he is not given the floor to do so because of his lack of proficiency in Japanese.

This whole incident seems to threaten not only Carl's quality face, but his right of association. Carl's agitation due to his inability to reclaim the floor becomes more visible when he starts tapping his fingers on his notebook in line 476, while Takashi continues to explain the difference in taste between the new product and the competition (lines 475-477 and 479-480). Carl again tries to incorporate Takashi's utterance as his own in line 478 and 481 but does not succeed. Carl finally seems to give up taking the floor in line 483 when he tries to break his eye contact with Takashi while Takashi still continues with his explanation. But he remains agitated until Takashi finally finishes his turn in line 486 and Carl gives the final backchannel to agree with Takashi's statement in line 487, when he stops tapping his fingers on his notebook. The conversation is terminated at this point, as the next question is asked straight after this turn.

When Takashi starts explaining the taste in Japanese in line 465, it seems to exclude Carl from taking the floor again due to his lack of proficiency in Japanese and inability to perform the transactional goal, i.e., to explain the taste of the prune juice in reply to Ken's question. Although Carl indicates his understanding through his backchannelling, the audience's attention never returned to Carl after that point until the conversation on this topic ends. This interaction thus follows a similar pattern to Myers-Scotton's finding that the interlocutor with power initiates codeswitching to control the interaction (Myers-Scotton, 1988), but in this case, Carl is cut out from the interaction altogether, despite his attempts to hold on to the floor. Because of his

relatively weaker status in the company and lack of proficiency in Japanese, interlocutors with more power and Japanese language ability take the floor away from him through codeswitching and excluding him from the interaction. It appears that codeswitching is a powerful method of controlling the floor and exercising face threat and power. It may also imply that the achievement of transactional goals overrules the weaker individual's face needs, namely quality face as a competent, and association rights to remain in the interaction in business communication situations. Yet, when the interaction moves on, it appears that the entire face and power of the interlocutors reset to where they were before the interaction started, as seen in Carl's non-verbal behaviour in line 487, smiling and stopping his fingers tapping.

4.4.3 An Integrated Analysis of Codeswitching

Other functions of codeswitching will be explored in the next excerpt, namely selection of speaker, marking of necessary information to achieve transactional goals, and influencing power and face. In Excerpt 20 below, English is used as the main language by Takashi when talking exclusively to Carl. Then Takashi switches to Japanese to invite Matthew into the interaction. While talking with Matthew, he switches between Japanese and English within a sentence (intra-sentential codeswitching) to mark various parts of the utterance. The analysis of the excerpt will be presented in two separate subsections, first to illustrate the use of intra-sentential codeswitching to mark structural coherence for persuasion, and second to analyse the interactional achievement of face and power, using floor management strategy as a main example, which also utilises non-verbal aspects of communication.

In this excerpt, near the end of Carl's prune juice presentation, Takashi firstly

tells Carl to start the test shipment process, but it becomes apparent through the course of the interaction that it was Matthew's decision to hold test shipment until the divider is prepared for shipping. When Takashi finds this out, he explains to Matthew that the divider is not needed for test shipment using intra-sentential codeswitching between Japanese and English.

(20) [Presentation meeting: 0:37:25~]
When asked about test shipment, Carl starts by explaining details of the current position, but Takashi persuades Carl to go ahead with test shipment.

626	T:	*ato wa*: sales promotion	((looks down to his notes,
		sakki itta yo ne.	speaks quietly))
		"And, we have already talked	
		about sales promotion."	
627		*de*, *pakkeeji wa doo natte-ru*	((faces C))
		no	
		"And, what about packaging?"	
628	C:	*a*:=	((shuffles his notes. M looks
		"Oh,"	down to C's notes))
629	T:	=*ano dezain ja naku-te*	((opens his left hand and point
		"Ahm, not the design,"	at C to stop him talking))
			((M looks at T))
630	C:	*hai*	
		"Yes."	
631	T:	divider *hai-n-no ne*	((T moves his left hand down to
		"The divider will be	his side on the table))
		inserted, right?"	
632	C:	*divider wa hairimasu*=	((C nods once as he starts
		"Divider will be inserted"	speaking, then look straight at
			T))
633	T:	=who pay divider?	
634	C:	<u>we</u> will pay the dividers	((right hand moves to his chest
			as he emphasises "We"))
635	T:	did they have [divider by	((left hand raised with his
		sta[ndard?	thumb pointing back))

636	C:	[no,	((straightens posture, shakes head right-left))
		[no they don't	
637	T:	did they already prepare for the dividers?	((head moving as he speaks, and ends with head tilted slightly forward))
638	C:	before they mention that,	((C looks up, note in his left hand raising))
639		ahm for the test shipment	((right hand raised with palm open,))
			((M looks at C))
640		they will not have the dividers,	((right hand then straight down with a cutting motion to mock dividers being inserted into a box?))
			((M looks at T))
641	T:	yes	
642	C:	but I will mention to him again,	((M looks at C))
643		no we can't, we will use the dividers	((right hand motion continuing))
644	T:	test shipment, (.)	((C stops hand motion and joins his left hand to hold the note, looks at T with mouth open))
			((M looks at T))
645		if the:y, (.)	((C nods))
646		usually export the juice without dividers,	((left hand moves up and down with each word, with small head movement))
647	C:	un hm,	((head slightly tilted forward))
648	T:	a- h- h- how many cartons we export?	((faster, face slightly turned to his right))
649	C:	(0.7)[for the test shipment?	((face slightly lifted up as he speaks))
650	T:	[for the test shipment	((a big nod at the end of the utterance))

651	C:	for the test shipment	((speaks slightly faster, looks up, right hand raised from his note and moves up and down with palm down))
652		is about one palette	((squints his eyes))
653		or 126=	((faces T straight, right hand comes back to his note))
654	T:	=<*soshitara*> why don't we try, "Then why don't we try"	((starts fast but slows immediately after switching to English, face tilted slightly to right and down towards the end))
655		without ah: (.) divider (.)	((faces straight at C again))
656		if this is their standard,	((left hand moving with speech, but not observable))
657	C:	hmm	((nod))
658	T:	then just	((face tilted to right, left hand moves to left))
659		follow them	((faces straight again))
660	C:	ah (.) okay	((still looking at T, right shoulder leans forward to pick up a pen)) ((M dips his eyes briefly, then look at T again))
661	T:	because, anyway	((distinct pause between each word, small nods with each word)) ((C listens with his right hand toying with his pen))
662		we will do a full (.)	((face tilts slightly to left at the end))
663		inspection,	((faces slowly towards M))
664	C:	*un* "yes"	((pen stops))
665	T:	for the test shipment=	((faster))
666	C:		((nods))

