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ADDENDUM

Page	Line	Typographical errors	Corrections
36	16	Wardaugh 1995: 247	Wardhaugh 1992: 247
66		Table 3.3 Sequence 6 Trigger-Signal-Response/Trigger-Response-[Reaction to Response/Continuing Move]	Table 3.3 Sequence 6 Trigger-Signal-Response/Trigger-Response/Trigger- [Reaction to Response/Continuing Move]
124	11	line 6	line 1
124	12	Example 5-8	Example 6-8
166	6	Table 3.9	Table 3.8
198	6	line 51	line 55
216	10	[(3) Partial repetition: (plain) type]	Delete " [(3) Partial repetition: (plain) type] "
253	8	*kura ja nai no?*	*kuro ja nai no ?*

CONVERSATIONAL NEGOTIATION IN CHINESE - JAPANESE INTERACTION:

AN ANALYSIS OF WORKPLACE COMMUNICATION

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SYNOPSIS

People in a multilingual workplace are expected to understand each other and to minimize and/or overcome problems due to their lack of shared linguistic, sociolinguistic and sociocultural knowledge, through the process of *conversational negotiation* (CN). Many researchers from various fields have shown a keen interest in CN, however, an investigation into CN in authentic Japanese conversations among co-workers in a multilingual workplace has not been undertaken to date.

The research presented in this thesis is based on the investigation of how Chinese (CJs) and Japanese co-workers (JJs) in the multilingual workplace in Hong Kong attained communication goals through CN. The main data were 35 hours' audio-recordings of 120 dyadic conversations in Japanese between a CJ and a JJ, which were supplemented by follow-up interviews and by rating sessions involving ten Chinese and Japanese raters. For the analysis of various types of CN, three frameworks were adopted: Neustupny's framework of interaction, the second framework developed by the researcher to analyze explicit CN and the third one developed by Gumperz to analyze implicit CN.

Three major types of CN in the study were identified in terms of triggers: conversational negotiation of propositional meaning (CN-PM), of expertise (CN-EX) and of interactional meaning (CN-IM). CN-PM was triggered either by linguistic ambiguity (CN-PM/ling) or factual ambiguity (CN-PM/fact). Triggers of CN-EX included ambiguity resulting from unshared content knowledge concerning work-related and non-work related topics. CN-IM was triggered by unshared norms of interpreting implicit contexualization cues, where the interactional meaning of the ongoing discourse was, for example, a request, disagreement or compliment.

CN-PM/ling, CN-PM/fact and CN-IM in work-related talk (WRT) occurred much more frequently than in non-work-related talk (NWRT), when urgent transmission of clear messages was needed. In contrast, CN-EX occurred far more frequently in NWRT where time constraints or external interruptions were not eminent, than it did in WRT. In general, JJs as linguistic hosts tended to be more dominant in initiating CN-PM/ling and CN-IM. However, all CJs actively participated in CN-EX in NWRT, during which both JJs and CJs rotated their roles as an expert and a non-expert, in order to maintain conversation collaboratively. The roles of JJs and CJs in

CN-EX and CN-IM were not statically fixed as linguistic hosts and guests, but were dynamically rotated.

CJs and JJs adopted explicit and implicit CN strategies with regard to their linguistic markedness. The processes of CN-PM and CN-EX were carried out primarily with explicit strategies, but supplemented with implicit strategies, while those of CN-IM were mainly carried out with implicit strategies. Seven types of explicit strategies were identified: expressions of non-understanding, interjection, partial repetition, complete repetition, minimum reply plus correct information, paraphrasing and elaboration. Among the seven sub-categories of paraphrasing - synonyms and antonyms, switching of intransitive and transitive verbs, switching of Chinese reading and Japanese reading of Chinese characters, multilingual code-switching, explaining the radicals of Chinese characters, showing visual documents, and writing Chinese characters (*hitsudan*) - the last five were categorized as Chinese-character-based (ChB) strategies, through which participants negotiated not only through the oral channel of communication but also through an oral/visual and/or a visual channel only. Metalinguistic knowledge about the shape, pronunciation and meaning of ChB vocabulary, which are partially shared by CJs and JJs, also played a significant role in their application of the ChB strategies. Implicit strategies, on the other hand, were not marked with linguistically explicit features, but contained subtle contexualization cues, such as change in prosody, speech style shifts, discourse markers, code-switching, sentence-final particles and laughter.

The primary functions of CN-PM and CN-IM were sense making and problem solving to clarify linguistic/factual ambiguity and interactional ambiguity of the ongoing discourse respectively. In contrast, the main function of CN-EX was to maintain conversation by jointly developing topics. Overall outcomes of all CN cases in the study were successful, except for a few cases of CN-IM sequences which resulted in misunderstanding, when lower proficiency [illegible] were unable to appropriately interpret implicit CN strategies consisting of subtle contexualization cues. In general, the participants did not evaluate CN negatively as interruption (an exercise of power), but positively as discourse strategies to establish rapport (an exercise of solidarity) to convey meta-messages of friendliness, solidarity and involvement as co-workers. The CN processes in the study thus displayed a *double bind*, in which the conflicting factors such as power and solidarity were constantly negotiated by the participants.

STATEMENT

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university, and to the best of my knowledge and belief, neither does it contain material previously published or written by another person, except when due reference is made in the text.

Yuko Miyazoe-Wong

Preface

This study was motivated by my personal experience in communicating with people of various linguistic and cultural backgrounds. During my university days in Tokyo, I first became aware of the fact that the Saga regional variety, of which I am a native speaker, was rather different from Common Japanese (*Kyootsuugo*), in terms of honorifics and rules of speaking, as well as accent and vocabulary. At a multilingual workplace where I worked, I almost misinterpreted an Indian doctor's nonverbal behavior of tilting his head sideways as "reluctance" based on my native Japanese norm, but later found out that it was his strong indication of "willingness" based on his native Indian norm.

My pursuit in exploring how people attain mutual understanding by overcoming differences in communication was further reinforced by two intriguing incidents. When my late father Shinichi Miyazoe and my mother Eiko Miyazoe first met my late mother-in-law Yue Shuk, they instantly became amicably and enthusiastically absorbed in exchanging their views on issues about Japan, Hong Kong and the world. My father was able to read classic Chinese fairly well and could compose Chinese poems, but had very limited spoken proficiency in modern Chinese (Putonghua). Due to the lack of *lingua franca* which they could employ in oral communication, they communicated with each other through the visual channel, by writing Chinese sentences and compounds (*hitsudan* 筆談). Beside them, my sister-in-law and I were conversing in English. The *hitsudan* scene fascinated me so much that I could not help but observe the three elderly people who constantly indicated their mutual understanding, through nonverbal signals of smiling, laughing, nodding and patting others' shoulders. The visual presentation of Chinese characters was the *lingua franca* among them. Two of the three participants have passed away, but several sheets of papers that they used for *hitsudan* communication still vividly remind me of their happy faces.

A few years after the incident, I found that there was a huge documentation of transcripts of *hitsudan*, called *Okochi Bunsho*, in which nearly all transcripts were hand-written by brush by the Chinese and Japanese participants themselves at the end

of the nineteenth century (Saneto 1964). The book reminded me of the fact that Classic Chinese had been *lingua franca* among male elites in East Asian countries until quite recently.

The second incident occurred when my little daughter Michi (then 26 months old) and I were buying '*natsume*' (棗 prunes) at a fruit shop. Being a multilingual child, Michi asked me how to say '*natsume*' in English and Cantonese. I told her that it was called 'prune' in English and '*sài-múi*'(西梅 western plum) in Cantonese. Unfortunately, my Cantonese intonation being incorrect, Michi took it as '*sai-mùih*'(細妹 little sister). After looking puzzled for a second, she then pointed at a basket of plums next to that of prunes, saying happily, "I see. Prunes are smaller and plums are bigger. That's why prunes are called 'little sisters'". I tried to explain to her the meaning of the word 'western plum (西梅)', but it was to no avail, since Michi at that time was too small to understand the word 'western' in any of her three languages, let alone to possess any metalinguistic knowledge of the Chinese character 'west (西)'. This incident taught me that conversational negotiation between a mother and her multilingual child could be problematic sometimes.

There are many people to whom I owe this study. My first is my supervisor, Associate Professor Helen Marriott, to whom I offer my deepest gratitude. She has carefully read numerous versions of my draft, provided constant guidance and constructive comments, and steered it to its completion. I also wish to thank Professor J. V. Neustupny, my original supervisor, for his support and encouragement. I am grateful to Ms. Gillian Gaston, my former colleague, for her comments on my manuscript and her constant encouragement, and to Dr. Gillian Humphreys, my colleague at the Hong Kong Polytechnic University, for her valuable comments and suggestions on the final draft.

I am deeply indebted to my former students, their Japanese co-workers, Chinese and Japanese native raters in this study who spent their precious time in cooperating with me during the process of data collection, follow-up interviews and rating sessions. My colleagues in the Department of English at the Hong Kong Polytechnic University

and friends in the Department of Japanese Studies at Monash University always cheered me up through all the stages of completing this study.

My heartfelt gratitude goes to my late mother-in-law, my late father, and my mother, who showed me their courage, wisdom and joy in intercultural communication by overcoming their linguistic and cultural differences.

Last, but not least, I wish to thank my husband Philip and two daughters Michi and Mie, for creating such a cheerful and stimulating multilingual/multicultural environment in and around our home. My everyday interaction with them indeed has been and will continue to be the source of my inspiration to investigate issues in the area of communication in multilingual settings.

List of tables and figures

List of abbreviations

CN	conversational negotiation
CN-PM	conversational negotiation of propositional meaning
CN-PM/ling	conversational negotiation of propositional meaning resulting from linguistic ambiguity
CN-PM/fact	conversational negotiation of propositional meaning resulting from factual ambiguity
CN-EX	conversational negotiation of expertise
CN-IM	conversational negotiation of interactional meaning
NM	negotiation of meaning
CJ	Chinese participant (who interacts in Japanese)
JJ	Japanese participant
CR	Chinese-speaking rater (who is an advanced speaker of Japanese)
JR	Japanese-speaking rater
WRT	work-related talk
NWRT	non-work-related talk
SLA	second language acquisition
IS	interactional sociolinguistics
CA	conversation analysis
ChB	Chinese-character-based (vocabulary, strategies, etc.)
NChB	non-Chinese-character-based (vocabulary, strategies, etc.)

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The present study aims at investigating how and when Chinese and Japanese co-workers mutually arrive at shared understanding in multilingual workplace settings through linguistic processes known as *conversational negotiation* (Gumperz 1992c: 305). Conversational negotiation is employed by the participants for the purpose of making sense of the propositional as well as the interactional meaning of each other's utterances. The main focus of the study is a description and analysis of the occurrence, types, sequences and outcomes of conversational negotiation of such meaning on the discourse level as it appears in everyday office conversations between co-workers in certain intercultural situations in Hong Kong.

1.1 Face-to-face interaction in modern urban industrial society

People in modern urban industrial society frequently communicate with people who do not share linguistic, sociolinguistic and sociocultural knowledge (Neustupny 1978, 1987; Gumperz 1982; Miller 1988; Saville-Troike 1989; Clyne, Ball and Neil 1991; Clyne 1994; Clyne, Giannicos and Neil 1994; Neil 1994). Such communicative situations may take place everyday in shops, hotels, restaurants, schools, and offices. It is not surprising to find that a shopkeeper and a buyer, a hotel receptionist and a hotel guest, a teacher and a student, or a bank teller and a customer, do not share the same linguistic, sociolinguistic or sociocultural rules. In such situations, there may be frequent cases of misunderstanding and/or communication breakdown among the participants due to differences in a wide range of norms. They have to make use of all available resources to understand each other and to cooperatively attain their goals. For instance, co-workers in the multilingual