667	T:	=right?	((right arm opens. looks at M))
668	C:	*un*	((C nods twice))
		"yes"	((M reaches with his left hand to pick up a pen))
669	T:	*soshitara dore gurai kono*	((T points at the bottle with his left hand))
		"Then how much, this"	((C opens his notebook and starts taking notes, takes notes))
670	M:	ahem ((clears throat))	((M picks up his pen from the table and straightens his back))
671	T:	*nante iu-n daro, ano: botoru ga*	((T moving his hands as he speaks))
		"how can I say it, ahm,"	
672		*tsuyoi no ka*	((faces back to C))
		"strong the bottle is"	
673	C:	*u:n*	((taking note, head moves up))
		"Ye:s"	((M looking down))
674	T:	*DE shikamo* this is their standard right?=	((M looks at the bottles on the table))
		"And furthermore"	
675	C:	=*un un*	((M lean forward and reaches for two bottles on the table))
		"Yes yes"	
676	T:	*te koto wa* THEY, (.) take responsibility for corrodity and	((and bring them together while looking at it closely))
		"That means, THEY take responsibility for corrodity and"	((T looks over to M))
677		damage	((T looks straight at C again))
678	C:	okay	((C smiles, and keeps taking notes))
679	T:	if because of no divider	
680	M:		((hitting two bottles against each other on the table))

681	T:	then problems happen,	((M looks up to T))
682		this is their responsibility=	((M hit the bottles again))
683		=okay?	((M lifts his head, looks at T briefly))
684	C:	yeah yeah no dividers	((C looks at his notebook as he takes notes)) ((M looks down, and chew on his pen))
685	T:	(.) *de*, we will fit the divider in Japan "And, we will fit the divider in Japan."	((nods twice before speaking)) ((M eyes to C, then to T))
686	C:	*un* "Yeah."	((C briefly looks up to T as he backchannels, then back to his notebook))
687	T:	it cost money,	((C keeps looking at his notebook as taking note))
688		((softly)) *tada kore* test shipment "but this is just a test shipment."	((leans forward and shakes head right-left))
689		we have to pay for that	((sits up straight)) ((C looks up to T))
690	C:	*un* "yes"	((nods))
691		(1.5)	((T faces M, head tilted forward))
692	T:	*nani nanka aru* "What, do you have something to say?"	((M dips his eyes down)) ((C looks at M))
693	M:	*ore wa*: (0.5) "I"	((faces C, points at C with his pen, then retracts and pauses briefly))
694		*testoshippu wa* "test shipment"	((faces T, points at table with his pen as he speaks, and faces

			T))
695		*tometa-n desu yo* (.) *debaida: dekiru made* "stopped, until the divider is ready."	((taps the table again with his pen, then chew on it))
696		*minasan wa zettai*(h) "Everyone will surely"	((C turns back to T with his mouth shut)) ((M chuckles))
697		*sou iu kana: to omotte* "say so, I thought"	((with a giggle, pen still in his mouth))
698	T:	*iya, ore wa*:: "well, I::,"	((slowly)) ((M stops smiling))
699		*ja: gyaku ni ne*, (.) "then, from a different perspective,"	((faster, right hand swishes once while rested on the next chair)) ((M big nod)) ((C two small nods and shifts his weight to left leg))
700		*sore mo* (.) *sore mo* "that's, that's also"	((T nods and moves his right hand as he speaks)) ((M nods))
701		*hitotsu no aidea da to omou* (.) *un* "one valid idea I think. Yeah."	((T points a finger to gesture "one")) ((M small nods a few times)) ((C fiddling with his notebook, shifts weight to right leg))
702		(1.0)	
703		I don't against that	((lifts his right hand with palm facing M))
704	M:	((softly)) *un* "yes"	((M nods)) ((C nods))
705	T:	*dakedo ano*:: *divider wo ire-nai no ga sutandaado datta-n nara*= "But, ahm, if not inserting the divider was their	((right hand down, speaks faster with slow nods towards the end))

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             standard (procedure),"
706   M:   =sou desu yo ne                ((nods a few times as he looks
           "That is right."               down, pen still in his mouth))
707   T:   shikamo sono divider wo only   ((M looks up and two fast nods))
           for wan paretto dake,
           "And, just for only one
           palette of divider,"
708        they can't prepare for         ((shakes his head left-right))
           on[ly for
709   M:       [see what you mean]         ((M looks down and closes his
                                           eyes as he nods a few times as
                                           he speaks))
710   T:            one palette]
           volume of divider desho?
                      "isn't it right?"
711        so one full container two      ((both hands open wide))
           full container they can
712        prepare for [that