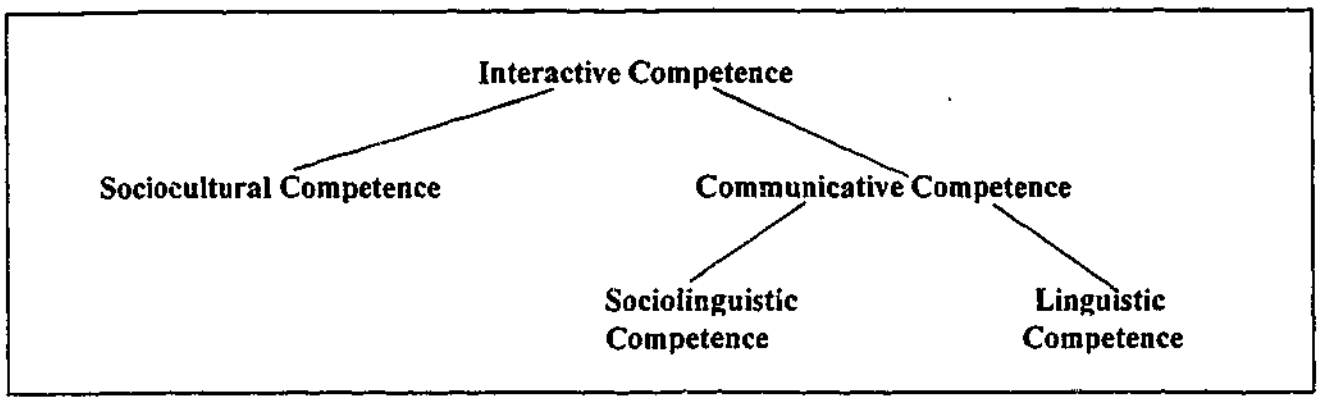
workplace, despite their unshared knowledge, are expected to communicate effectively in order to carry out their tasks and to exchange information within a certain time frame. In the meantime, they must maintain their mutual rapport and solidarity as co-workers.

Participants in face-to-face interaction do not know how the ongoing discourse will progress. There is no fixed meaning in ongoing spoken discourse, since the meaning is shaped and interpreted according to a given context. It is participants who collaboratively construct meaning, by constantly renewing context and updating their interpretation (cf. Gumperz 1982; Heritage 1989; Wagner 1996). Participants do not follow fixed conversational rules, but are "guided by interpretive norms which are continually reinforced or revised in the light of interpretation" (Tannen 1992b: 10). Participants normally cooperate with each other to establish mutual understanding, constantly indicating through backchannel cues and feedback whether they comprehend the ongoing interaction, and showing their willingness to sustain conversation. Such cooperation is essential for interactants to communicate smoothly and effectively (cf. Grice 1975; Wardhaugh 1985). For better comprehensibility, participants modify their own utterances, indicate the need for partners' utterances to be modified, and sometimes take the initiative to modify or correct partners' utterances (cf. Ferguson 1971; Schegloff *et al.* 1977; Long 1980, 1981, 1983a, 1983b; Gass and Varonis 1985a, 1985b; Varonis and Gass 1985a, 1985b; Pica *et al.* 1986; Pica 1988; Richards, Platt and Platt 1992: 244). These processes in which participants mutually engage in face-to-face interaction, in order to interpret the ongoing discourse for better understanding, are widely known among linguists as *negotiation.* To distinguish the linguistic and interactional processes of negotiation in face-to-face communication from business negotiation, I shall use the term *conversational negotiation* in the present study.

According to Neustupny's framework of interaction (Neustupny 1978, 1979, 1987, 1995), which was derived from Hymes (1972a, 1972b), interactive competence embraces sociocultural competence and communicative competence, which, in turn, consists of linguistic and sociolinguistic competence (Figure 1.1). In order to interact effectively and appropriately in the business domain, such as the one described in the

present study, participants must possess all types of competence, that is, linguistic, sociolinguistic and sociocultural competence, with regard to both generative and receptive skills (cf. Marriott 1990).

Figure 1.1 Neustupny's framework of interaction (Neustupny 1978, 1987, 1995)



Among all types of competence presented in Figure 1.1, linguistic competence is often considered the most vital element for success in communication. However, previous studies (cf. Gumperz 1982; Marriott 1990) report that mere linguistic competence to produce or decode grammatically correct sentences does not necessarily lead participants to engage in successful communication if they do not know the appropriate sociolinguistic rules which govern the particular communicative situation. Neustupny categorizes sociolinguistic components into the following eight rules (1982, 1987), based on the Hymes' theory of the ethnography of communication (Hymes 1972a, 1972b):

1) *Switch-on rules (under what conditions?)*
2) *Setting rules (when and where?)*
3) *Participant rules (who?)*
4) *Variety rules (in what "language"?)*
5) *Content rules (what?)*
6) *Message rules (in what form?)*
7) *Channel rules (through what medium?)*
8) *Management rules (how to deal with communication problems).*

Sociocultural competence covers a wide range of components of culture and society, which do not seem to directly affect an individual's communicative competence or behavior. Yet, without such knowledge, participants may be unable to interact appropriately, since they may fail to interpret the meaning of the ongoing discourse or the intention of their interlocutors correctly and appropriately (cf. Gumperz 1982; Neustupny 1985a, 1985b, 1987; Pride 1985). Examples of these sociocultural components which may affect participants' interaction in the multilingual workplace are their interlocutors' way of life and values, as well as customs and

tradition, religion, education system, history, geography, and the socio-economic structure of the society to which their interlocutors belong (cf. Neustupny 1987).

Thus, successful interactants must be equipped with linguistic, sociolinguistic and sociocultural rules of how to speak correctly and appropriately and how to use various strategies to interpret and negotiate the meaning of the discourse. For the purpose of eventually achieving their communicative goals, participants in face-to-face interaction, therefore, negotiate not only linguistic meaning, but also the interactional meaning of the ongoing discourse (cf. Gumperz 1982; Neustupny 1985a, 1985b, 1987).

Communication is frequently accompanied by numerous problems (cf. Neustupny 1985a, 1985b; Gumperz 1982; Tannen 1985a). However, participants interacting in intercultural situations, whether they are native or nonnative speakers of the base language(s) in use, are under greater strain than those in intra-cultural situations. They seem to experience more communication problems and misunderstandings mainly due to the lack of shared knowledge with regard to linguistic, sociolinguistic and sociocultural rules[1] (Gumperz 1982; Neustupny 1985a, 1985b, 1987). Therefore, it is very important for participants in intercultural situations to negotiate effectively to interpret the ongoing discourse, and to overcome such potential problems or misunderstandings.

1.2 The multilingual workplace as a speech community

Due to the recent rapid internationalization and globalization of business in the world, more and more people are involved in interaction in intercultural business situations in the bilingual and/or multilingual workplace. In an international business city such as Hong Kong, people are often expected to communicate and carry out their work in their first language (L1), second language (L2) and/or third language (L3). For instance, in the multilingual workplace in Hong Kong[2], the Chinese speakers in the present study use two spoken varieties of Chinese[3], that is, Cantonese (L1a) and Putonghua[4] (Mandarin Chinese, L1b[5]), English (L2) and Japanese (L3), whilst the Japanese speakers use Japanese (L1), English (L2) and/or Cantonese/Putonghua (L3a/L3b). It is thus not uncommon for them to communicate everyday with

co-workers, clients, customers and visitors in languages other than their L1. It is, therefore, inevitable these participants are often forced to communicate with each other in the language in which they are not so competent, if that is the only common linguistic code among them. In such cases, the first priority of the participants may be to communicate the content of their messages effectively, with their limited linguistic competence, and within a limited time frame, rather than to speak the language flawlessly.

A multilingual workplace such as the one described in the present study can consist of a multilingual speech community, where participants partially or wholly share at least one linguistic code (in the case of this study, Japanese). While some participants are monolingual and some bilingual, others often not only possess proficiency in multiple linguistic codes, but have also acquired the skill to switch between different linguistic codes, and to choose appropriate sociolinguistic and sociocultural rules depending on the selected code(s) (Saville-Troike 1989: 260-262). Such a workplace is not a homogeneous speech community consisting of ideal speakers and hearers, as described by Chomsky (1965: 3), where all participants are expected to follow the norms of the community and engage in smooth communication.

Furthermore, it is not easy to predict which norms characterize the discourse of the participants in a multilingual speech community: norms of their native languages (their L1s), norms of the contact language(s) (their L2 or L3), or norms other than those listed above. The participants in the present study can be roughly divided into the following two groups: Japanese native speakers who belong to the Japanese speech community and Cantonese native speakers who belong to the Hong Kong Cantonese speech community. It has been reported, however, that any speech community can in fact be divided into many subordinate speech communities formed by various subcultural groups (Tannen 1984; Szatrowski 1994). Characteristics pertaining to speakers in a speech community, such as age, sex, race, ethnicity, social class, educational level, occupation and regional dialect(s), may vary greatly. As a result, the speech style of members of each sub-speech community within the parent speech community may be distinctively different. Therefore, the definition of so-called "native speakers of a language" may not seem to be as clear as we usually think. For

instance, male native speakers of a language may speak quite differently from female speakers. Native speakers of a language living in one region and those living in other regions may not share the same variety of linguistic or sociolinguistic rules. On the other hand, levels of nonnative participants' proficiency in the contact language(s) may also vary from novice to near-native levels. Accordingly, lack of shared linguistic, sociolinguistic or sociocultural knowledge among native and nonnative participants in a multilingual speech community may result in various kinds of communication problems. In such cases, conversational negotiation may come into play in order to solve ambiguity and misunderstanding, in addition to its central role of facilitating communication.

The present study focuses on conversational negotiation in talk at work between Chinese and Japanese co-workers in the multilingual workplace in Hong Kong. These speakers are motivated by various reasons to speak: in order to transfer and/or exchange information to carry out their assigned jobs, and/or to maintain social relationships. They may engage in *transactional speech* (work-related talk), which is mainly *message-oriented*, or *interactional speech* (non-work-related talk), which is principally *listener-oriented* (Brown and Yule 1983). A typical example of transactional speech is conversation at a service counter, where the goal of the customer is to receive a requested service. On the other hand, an instance of interactional speech may be illustrated by small talk or *phatic* talk among co-workers during tea time at the office, in which case the main goal is to establish and strengthen rapport and friendship (Malinowski 1923; Schneider 1988; Coupland and Coupland 1992). The distinction between the two types of talk is, of course, not very clear, since their functions overlap, with transactional spoken language sometimes being embedded within interactional speech, and vice versa (Brown and Yule 1983: 11).

1.3 Research questions

As discussed above, in order to successfully communicate and achieve their tasks in the multilingual workplace, co-workers who have various cultural and linguistic backgrounds must try to negotiate effectively by activating and exploiting their partially shared, and often very limited, knowledge of the linguistic,

sociolinguistic and sociocultural rules of the language(s) in use. It is therefore hypothesized that conversational negotiation among co-workers in the multilingual workplace in Hong Kong plays a vital role in mutually understanding the ongoing discourse, and in minimizing and/or overcoming problems resulting from their lack of shared linguistic, sociolinguistic and sociocultural knowledge.

How and what do such co-workers in multilingual workplace settings communicate? How do they mutually understand the propositional and interactional meaning of the ongoing discourse? How do they manage communication problems? How do they resolve incomplete, inaccurate, and/or ambiguous messages? These are the questions that motivated me to investigate the topic of the present study on conversational negotiation in Chinese-Japanese interaction in the multilingual workplace in Hong Kong.

The main research questions (RQs) in this study are as follows:

RQ1: *What processes of conversational negotiation are found in Chinese-Japanese interaction in the workplace?*

RQ2: *What are the main factors which influence participants' choice of conversational negotiation strategies?*

RQ3: *What are the communicative functions and outcomes of conversational negotiation?*

1.4 Conversational negotiation in the multilingual workplace

Researchers of various disciplines have taken many different approaches in their investigation of *conversational negotiation.* In this section, I shall briefly introduce the definitions, then a more detailed literature review on major studies relevant to the current study shall be presented in Chapter 2.