713   M:              [un                  ((small nods))
           "Yeah"
714   C:              [un un               ((nods, then left hand to his
           "Yeah, yeah"                    head to wipe off sweat?))
715   T:   DE, this is test shipment       ((both hands comes to the front
           dakara ((softly trails off))    of his body))
           "And because this is test
           shipment, so"
716   C:   [un                            ((nods))
            Yes
717   M:   [un                            ((nods))
            Yes
718   T:   soshitara sono mainaa waaku     ((M looks down, leans forward
           wa                              and puts his pen down))
           Then as for that kind of minor
           work,
719        <we [have to do that>
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720   M:      [u:n                          ((nods, rocking forward and
               "Ye:s"                       backward))
721   T:   and then (.) we want to see      ((pointing at the bottle))
           how (.) strong this one,         ((M nods a few times with
                                            straight back, hands together
                                            on his stomach))
722        for transportation (.)           ((M then looks down))
723        kore mo, different point of      ((face leans towards M))
           view desho
           "this is also a different
           point of view, isn't it?"
724   M:   u:n                              ((looking down))
           "Ye:s"
```

4.4.3.1 Persuasion Strategy with Intra-sentential Codeswitching

When persuading his NNS subordinates, Takashi codeswitches within a sentence. He uses connectives and cohesion devices in Japanese, while the rest of the clause is in English. Through such a strategy, Takashi retains the persuasion structure of Japanese interaction, while accommodating for NNS's understanding as well as marking important information by switching to English.

Takashi initiates the topic of the packaging of the product after they have finished talking about the sales promotion in Japanese (line 626-627). Carl starts to respond (line 628), but is stopped by Takashi in line 629. This self-repair was initiated to avoid confusion on the two topics that can be categorised as packaging issues: the design of the label and packaging of the bottles in cardboard boxes. They also discuss label design later in the meeting. Takashi then shifts the flow of the interaction to the direction he intended to in line 631. He confirms with Carl that the divider between bottles in the cartons will be inserted for a test shipment of the product. His use of the ending particle *ne* in line 631 suggests that Carl has more information on the issue than

Takashi (Kamio, 1994, p. 89, 2002, p. 27), thus indicating Carl was responsible for this decision. Carl seems to reply to this query with confidence in line 632 in Japanese, with an emphasis on "divider" and a strong nod as he starts his turn. However, this reply is quickly followed by Takashi's next question in English, "who pay divider?". Using the MM, the switching to English marks the importance of this question, which may indicate Takashi's real intention in bringing up this topic was related to the cost of the shipment. His previous utterance (line 631) worked to put Carl in charge of the decision to use the divider, which leads to Carl making another decision by the utterance in line 633, whether he thought about the cost of putting the dividers in the export carton. To this question, Carl seems to give another confident reply in line 634, in English this time, "we will pay the dividers" with both verbal and non-verbal emphasis on "we", suggesting that he has made the decision with confidence. Carl also switches to English following the switch made by Takashi, showing his obedience to the legitimate power figure. Takashi continues with his questions in line 635 to enquire about the trading partner's standard of exporting. However, whereas the previous questions focused on Carl's decisions in preparing for the test shipment, this question asks about the facts that he has at hand. Carl's answer in line 636 seems to be made less confidently as he straightens his posture and repeats his answer twice, with the second utterance a more formal, complete sentence. Takashi's next question (line 637) again asks for a fact, whether the exporter has already prepared the divider to be inserted to the carton. Carl may have felt a little uneasy about this line of questioning. In response to this question, unlike the previous three questions, Carl does not give a direct answer, breaking the adjacency pair pattern. Instead, in lines 638-643, Carl starts a narrative about how he is working on the trading partner to insert the dividers and to assure Takashi that the

dividers will be inserted. Carl also uses larger body movements to emphasise his utterance, such as lifting his left hand (line 638) then right hand (line 639), and to do the cutting motion to mock inserting the dividers between bottles in the carton. His expansive body motions are also possible indications of his uneasiness with the series of questions from Takashi. Takashi gives a backchannel in line 641, while Carl is giving the answer.

At this point, in lines 644-646, Takashi starts to present an opposing point of view in English, slowly, with a slight pause after each clause. This seems to get both Carl and Matthew's attention, being evident in Carl's backchannel (line 645 and 647) and Matthew's gaze at Takashi (line 644). In lines 648 to 653, Takashi initiates an embedded sequence (aside) to request from Carl extra information to strengthen his point not to use dividers for test shipment (this information reappears in lines 705-708). Such a strategy to achieve consensus is often used in Japanese persuasion (Emmett, 2003). Carl has a short pause in line 649, indicating that he has trouble understanding Takashi's sudden change in the direction of his questioning. Takashi seems to become aware of the trouble Carl is having and adds further information in line 650, but this coincides with Carl's clarification request. Picking up on this answer without delay, Takashi makes clear his point is to not use dividers in lines 654-655. He starts his suggestion with Japanese connectives before English clause. The switch to Japanese here, as well as slowing down after switching back to English, seems to further mark his utterance to strengthen his point. Takashi continues to explain his point in lines 656-659, while Carl seemingly agrees with his suggestion with a backchannel (line 657) and an "okay" in line 660.

Meanwhile, Takashi continues to take the floor to justify his point in English

(lines 661-667). To this, Carl backchannels in Japanese (lines 664, 666 and 668) and starts taking notes in line 669, indicating that he has been persuaded to follow Takashi's instructions. Takashi switches to Japanese again in line 669 to further justify his point. This seems to be because Takashi is still searching for his words to better explain his point, which is evident from the expressions "*nante iu-n daro*" (how can I say it) and "*ano:*" (ahm) to show hesitation, and his hand movement in line 671. Carl seems to go along with the explanation and indicates this with backchannelling both verbally and non-verbally in line 673 and keeps taking notes.

Takashi's persuasion continues in line 674, but from this point on, he uses the intra-sentential codeswitching pattern "Japanese connectives + English main clause". Firstly in line 674, the Japanese connective "*de shikamo*" (and furthermore) is used with an English clause "this is their standard". Then in lines 676-677, the Japanese connective "*te koto wa*" (that means) is used with an English clause "THEY, take responsibility for corrodity and damage". It appears that English clauses are being embedded (Embedded Language or EL) in a larger Japanese discourse structure (Matrix Language or ML), that of reasoning and persuading. The pattern seems to indicate Takashi's attempt to maintain a Japanese persuasion strategy by outlining reasons for his stance. The entire structure of the persuasive sequence seems to be the ML structure, in which English clauses are embedded to accommodate Carl's understanding as well as to emphasise Takashi's points. The same pattern, Japanese connectives followed by English clauses, appears again after a brief pause in line 685, with "*de*" (and) and "we will fit the divider in Japan", when Takashi continues to explain the test shipment procedure to avoid confusion because of the differences in legal