According to Richards, Platt and Platt (1992: 244), conversational negotiation can be viewed as activities performed by participants to achieve successful and smooth communication. Speakers mutually negotiate while they talk by engaging in such activities as (1) employing backchannel expressions, clarification requests and

comprehension checks in order to show their (non)understanding and their willingness to continue communication, (2) modifying their own/others' utterances in order to facilitate communication, and, (3) correcting (repairing) their own/others' utterances. It should be noted that the above-mentioned definition of Richards *et al.* seems to be concerned mainly with explicit negotiation activities which appear in the discourse of participants, involving marked linguistic features, linguistic and interactional modifications, and repair. It thus covers general processes of negotiation of propositional (linguistic) meaning, regardless of the situation, which could be intra-cultural, inter-ethnic, or intercultural. In other words, negotiation involving implicit processes such as subtle *contexualization cues* (Gumperz 1982, 1992c) in order to negotiate interactional meaning, such as participants' intention, attitude, role and status, are not included in this approach.

Researchers in conversation analysis (CA) consider conversational negotiation as the "sense-making" (Wagner 1996: 222), and "context renewing" (Heritage 1989: 22) activity of any participant in conversation. According to Wagner, "meaning is not a 'fixed' concept, but is shaped locally by participants who draw on all available resources" (Wagner 1996: 223). Thus, any everyday face-to-face interaction, whether the situations are intra-cultural or intercultural, entails negotiation as a vital activity. The primary roles of conversational negotiation by participants through the turn-taking process is viewed by CA researchers as a means to attain mutual understanding by constructing meaning of the on-going discourse. Researchers in the field of CA have focused mainly on *negotiation of interactional (social) meaning*, such as participants' intentions and social identities (cf. Jefferson and Schenkein 1978; Szatrowski 1987, 1993; Jones 1990). However, it has not excluded research focusing on *negotiation of propositional (linguistic) meaning*. Studies such as those on repair/correction (cf. Jefferson 1974; Schegloff *et al.* 1977; Schegloff 1979, 1987), and side sequences (Jefferson 1972) can be all categorized as studies of negotiation of propositional meaning.

CA researchers' perspective on, and approach to, the conversational negotiation described above seems to be suitable as a theoretical base for the analysis used in the present study. Previous studies in CA also provide interesting insights into analysis

of conversational negotiation in the multilingual workplace; however, they do not provide an ideal framework to analyze naturally occurring conversations among co-workers in intercultural situations in the multilingual workplace, as found in my study. As Firth (1996) points out, previous studies in CA have focused on analysis of systematic organizations of everyday conversations involving adult native speakers, without providing any suitable framework to analyze face-to-face interaction in intercultural situations. These studies are concerned mainly with sequential and preference organizations of natural conversations in intra-cultural situations, disregarding the social roles and status, or linguistic and cultural backgrounds of participants. The conversations which have generally been analyzed in CA studies are those involving speakers who are assumed to have adult native competence in the language. In contrast, the conversations I will investigate in this study are those of intercultural situations in a multilingual workplace involving native and nonnative speakers of Japanese, whose proficiency in Japanese varies from intermediate to advanced levels.

One of the streams of research focusing on intercultural and/or inter-ethnic communication is called interactional sociolinguistics (IS). As the name suggests, IS researchers analyze naturally occurring interaction by taking participants' social relationships into consideration (Schiffrin 1994). Participants investigated by IS researchers are often linguistically and culturally heterogeneous, and often do not share linguistic, sociolinguistic or sociocultural knowledge. The situations investigated are mostly inter-ethnic or intercultural, rather than intra-cultural ones (cf. Tannen 1981, 1984, 1994; Gumperz 1982; Yamada H.1992). IS researchers argue that participants do not know how the ongoing discourse will progress, since there are no fixed conversational rules for them to follow (Gumperz 1982). They proceed with their interaction by continually reinforcing or renewing their ongoing interpretation of discourse (cf. Tannen 1979, 1981, 1984, 1992b) through which they reach shared understanding. IS researchers thus view such conversational negotiation as a central process in conversation, and its primary function is viewed as facilitating and sustaining communication. IS researchers have so far conducted research by focusing primarily on the conversational negotiation of interactional meaning, such as participants' intentions, abilities and attitudes, rather than on the negotiation of the

propositional meaning of the ongoing discourse. However, this does not mean that the frameworks they employ are not suitable for an investigation of negotiation of propositional meaning. The following definition of *conversational negotiation* provided by Gumperz clearly explains that the IS framework, in fact, enables us to investigate various types of conversational negotiation, whether it is explicit or inexplicit, and whether it occurs in intra-cultural, inter-ethnic, or intercultural situations:

> The third term, *conversational negotiation*, refers to the processes or procedures by which shared understandings are arrived at and conversational-management tasks like those involved in sequential and preference organization are accomplished. It has been shown that the regularities of ordering that conversation analysts have discovered are produced without conscious effort on the part of speakers. Conversational principles, moreover, do not function like "all-or-none" grammatical rules. Nor is the negotiation process overtly marked by grammatical or lexical means. Negotiation is achieved indirectly and cooperatively through different speakers' moves and countermoves as a byproduct, so to speak, of the task of conveying content. Conversing, therefore, cannot simply be seen as a problem of putting information into words, or, for that matter, of using the right grammar or choosing appropriate expressions. It is a collaborative enterprise involving the coordinated efforts of several speakers and listeners in the production of interactional outcomes (Goodwin 1981). I want to argue that it is this issue of eliciting and achieving conversational cooperation, as well as developing the shared understandings on which argumentation must rest, that is most centrally affected by the taken-for-granted cultural assumptions that underlie interpretation. (Gumperz 1992c: 305)

According to Gumperz (1982, 1992c), mutual goals of participants in face-to-face interaction are achieved mostly unconsciously through implicit *discourse strategies* involving *contexualization cues*, but are sometimes attained consciously through explicit strategies. Such processes are called *conversational negotiation*. In everyday ordinary conversations, however, participants have a certain shared knowledge through which they can interpret the ongoing discourse correctly and appropriately. Participants' shared knowledge includes mutual understanding of the language they are speaking, settings, social roles and status of participants, expectations and goals of the speech event in which they participate (Hymes 1972a, 1972b; Neustupny 1978, 1987). Moreover, "participants need not agree on the details of what was meant in any utterance, so long as they have negotiated a common theme" (Gumperz 1979: 15). The communicative outcome of conversational negotiation processes, according to IS researchers, includes facilitating and sustaining conversation, achieving mutual understanding of propositional and social meaning of the ongoing discourse, solving perceived and/or actual communication problems, generating topics and talk, and conveying meta-messages by showing the participants' emotions, such as dissatisfaction, anger and rapport (Gumperz 1982, 1992c).