requirements in various parts of the world.[26] Then again in lines 688-689, with "*tada kore*" (but this is just) and "test shipment" when he explains that company S will have to pay the cost of fitting the dividers in Japan. Carl agrees with all of the statements up to this point (lines 675, 678, 684 and 686). With Carl's final backchannel in line 690, Takashi seems to have finished convincing Carl. He seems to fully accept the legitimate and expert power of Takashi, and by showing such obedience, Carl can claim his face based on his understanding of his place in the company. However, Matthew does not seem to be convinced by this and presents his point of view in the subsequent interaction, which will be analysed in detail in the next subsection.

A similar pattern of persuasion is observed when Takashi starts to persuade Matthew in the next part of the excerpt. However, the number of English clauses used is less compared to when Takashi was persuading Carl. This may be reflecting his perception that Matthew is more proficient in Japanese, thus codeswitching may function more as marking the important information rather than accommodation of understanding.

The frequent codeswitching in Takashi's turns and repetitions of the same point (lines 676-677 and 679-683) to mark information, as well as the length of time he goes on to persuade Carl, seems to indicate that Takashi is not happy about paying for fitting the dividers in France. Although this is not made clear, the fact that the discussion starts after Carl provides information "we will pay the dividers" in line 634, and Takashi's later comment "we have to pay for [the dividers in Japan]" in line 689

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[26] It is a legal requirement to fit dividers in the carton for transportation within Japan. However, in shipping the product internationally, there is no such requirement. Takashi may have thought that Carl may not be aware of this, thus clarifying this may prevent Carl from going through the whole process of test shipment without putting the divider in the cartons.

may imply that he is not willing to pay for the divider to be fitted in France.

4.4.3.2 Managing Face, Kao and Power Relationship in Interaction Through Codeswitching

From my observations, Matthew seems to be more aware of the norms of Japanese business communication than Carl. One piece of the evidence for this is that Matthew seems to know when he is allowed to speak without being controlled as is Carl. In previous excerpts, Carl initiates an utterance whenever he sees a chance to enhance his quality face even when it is not culturally appropriate to do so, while Matthew waits until he is invited to contribute to the interaction in the presence of more powerful figure in the company. For example, in line 388 in Excerpt 4, Carl inappropriately provides the term "Agen" when Takashi clearly asks others in the group for a help because it is face-threatening to get that information from Carl. On the other hand, in Excerpt 11, Matthew remains silent while Ken explains the packaging procedure for teabags until he is specifically invited to answer a question in line 416. In this manner, Matthew seems to avoid causing face threat to the more powerful figures in the company.

In this excerpt, too, Matthew remains silent despite showing a variety of non-verbal cues to show that he is uncomfortable while Takashi is persuading Carl that dividera are not needed. It starts in lines 660, when Matthew briefly removes his gaze from Takashi. He then picks up his pen (line 668), clears his throat (line 670), and looks at the bottles on the table (lines 673-674). Then he reaches for the bottles, and moves them (lines 675-676) and hits them against each other (lines 680 and 682).

Matthew's purpose for hitting the bottles against each other in lines 680 and 682 was to determine if the dividers are necessary for packaging this product by

checking the types of bottle the prune juice comes in.[27] As shown in the Figure 10 below, if the surface of the bottle is flat, the thickness of the affixed paper label protrudes from the surface, thus the labels will scratch against each other without a divider inserted between the bottles when packed in a carton. On the other hand, special bottles being used for some products have two protruding grooves on the surface of the bottle. With such a bottle design, the grooves hit each other, thus preventing the labels from scratching with each other. Unfortunately, Matthew discovered that the prune juice bottle was of the former type; therefore they must put in the dividers. If the bottle was of the latter design, the whole discussion here would not have been necessary. Upon finding this out, Matthew sits back again and waits until he is invited to take a turn (lines 683-685).

Figure 10. Looking at the bottles from the side

Although Matthew's action was not intended as a device to get Takashi's

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[27] The dividers are used for two purposes: to prevent the bottles from breaking by inserting a buffer between the bottles, and to prevent the labels from scratching. It is important not to have a scratched label on the bottles as Japanese consumers tend to avoid buying such products. Therefore it is important to prevent any damage to the bottles as well as the labels of the products while in transit.

attention, by this point, Takashi notices Matthew's actions (line 676). However, he keeps the floor to continue persuading Carl. When the persuasion sequence finishes, he invites Matthew to take the floor in Japanese (line 692). The switch to Japanese here seems to support Matthew's face as a fluent speaker of Japanese. It may also act as a floor management device to target a specific addressee who shares the same code, as previously discussed. It is also noteworthy that Takashi took a hint from Matthew's non-verbal behaviour that he wanted to take the floor. This appears to be a non-invasive method of gaining the floor without intruding on Takashi's power that is controlling the floor.

When Matthew takes the floor and reveals in lines 693-695 that it was his decision, not Carl's, to insist on using the dividers, Matthew's *kao* in this company becomes foregrounded. Matthew is Carl's direct superior, therefore he has to be responsible for Carl's actions, which is a construal of *kao*. He starts with an initial turn-claiming utterance "*ore wa*" (I) in colloquial form, then after a brief pause he quickly and baldly reveals the whole information directly to Takashi. He continues on to defend his action in line 696-697, by quoting his perceived judgement by other people. Towards the end, he giggles to appeal to laughter in order to reduce the degree of face-loss as well (line 697). The same technique was used by Takashi in Excerpt 5 (Section 4.1.2) when his face was threatened as a result of not being able to taste the product.

Takashi takes the floor in line 698, but he proceeds slowly, presumably to gather his thoughts on how to persuade Matthew without threatening his *kao*, as well as his face. Takashi shows more sensitivity to Matthew's face than to Carl, for the reasons established in section 4.2 above. In this case, too, Takashi interrupts his

counter-argument started in line 699 to support Matthew's idea (line 700-701). He even

attempts to strengthen the acceptance of Matthew's idea in English in line 703 after a

one second pause. Unlike when he was talking to Carl, where he used more direct

language such as "if this is their standard, then just follow them" (lines 656-659),

Takashi also includes hedges and hesitation, e.g. "*iya*" (well) in line 698, which shows

that Takashi is mitigating his projected threats to Matthew's face. Takashi's

explanation to Matthew is more thorough, making a link between the trading partner's

standard practice and the Company S following their practice by citing the practical and

financial burden on the trading partner for preparing divider only for one palette of

shipment (lines 705-710). When Takashi starts making an opposing statement in

Japanese, Matthew agrees with Takashi with a polite backchannelling "*sou desu yo ne*"

(that is right) in line 706, accompanied by a few nods, showing agreement with

Takashi's statements up to this point.

From line 707, Takashi uses the same intra-sentential codeswitching pattern,

as observed before (see subsection 4.4.3.1 above), a Japanese connective "*shikamo*"

(furthermore) in the ML structure and English EL clause "only for one palette" to

persuade Matthew, emphasising the small quantity of dividers to be prepared. He also

repeats the word "only" in English and "*dake*" (only) in Japanese, by virtue of the

different syntactic structure of Japanese and English, to further mark the assertion.

Takashi then repeats the same information again in English in lines 708 and 710, "they

can't prepare for, only … one palette volume of divider", but adds the Japanese final

particle "*desho*" (isn't it right?) to conclude the utterance to seek agreement from

Matthew at the same time as acknowledging Matthew's knowledge, as Matthew did in

Excerpt 9 with Satomi. This also seems to indicate that Takashi does credit Matthew

with knowledge of the business, thus observing his *kao* as well as identity face as a competent member of the company. Matthew also gives a backchannel in line 709, straight after Takashi mentions "they [the exporter] can't prepare" (line 708), showing his sensitivity to Takashi's *kao* by following his instruction. Takashi then adds in English in lines 709-710 that for a larger quantity it is viable to prepare the dividers for the carton. To this, both Matthew and Carl agree (lines 713 and 714).

Takashi then moves on to the next line of argument in lines 715-722, to outline what he expects from test shipment process. This basically repeats his argument made to Carl previously in lines 669-689, but with more details to persuade Matthew. Again, Takashi's persuasion follows the Japanese ML structure, the Japanese connective "*de*" (and), English embedded clause "this is test shipment" and Japanese connective "*dakara*" (therefore). It seems from the codeswitching structure, the message Takashi is trying to communicate is that because "this is [a] test shipment", they should try to check what they cannot afford to check with the normal shipping procedures that apply to goods for retail purpose. What they should check is presented again in line 721, that is, to test the strength of the bottles. Although Takashi does not verbalise it, he seems to be implying that because this shipment is not going to be sold from retail outlet, damage to the label is not a concern. Rather, they should take this opportunity to check something they cannot afford to check with the real shipment: to see how the bottles and labels are affected by the shipping conditions. Takashi concludes his argument in line 723 with another assertive statement, "*kore mo*, different point of view *deshō*" (this is also a different point of view, isn't it?). The embedding of English phrase "different point of view" in Japanese ML structure again seems to indicate his emphasis on presenting an opposing argument while following larger Japanese persuasion structure.

The utterance also finishes with "*desho*" (isn't it?), meaning he is trying to seek consensus from Matthew. This is reinforced with his body movement, leaning forward towards Matthew. Matthew makes a backchannel "*uːn*" (yeːs) in Japanese, but does not sound as if he is completely convinced. It becomes evident in the following segment of the meeting when another question is raised from the audience, whether the carton is large enough to accommodate the extra thickness of the divider. Matthew then tried to assert his point of view again that without actually trying to see if the dividers can be fitted, there may be extra work for him later to organise a larger carton.

In contrast to how persuasion was conducted with Carl, Takashi seems much more careful when persuading Matthew. He shows more sensitivity to Matthew's face and *kao* because of his position in the company; it may be interpreted as an emergence of politeness. Takashi may be showing politeness to Matthew's *kao* because not respecting his *kao* in front of his subordinate, Carl, is offensive in Japanese culture. This may also be a reflection of common ground understanding that Matthew is more capable of understanding the Japanese norms of interaction, thus he is treated more like a Japanese person. The choice of language also seems to contribute to this effect, by establishing closeness through the use of more Japanese. As a result, the interaction seems to put more emphasis on the achievement of relational goals in order to achieve transactional goals.

Chapter 5 Conclusion

5.1 Summary

In this chapter, I will summarise the findings in this thesis and suggest implications for future directions for research.

This study investigated the intra-company intercultural business communication observed at a Japanese company operating in Australia, between Australian workers and their Japanese superiors and colleagues. The main language of interaction was Japanese. Conversation analysis in combination with ethnographic research was employed to analyse video-recorded interactional data gathered from the company during a normal office day and from two meetings. The analysis was supplemented by interviews with the key participants in the interactions.

When communicating, interlocutors generally have two broad types of goals: transactional goals and relational goals. Each utterance achieves both goals to different degrees. In intercultural business communication, transactional goals may take priority over relational goals, as evident in frequent repairs and clarification requests being observed, but concern for each other's face needs are also attended to in such interactions.

Another unique feature of NS/NNS interactions is codeswitching if the interlocutors share the knowledge of more than two languages. Codeswitching can be used to achieve transactional goals as well as relational goals when a NS switches to another language when a NNS does not understand a term or an expression. Loss of face can be avoided by such actions.

However, previous studies do not seem to have investigated how power

relationships between interlocutors influence the achievement of both goals as well as the interactional achievement of face. Investigating the influence of power on how communication unfolds was one of the major aims of this thesis. Other goals of the study were to investigate the achievement of face in intra-company business communication, and its influence on repair and codeswitching in intercultural business communication.

The Rapport Management Framework (Spencer Oatey, 2000, 2005, 2007) was used as the framework of analysis. The Rapport Management Framework includes the analysis of linguistic as well as non-linguistic aspects of interaction in terms of intended goals and face achieved through interaction. It also assesses various factors that may influence interaction, one of which is the social power bases held by interlocutors. The relationship between face and power was investigated in intra-company intercultural business communication, including the use of repairs and codeswitching. The main findings from this analysis are outlined below.

5.2 Face and Power in Intra-company Intercultural Business Communication

This study has made a number of important findings. I will present them following the order of the research questions asked.

5.2.1 Face in Intra-company Intercultural Business Communication

The result of this study confirmed that face is a relational phenomenon (Arundale, 2006; Spencer-Oatey, 2007). The face that each employee of Company S holds seems to correlate with the position they hold within the company. The higher the

position they hold, the more face they seem to have; or to be more specific, the more face they must uphold in order not to feel their face is being threatened. As observed in Excerpt 20, Matthew seems more reluctant to accept Takashi's attempt to persuade him in defence of his face, whereas Carl agreed with Takashi straight away. This could be because Matthew holds a higher position than Carl in the company, thus he has more needs to defend his face and *kao* than Carl.

The face of the superior is always protected interactionally. When Takashi could not uphold his face because he failed to taste the product in Excerpt 5, Carl even sacrificed his face to defend Takashi's face (cf. Ervin-Tripp et al., 1995). Even Matthew's face and *kao* seem to be protected in comparison to that of Carl; there is a difference in how Takashi interacts between Matthew and Carl, as observed in Excerpts 6, 7, and 20.