In the area of second language acquisition (SLA) research, Long (cf. 1980, 1981, 1983c, 1983d, 1985) maintains that native speakers in inter-cultural situations modify their conversation and interaction to facilitate their nonnative interlocutors' comprehension. They use various devices to modify their interaction, either for the purpose of avoiding trouble, or for the purpose of repairing problems. Long called the former type of devices "strategies," and the latter type "tactics" (Long 1983a). Long's theoretical framework of interactional modification (Long 1983a) and conversational adjustment in intercultural situations (Long 1983b) has been further developed by various SLA researchers (Gass and Varonis 1984, 1985a, 1985b, 1986, 1989, 1991, 1994; Pica and Doughty 1985a, 1985b, 1988; Varonis and Gass 1985a, 1985b; Pica 1986, 1988, 1991a, 1991b, 1992, 1993, 1994a, 1994b; Pica *et al.* 1986, 1987, 1989, 1991, 1993; Plough and Gass 1993). Such processes of linguistic and interactional modification involving native and nonnative speakers was labeled the "negotiation of meaning" (cf. Gass and Varonis 1985a, 1985b; Pica 1992). The term *negotiation of meaning* (NM) in SLA research can be defined as "an activity that occurs when a listener signals to a speaker that the speaker's message is not clear, and listener and speaker work linguistically to resolve this impasse" (Pica 1992: 200). As the definition suggests, SLA researchers view NM as a repair strategy to solve communication problems resulting mainly from NNSs' deficiency in the production and reception of the target language (in most previous studies, English). Namely, NM occurs when a listener, who cannot understand a speaker's ambiguous or problematic utterances, initiates clarification of the linguistic meaning of the discourse. It is very important to note that NM in SLA research is considered not as a facilitating mechanism involving all participants in the conversation, as viewed by CA and IS researchers, but as a device to correct linguistic deviations or errors and to solve communication problems caused mainly by nonnative participants. Therefore, NM research in SLA has focused mainly on the negotiation of propositional (linguistic) meaning, not on that of interactional (social) meaning. The processes of NM investigated in SLA research have thus been primarily explicitly marked types involving linguistic means, such as requests for clarification/repetition, comprehension checks, and reformulation of previous utterances.

One of the main aims of SLA researchers is to investigate what kind of linguistic environment and conditions facilitate second language acquisition, and one focus is to see how learners' interlanguage systems develop in terms of their grammaticality. Based on Krashen's (1981, 1982, 1985) input hypothesis, SLA researchers have become strongly convinced that the presence of multiple occurrences of NM create an ideal environment for SLA. Through the processes of NM, learners have the opportunity to receive "comprehensible input" provided by native participants (Krashen 1981, 1985; Long 1983c, 1983d), have access to positive and negative feedback provided by native interlocutors on their interlanguage system (Lightbown and Spada 1993; Long 1996), and have the chance to test their hypotheses by modifying their interlanguage system to see whether it is acceptable as "comprehensible output" by native interlocutors (Swain 1985, 1993).

The majority of SLA researchers have analyzed NM in experimental settings, and the data are mostly not natural but elicited (cf. Long 1980; Varonis and Gass 1985a, 1985b). SLA researchers have thus created artificial environments which promote negotiation between nonnative and native subjects in order to test their hypothesis that frequent NM would eventually lead to SLA. For example, two-way tasks, such as information gap and jig-saw tasks, increase the occurrence of NM more than do one-way tasks, such as free talk or discussion (cf. Gass and Varonis 1985a), and cross-gender dyads in conversation produce more NM than dyads formed by the same sex (cf. Gass and Varonis 1986). Many of the native and nonnative subjects have no particular social relationship, some of them meeting for the first time for the purpose of the experiment. Some studies claim that SLA learners would learn the target language effectively by engaging in NM processes while carrying out such tasks (Gass and Varonis 1985a, 1986), so the native and nonnative subjects are often encouraged by researchers to clarify (negotiate) with each other while completing the tasks. Wagner (1996: 225), from a CA perspective, criticizes the methodology employed by SLA researchers on NM, asking what else native and nonnative subjects can do but clarify and negotiate with each other, when they meet in a first encounter to complete artificial tasks in a laboratory. Unlike CA and IS research on conversational negotiation, NM in SLA research is considered neither as an exchange to facilitate mutual comprehension between the participants, nor as a process for them to mutually

unfold unknown matters (new and/or mutually unshared information) to become known matters (old and/or mutually shared information). This is the fundamental difference between the studies of NM in the area of SLA and those of conversational negotiation in the areas of CA and IS.

However, more and more studies have been conducted by SLA researchers focusing on conversational participation which includes NM, in order to challenge the narrow and limited perspective of SLA research, as described above. For example, Musumeci (1996) reports that explicit and sustained NM between teachers and students to resolve communication problems seldom occurs in content-based language (Italian) classrooms. She challenges the idea advocated by previous SLA researchers of promoting negotiation in classrooms in order to facilitate SLA. She concludes that "overall lack of linguistic negotiation is attributed to teachers' and students' expectation for appropriate classroom behavior, teachers' sensitivity to affective variables in second language learning, power relationships, and time management considerations" (Musumeci 1996: 286). Other researchers have also investigated the natural conversations of native-nonnative interaction, and analyzed how participants' content knowledge and social status affect participation in conversation with relation to patterns and frequency of their use of NM (cf. Woken and Swales 1987; Zuengler 1989a, 1989b, 1993a, 1993b; Zuengler and Bent 1991). The major finding of the studies cited above is that if nonnative participants possess upper-intermediate to advanced proficiency of the language, and assume social roles higher than or equal to those of the native participants, patterns of participation in conversation and NM are quite different from those reported in many previous SLA studies. For instance, these researchers have reported that participants' language proficiency, social roles and relationships, expertise in topics, affective factors and expectations of communication situations, are crucial factors which affect the occurrence and processes of conversational negotiation in natural conversations. These factors are also of great significance in the present study.