Such correlation of face and position seems to be the result of the face claim one has made since the start of the interpersonal relationship between the interlocutors (cf. Arundale, 2006). As the relationships between interlocutors develop over time, it is natural to expect the positive social values being claimed as the individual's face would also accumulate. The positive social values being claimed as one's face can be based on one's achievements or abilities made through personal promotions or interviews, but once they are made, they must be upheld in order to maintain the claim. Considering that promotions in the company's hierarchy are made through such actions as showing of achievement or through interviews, it can be argued that the higher the position one holds, the more face claims have been made in one's relationship with the company and shared with other members of the company as common ground. Consequently, there are more face claims one must uphold in subsequent interactions.

If such a link between one's face and position in the company is established, it

can also link one's quality face to one's social identity face and respectability face (Spencer-Oatey, 2005). This is because the claims made on one's quality face led him/her to climb the hierarchy to attain a higher position, thus attaining social identity face and respectability face, which are based on the position one holds in society. For example, the company president is expected to know the full range of products the company sells. This is because he established and built the company based on his knowledge of products. These claims are not made within a single interaction, but are made through his time at the company, and such knowledge is shared among the employees of the company as common ground. Thus, the face claims made in the past may remain within the relationship with his employees over time, in the form of "expectations" or "reputation". For Takashi, not to know about the products or not being able to identify the products means a failure to uphold the claims made in the past, which is now known as the expected ability of the president, thus this may constitute a face threat, as observed in Excerpt 5. The emic notion of face in English analysed by Haugh and Hinze (2003)also seems to reflect this view.

This observation seems to suggest that not only respectability face, but also social identity face and quality face are cumulative in nature (cf. Spencer-Oatey, 2005). The claim to one's face, not only limited to quality face but also social identity face and respectability face, appear to increase as one climbs up the company hierarchy, at least in business communication situation. If this line of argument is followed, along with how claims made in one situation may transfer to another situation, it may blur the distinction between situation-specific face and pan-situational face.[28]

For NNS employees, their proficiency in language can also become part of

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[28] Spencer-Oatey herself questions that there is a clear distinction between quality face and respectability face (2007, p. 653).

common ground. When called upon to provide a translation for a certain word, if the NNS fails to provide the correct translation, it can constitute a face-threat (Excerpt 7). On the other hand, if the NNS is not expected to understand a certain word, a face-threat is not perceived (Excerpt 13). A NS who is interacting with a NNS also seem to understand the limitation posed by NNS's proficiency in the language. For example, if a face-threat is projected to NS as a result of NNS's lack of language proficiency, the NS seems to ignore it (Excerpt 16).

5.2.2 Influence of Power on Interactional Achievement of Face

Power also affects the interactional achievement of face in a number of ways in intra-company business communication. Differences in the amount of social power bases held between the two interlocutors seem to be the main factor in determining the courses of the interaction between them. Sunaoshi's (2005) claim that the communication norms to be determined by the historical factors that interlocutors bring with them appears to hold true. Similar to the amount of face held by employees explained above, the higher the position one holds, the more power he/she may have in general, but as suggested by Raven (1993), this is not always the case, especially with soft power such as expert power.

Differences in the perceived amount of power bases held by interlocutors seem to determine what is appropriate in interactions between them, previously described in literatures as notions of behavioural expectation (Spencer-Oatey, 2005) and *wakimae* (Hill et al., 1986; Ide, 2006). From the perspective of the interlocutor with relatively less power bases, achieving transactional goals means also paying attention to the face concerns of the interlocutors, thus shifting more towards the relational side of the

transactional-relational goals continuum. On the other hand, the interlocutor with relatively more power bases can choose to threaten or not threaten the face of interlocutors with relatively less power bases if necessary, as became evident in Section 4.2. It appears that the achievement of transactional goals is used to reinforce the relational goals by maintaining the power relationship, i.e., relative difference in the power bases held (Fairclough, 1989). The greater the distance in power relationship between the interlocutors, the more acceptable it is to project a threat to the face of the interlocutor(s). Conversely, in order to affect face threat, one must increase the distance in power relationship by utilising preparatory methods to influence power (Raven, 1993), as used by Matthew in Excerpt 8.

At this company, the company president Takashi has the most power in the group based on his position (formal legitimate power), the right to make decisions (reward and coercive power), and his expertise on the products and the market (expert power). In addition, he has referent power over his subordinates, especially Carl, who aspires to be a successful businessman like Takashi. In the interaction involving the president, his influence of power is evident in controlling the floor in the meeting to achieve transactional goals (Fairclough, 1989). In the process, he threatens the face of his subordinate Carl when the work done by him is not acceptable (Excerpt 1) and if the goal can be achieved without him (Excerpt 19). Others also support Takashi's power as necessary, by providing information when he lacks it (Excerpt 4) and not interrupting him until invited to take the floor (Excerpt 20). At the same time, Takashi also takes up the expected role of the Japanese boss by mentoring Carl (Yamada, 1997). Carl seems to understand this and follows Takashi's instruction, even if that means not being able to claim his own face on his achievement. This seems to reinforce their *giri* relationship,

thus strengthening the solidarity between the two.

In general, the faces of the interlocutors with more social power bases in a given interaction seem to be protected, be it legitimate power or expert power, thus face is upheld in interaction. However, the other side of the coin is that the one with more power must also uphold his/her face by invoking power in interaction. Power can be exercised, for example, by showing that they are capable of doing the work he/she is given. In order to do so, corrections to others' errors must be made. How they are expressed, again, depends on the power relationship between the interlocutors.

This also seems to point to the fact that the accumulation of face that is held by one correlates with the power held by him/her in the given situation. Others involved in the interaction seem to weigh the difference in power, and consequently face, and choose what is considered to be appropriate. The judgement of what is considered appropriate varies between cultures and thus can create conflicts in intercultural communication, as noted by many researchers previously (e.g., Brown & Levinson, 1987; Raven, 1993; Spencer-Oatey & Xing, 2003). It was observed in this study, too, that Carl talks back to Matthew but to no one else when being instructed what to do (Excerpt 8). Such an act, when talking to a Japanese superior, can be perceived as inappropriate, as discussed by Miller (2000). Takashi also pointed out during his interview that he finds the non-Japanese employees talking back to him annoying. Despite this, all Japanese superiors evaluate their non-Japanese subordinates positively.

5.2.3 Face and Power in Repair and Codeswitching

Both repairs and codeswitching play a significant role in achieving transactional goals in NS-NNS interactions. Repairs are initiated in order to negotiate

and clarify meanings in interactions. These can be face-threatening if it impedes on one's ability to uphold his/her claim on face. For example, when Ken found out the products rollout plan has been changed without his knowledge, his role as Matthew and Carl's supervisor was compromised (Excerpt 10). Because this has caused his *kao* to crumble, the initiation of his repair based on acceptability issue and subsequent repairs on understanding issue while Matthew was explaining why the plan has changed were perceived as face threatening to Ken. However, not initiating the repair at that point will not have achieved transactional goals necessary to successfully conduct business. Therefore the repair was initiated despite passing the most common place to initiate a repair, which is the next turn (Schegloff, 2000; Schegloff et al., 1977). The loss of faces incurred by repairs does not seem to sustain over a long period of time in business communication situations.[29]

Codeswitching seems to perform two broad functions in achievement of relational goals: that of claiming face and controlling the perceived distance in power relationship between interlocutors. Firstly, NNS can codeswitch to the language he/she has relatively more proficiency in to express ideas. An example of this was observed in Excerpt 18 when Carl responded to the question posed by Matthew. Secondly, the controlling of power relationships between interlocutors, and subsequently the face of the interlocutors, can be done in two ways: to reduce the distance, and to increase the perceived distance. When used to accommodate for (lack of) understanding by NNS, codeswitching can be used to promote the solidarity of the group, thus reducing the distance in power relationships. However, codeswitching can also be used to increase

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[29] Although this awaits confirmation from case studies over a much longer period of time, it is worth noting, however, that such long term effects might be better examined in the context of impression management and person perception rather than facework *per se.*

the perceived distance in power relationships between interlocutors as well. For example, when Matthew wanted to project a threat to Carl's face for providing information that he already knows, he intentionally switched back to Japanese to show his superiority (Excerpt 18). Furthermore, as observed in Excerpt 19, codeswitching can be used to exclude NNS from participating in some cases. In that particular interaction, the intended transactional goal was achieved but at the expense of the NNS's face. As proposed by Myers-Scotton, the interlocutors rationally chooses the code of interaction to achieve intended goals (Myers-Scotton, 1998c), whether it is to enhance solidarity or to cause a threat to the interlocutor's face.

Finally, it must also be noted that the face threat perceived in intra-company business communication seems to dissipate quickly once the interaction ceases or moves on to the next topic. At least on the surface, even when Carl was excluded from the interaction because of his limited proficiency in Japanese and lack of knowledge in explaining the taste of the new product, and he seems to have interpreted the exclusion as a face threat, the threat seemed to have disappeared once the interaction moved on to the next topic (Excerpt 19). The same is true with potentially face-threatening repairs initiated in interactions. When Ken was caught for mis-calculating the quantity of teabags to order by Matthew, the achievement of transactional goals were not hindered because of it (Excerpt 15).

5.3 Implications for the Future Research

Based on the above findings, I would like to suggest the following three implications for future research.

5.3.1 Inter-relationship between Face and Power

From the findings of this research, the inter-relationship between face and power should be recognised in future research. It is clear from the findings, at least in intra-company business communication settings, that power relationship between interlocutors can influence how transactional goals are achieved through multiple avenues. The degree of face-threat that can be projected in an interaction between interlocutors with different power levels are not the same. The one with relatively more power can ignore the face and rights concern of the interlocutors with relatively less power in order to achieve transactional goals. At the same time, the interlocutor with greater power bases seems to feel greater potential for face threats within an interaction than those with less power bases because he/she has much more face to uphold in an interaction. This implies that the face, rights and power held by interlocutors are not equal in each interaction. It is evident in Japanese emic notion of face or *kao*, that a novice does not have a *kao*. In fact, whether the recipient of a face threat has a *kao* or not may be the deciding factor in choosing the method of FTA in Japanese interactions.

The notion of power is already incorporated in Brown and Levinson's (1987) FTA theory, in which power is a factor to consider when carrying out a FTA. Although it appears applicable when a speaker whose bases of social power is less than that of a receiver of the intended FTA, Brown and Levinson appear not to consider the reversed situation, i.e., when the speaker has greater power bases than the receiver, FTA may help uphold the speaker's face (cf. Fairclough, 1989). Perhaps separating face and power and incorporating power as a component of calculating possible face threat is misleading; face and power should be considered as two sides of a coin, i.e., two

inter-related notions that interact with each other in determining the relationship between interlocutors.

Brown and Levinson also mention that the role the same interlocutors play in different situations can change the acceptable FTA utterances (cf. Thomas, 1995). However, they do not elaborate on a long-term development of face and power between people who may have relationship at multiple levels. Perhaps a modification to the Rapport Management Framework may be necessary to analyse intra-company intercultural business communication by placing greater emphasis on this. Also, to fully understand the interactional achievement of face and power, understanding the context of the interactions and backgrounds of the interlocutors and their relationships, i.e., common ground, through ethnographic analysis is often necessary.

Another factor that was not considered within the scope of this thesis is the role of gender in interactions (e.g., Holmes & Stubbe, 2003; Takano, 2005). From the data, the way Naoko achieves transactional goals when interacting with Carl contrasts with that of Takashi in terms of the strategies used. In the future, this aspect can be further investigated.

5.3.2 Chronological and Social Development of Face

The construal of face in a long-term relationship and its implication for other relationships may need to be explored. It may shed light on the inter-relationship between quality face, social identity face and respectability face (Spencer-Oatey, 2005, 2007). Sunaoshi was perhaps right in identifying the history of the interlocutors to determine the interactional norms (2005) because the interactional norms brought to the interaction by a more powerful interlocutor seem to become the basis of interactions

between them.

Most prior studies of face seem to focus on interactions between interlocutors who have not had much prior contact, and so can concentrate on the development of the norms of interaction between them, or focus on interactions between friends participating in social gathering, therefore lacking specific transactional goals to be achieved, as in a business situation (e.g., Locher, 2004). While it is convenient for researchers because they do not need to consider the contexts of past interactions between interlocutors, in these types of interactions, the pan-situational face held by interlocutors may not be salient, thus not giving the researchers the opportunities to study the emergence of pan-situational face nor its inter-relationship with situation-specific face. Conducting more studies based on interactional data between interlocutors with different power bases may be useful in clearifying the inter-relationship between situation-specific face and pan-situational face. It may help re-conceptualise the notion of face, integrating both situation-specific and pan-situational face. It may also help theorise the Japanese notion of *kao*, as well as other emic notions of face in various cultural groups.