As summarized above, many researchers from various fields have shown a keen interest in conversational negotiation. Naturally, their analytical frameworks and research methods vary greatly. While researchers of CA and IS deal with naturally

occurring conversational data, the majority of SLA researchers analyze negotiation in experimental settings. CA researchers commonly focus on conversations in intra-cultural situations, but those of IS and SLA focus on conversations in inter-cultural or inter-ethnic situations. Overall, research on conversational negotiation in authentic intercultural situations at work is rare (cf. Wagner 1996), though some studies on negotiation have been conducted in intra-cultural situations involving native and nonnative speakers of English by CA and IS researchers (cf. Jefferson and Schenkein 1978; Schenkein 1978; Tannen 1981, 1984, 1985a, 1990; Gumperz 1982; Yamada H. 1992).

I have used the previous studies in the areas of CA, IS and SLA briefly described above to provide valuable background for my study, exploration and analysis of conversational negotiation. However, there does not appear to be a single framework suitable for analyzing the conversational negotiation which occurs in authentic everyday communicative situations in the multilingual workplace, as in the present study. After collecting and observing my data, I found that the processes of conversational negotiation (CN) can be roughly categorized into the following two types in terms of the existence of certain linguistic features: (1) explicit CN, and (2) implicit CN.

Explicit CN is marked by linguistic means, such as requests for clarification/repetition and comprehension checks. I have identified two sub-categories in this first type. These are (1a) *conversational negotiation of propositional meaning* (CN-PM) and (1b) *conversational negotiation of expertise* (CN-EX). The sub-type (1a) is further categorized in terms of the trigger, into one resulting from linguistic ambiguity (CN-PM/ling) and the other resulting from factual ambiguity (CN-PM/fact). CN-EX is triggered by information gaps among participants with regard to expertise and content knowledge in the ongoing discourse. In contrast, implicit CN is not marked with linguistically explicit devices as is the first type. Its processes are often characterized by implicit means referred to as *contextualization cues* by Gumperz (1982, 1992c). In this type of CN, participants indirectly and often unconsciously *negotiate the interactional meaning* (CN-IM) of the ongoing discourse, such as their intentions.

Table 1.1 provides a summary of the four main types of conversational negotiation found in the present data. It is not an exhaustive list of the types of conversational negotiation that can be found in everyday natural conversation, but constitutes the main types present in this study.

Table 1.1 Types of conversational negotiation in naturally occurring interaction

(1) Explicit conversational negotiation

(1a) Conversational negotiation of propositional meaning (CN-PM)

(i) Negotiation resulting from linguistic ambiguity (CN-PM/ling)

(ii) Negotiation resulting from factual ambiguity (CN-PM/fact)

(1b) Conversational negotiation of expertise (CN-EX)

(2) Implicit conversational negotiation

Conversational negotiation of interactional meaning (CN-IM)

Conversational negotiation in the present study, particularly the explicit type, seemed to occur only when participants regard it as absolutely necessary. I observed that participants often used implicit strategies, such as subtle contexualization cues, including nonverbal signs, to indicate their non-understanding, instead of issuing explicit expressions to negotiate. In other words, explicit CN seems to be often omitted or avoided by co-workers in the multilingual workplace. However, the present data were not video-recorded but audio-recorded, so it was not possible to analyze systematic information on nonverbal signs. I shall therefore limit myself to providing information on them through my observations as a participant observer.

As Gumperz (1979:15) argues, it is not necessary for the co-workers in the present study to negotiate all the time, since they often share common knowledge and frames in workplace communication, which enables them to infer the meaning of the ongoing discourse correctly and appropriately. Also, the nonnative participants are intermediate to advanced Chinese speakers of Japanese. Both Chinese and Japanese participants share quite a number of lexical items based on Chinese character compounds as *cognates* in their native languages.

As previously presented, I have adopted Neustupny's framework on interaction, which I believe to be the most appropriate framework to investigate both the explicit and implicit types of CN and to analyze sociolinguistic variables found in the present data (cf. Figure 1.1). Furthermore, to analyze the explicit type of CN, I have developed a framework based on various frameworks employed in previous studies (cf. Schegloff *et al.* 1977; Jefferson and Schenkein 1978; Varonis and Gass 1985b; Ozaki 1989, 1993; Pica 1992). For the analysis of the implicit type of CN strategies, I have adopted an IS theoretical framework. These three frameworks have enabled me to investigate various types of CN, by considering linguistic, sociolinguistic, and sociocultural (socio-economic) factors pertaining to the situations and participants in the study. The details and relationships of the three theoretical frameworks will be presented in Chapter 3.

It is hoped that the present study will be able to make a contribution to the existing body of research on CN in experimental, instructional and natural settings. I also wish to report on some distinctive features and outcomes of CN which seem specific to Chinese-Japanese interaction between co-workers in intercultural communicative situations in a multilingual workplace.

1.5 The background of the study

1.5.1 Hong Kong as an international business community

Hong Kong, a British colony for 156 years, reverted to the People's Republic of China (PRC) on the 1st of July 1997, and became a Special Administrative Region (SAR) of the PRC. Hong Kong has been a major international financial and economic center in the Asia Pacific region for the past three decades, and it is expected to remain so after the transfer of its sovereignty from Britain to the PRC. According to 1998 statistics, Hong Kong has a bigger per capita gross domestic product (US$24,282) than both its past and present rulers, Britain and the PRC. Hong Kong, with a population of 6.6 million, is ranked in the world as the eighth largest trading entity, the fourth in terms of volume of external banking transactions, and the fifth largest foreign exchange market. Hong Kong boasts the busiest container port and

one of the busiest airports in the world. The statistical figures, cited above, illustrate how Hong Kong's place as a major international trade and finance center not only in the region but in the world is firmly established (cf. The Hong Kong Government Information Services 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999; Ueda 1997). More than 10,000 international/multinational companies from 76 countries are registered in Hong Kong. Among them, as of 1998, approximately 2,000 Japanese, 1,400 American, 450 French, and 400 German companies currently operate in Hong Kong (cf. South China Morning Post 9-4-1998). The number of international/multinational companies in Hong Kong has been steadily increasing at an annual rate of 10% over the past decade. Hong Kong and southern China have constantly attracted many overseas investors and are expected to continue to do so in the future (cf. Ueda 1997). The total figure for international/multinational firms mentioned above would be even greater if multi-party joint ventures of, for instance, the PRC, Hong Kong and Japan, incorporated in the Special Economic Zones (SEZs) or in southern China, were included. Also, more than 70% of so-called 'local' companies in Hong Kong have business relations or affiliations with overseas firms, so the majority of firms in Hong Kong are actually conducting their business internationally.