The notion of interaction may also need to be expanded to include people other than the direct addressees, including side participants, bystanders and overhearers (Verschueren, 1999). Raven (1993) has already included indirect aspects of influencing power in his model of basis of social power, e.g., an overhearer being influenced by the power held by a person through gaining the information that he/she is a famous figure through eavesdropping. If face can be linked to the notion of power, such methods of claiming one's face can also be included in the model of face. It may also shed light on the development of pan-situational face.

5.3.3 Implication for Business People

Finally, there are implications for teaching businesspeople who wish to conduct business in, or with, Japanese companies must be addressed. As shown in this thesis, sensitivity to interlocutor's face and power seem to play a significant role in successful intercultural business communication. Businesspeople can be informed that they must pay attention to interlocutor's face needs, not only to situation-specific face but also pan-situational face, which may include their past achievements, their positions in the company, and the company's position in the society. Guidebooks on etiquetts in doing intercultural business, such as Bacarr (1994) and De Mente (1991) may be a good resource in learning what to do and what not to do when dealing with Japanese businesspeople.

Businesspeople can also be informed that the norms of interaction seem to be decided by the communication partner with more social power bases. Therefore it is important to ascertain who has more power in the interaction. In intra-company intercultural business communication, it is the person with a higher position who usually determines the communication norms. In the company where the data was collected, the norm of communication was strongly influenced by the Japanese president and other Japanese managers, although the company conduct the business in Australia. The Japanese managers claimed that the communication that takes place within the company adopts Australian norms of communication, but the perceptions of NNS participants asserted that the interactional norms are Japanese. It was also evident from discourse data that the interaction resembles Japanese norms, such as the president taking the role of mentoring the subordinates, using Japanese persuasion strategies and observing *kao* of interlocutors in interactions. Observation of

communication norms, which can vary between workplaces, is necessary for a successful intra-company intercultural communication incorporating attention to relational goals as well as transactional goals.

Most important of all, businesspeople must know that it is ultimately up to the individuals to uphold their own face claimed through the past interactions in order to build positive interpersonal relationship and pan-situational face in a long term. More research can be conducted to identify what positive social values can be claimed to build and uphold one's face in intercultural business situations.

5.4 Conclusion

In conclusion, by realising that face and power are inter-connected notions that are negotiated and reinforced by each other through interactions, many of the interactional phenomena in intercultural communication, including repair and codeswitching, can be explained. Especially in goal-oriented interactions, such as in business situations (Varner, 2000), the achievement of face and power seems to determine the way transactional goals are achieved while paying attention to the relational goals. Anyone who wishes to enter into intercultural business communication situation should also pay attention to upholding their own face in interaction.

Appendix 1: Transcription Conventions

(ten Have, 1999, pp. 213-214)

Sequencing

[A *single left bracket* indicates the point of overlap onset.

]   A *single right bracket* indicates the point at which an utterance or utterance-part terminates *vis-a-vis* another.

=   *Equal sign*, one at the end of one line and one at the beginning of a next, indicate no 'gap' between the two lines. This is often called *latching*.

Timed intervals

(0.0)   *Numbers in parentheses* indicate elapsed time in silence by tenth of seconds...

(.)   A *dot in parentheses* indicates a tiny 'gap' within or between utterances.

Characteristics of speech production

<u>word</u>   *Underscoring* indicates some form of stress, via a pitch and/or amplitude;

::   *Colons* indicate prolongation of the immediately prior sound. Multiple colons indicate a more prolonged sound.

-      A *dash* indicates a cut-off.

.,?   *Punctuation* marks are used to indicate characteristics of speech production, especially intonation; they are not referring to grammatical units.

.   A *period* indicates a stopping fall in tone.

,   A *comma* indicates a continuing intonation, like when you are reading items from a list.

?   A *question mark* indicates a rising intonation.

     The absence of an utterance-final marker indicates some sort of 'indeterminate' contour.

↑↓   Arrows indicate marked shifts into higher or lower pitch in the utterance-part immediately following the arrow.

WORD   *Upper case* indicates especially loud sounds relative to the surrounding talk.

°   Utterances or utterance parts bracketed by *degree signs* are relatively quieter than the surrounding talk.

<>   *Right/left carets* bracketing an utterance or utterance-part indicate speeding up.

·hhh   A *dot-prefixed row* of hs indicates an inbreath. Without the dot, the *hs* indicate an outbreath.

w(h)ord   A parenthesized *h*, or a *row of* hs *within a word*, indicates breathiness, as in laughter, crying, etc.

Transcriber's doubts and comments

( )   Empty parentheses indicate the transcriber's inability to hear what was said. The length of the parenthesized space indicates the length of the untranscribed talk. In the speaker designation column, the empty parentheses indicate inability to identify a speaker.

(word) Parenthesized words are especially dubious hearings or speaker identifications.

(( ))   Double parentheses contain transcriber's description rather than, or in addition to, transcriptions.

Translations of Japanese utterances are marked with "double-quotation marks".

In the translation, some words may be inserted in English due to the differences in syntactic structures between Japanese and English. Such words are marked with [square brackets].

Appendix 2: Instruction Sheet for Stimulated Recall Interviews

Instruction for Stimulated Recall

What we are going to do is watch the video that was recorded on 30th of March this year at this office.

1. I am studying how you and your Australia/Japanese colleagues communicate in Japanese in business situations.
2. Please stop, fast forward, or rewind the videotape at any time to comment on any aspect of the communication or interaction. in particular, tell me:
   (1) what you were doing and/or thinking at a particular point in the interaction;
   (2) what you thought the other person was doing and/or thinking at the time.

Stimulated Recall の説明
これから今年３月３０日にこのオフィスで録画されたビデオを見ます。
１．　これはあなたとあなたの同僚の間の、ビジネスの現場での日本語のコミュニケーションについての研究です。
２．　自由にビデオを止めたり、早送り、巻き戻しなどをして、そのコミュニケーションについてコメントしてください。特に以下の点についてコメントしてください。
   (1) その時にあなたが何をしていたか、または考えていたかについて
   (2) その時にあなた以外の人が何を考えていると思ったかについて

Appendix 3: Questions Asked in Semi-structured Interviews

To NNS participants
General Questions

1. What job / position do you have in the company?

    Please draw the organisational structure of the company from your perspective.

2. Age & How long have you worked here? Company since 1994

3. How do you find working in this company?

4. How did you find out / get this job?

Japanese study experiences

5. Where / how long / at what level did you study Japanese?

6. Have you worked in an Australian company before?

7. How different is working in "S" compared to other companies?

8. Politeness in communication?

9. Non-verbal behaviour

10. Is there any difficulty in communicating with your colleagues?

To NS participants
General Questions

1. What job / position do you have in the company?

    Please draw the organisational structure of the company from your perspective.

2. Age & How long have you worked here? Company since 1994

3. Have you worked in a Japanese company in Japan?

4. How different is working in Australia compared to working in Japan?

Expectations　希望と期待

5. What do you expect from Australian workers?

6. To what extent do you expect Australian workers to understand Japanese customs,

business manners, market, etc.?

7. Politeness in communication?

8. Non-verbal behaviour

9. Is there any difficulty in communicating with your colleagues?

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