According to recent trade statistics, the three major trading partners of Hong Kong are the PRC, the USA and Japan. Many overseas countries, including the USA and Japan, consider Hong Kong as a pivotal trade and financial center, and *entrepot* to promote their bilateral trade with the PRC. Japan, for example, is the second biggest exporter to Hong Kong after the PRC, the fourth largest receiving nation of Hong Kong's domestic products, and the third largest recipient of its re-exports, most of which were originally from the PRC. In the realm of world trade, Hong Kong thus occupies a strategically important position as the gateway to the PRC (The Hong Kong Government Information Services 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999). In relation to the tourism industry, more than twenty million overseas tourists came to Hong Kong in the year 1996. The first three largest tourist groups between 1996 and 1999 were from Taiwan, the PRC and Japan (The Hong Kong Tourist Association 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000).

In summary, finance, international business and trade and tourism are the major industries of Hong Kong, and hence intercultural communication situations are extremely prevalent.

1.5.2 Linguistic environment in Hong Kong

Chinese and English[6] are the two official languages of Hong Kong. Even after the transfer of sovereignty from Britain to PRC on the first of July 1997, English remained an official language, and seems to continue to hold a firm status not only in the areas of international trade, finance and tourism, but also in other areas such as government offices, education, and the mass media. However, English is used in a limited number of public domains. In the meantime, Putonghua has gained in importance in such domains as business, tourism and the mass media. Previous studies therefore claim that Hong Kong should be classified as a bilingual society where Cantonese and English are spoken, but the vast majority of the population is monolingual Cantonese-speaking and the spread of individual bilingualism is quite restricted (cf. Luke and Richards 1982; Lord and T'sou 1985). That is to say, Cantonese, one of the spoken varieties of Chinese, is extensively used in almost all the domains of everyday communication, since nearly 90% of the population speak it as their first/usual language at home and at school, as well as at work.

As for Chinese, spoken forms of Chinese varieties, in terms of pronunciation, tones, lexis and in some cases even syntax, are so diversified from each other that a speaker of the Cantonese dialect cannot communicate smoothly with a speaker of the Shanghai dialect. It is also not surprising to find that many Hong Kong Chinese residents cannot speak or comprehend Putonghua unless they are taught how to speak it. Preparing for the post-transfer of sovereignty era, some Hong Kong schools at primary, secondary and tertiary levels included Putonghua as a compulsory academic subject as early as 1986. In 1996, the Education Department of the Hong Kong Government stipulated that Putonghua education be introduced to all students in Primary Year 1, Secondary Form 1[7]and Secondary Form 4 in all government-funded primary and secondary schools in the academic year of 1998 (The Hong Kong Education Commission 1994, 1995, 1996). According to Ramsey (1990: 7), the

linguistic distance among Chinese dialects/varieties is quite vast, and is comparable to those distances which exist among Romance languages such as French, Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian. However, in contrast to the differences in spoken Chinese varieties, there is a unified system of Chinese writing, so that educated speakers of different Chinese varieties can equally understand the written language. Thus, due to the recent spread of Putonghua, the repertoire of Chinese spoken varieties among Hong Kong speakers has become more complex than before. More and more speakers are competent to speak in Cantonese and Putonghua in oral communication, while some are even proficient in other spoken variety/varieties, such as other dialect(s), in addition to their competence in standard Chinese for written communication (Bacon-Shone and Bolton 1998).

Recently published studies (Bacon-Shone and Bolton 1998; Pierson 1998) argue that the Hong Kong speech community is a multilingual speech community, rather than a bilingual speech community with the population consisting of predominantly Cantonese-speaking monolinguals. Bacon-Shone and Bolton (1998) claim that even in the 1983 survey, the Hong Kong speech community had the clear characteristics of a multilingual speech community, consisting of Cantonese-English-Putonghua trilinguals (17%), English-Cantonese bilinguals (25%), Cantonese-home dialect bilinguals (18%), Cantonese-Putonghua bilinguals (8%), and Cantonese monolinguals (30%). Its multilingual tendency became much clearer in the 1993 survey, with the population consisting of Cantonese-English-Putonghua trilinguals (38%), English-Cantonese bilinguals (22%), Cantonese-home dialect bilinguals (8%), Cantonese-Putonghua bilinguals (7%), and Cantonese monolinguals (16%). Thus, between 1983 and 1993, the proportion of bilingals/trilinguals in Hong Kong increased 14% from 70% to 84%, while that of Cantonese monolinguals decreased 14% from 30% to 16% (Bacon-Shone and Bolton 1998: 86).

The increase in the spread of the English language in the Hong Kong speech community between 1983 and 1993 described above is attributable to various factors. Firstly, Hong Kong's previously elitist secondary and tertiary education system shifted to a mass education system in the late 1980s. In 1980, only two percent of the relevant age group (i.e. secondary-school leavers) was offered first-year undergraduate

places, while nearly 18% of the same age group was accepted by universities in 1995. Secondly, prior to Hong Kong's change of sovereignty from Great Britain to China in 1997, many Hong Kong residents migrated to English-speaking countries, such as the USA, the UK, Canada, and Australia. Some Hong Kong residents then returned to Hong Kong to work after securing passports from the countries to which they migrated. The number of Hong Kong students receiving tertiary education in English-speaking universities is reported to be about 25% of the age group. Thus, the number of Hong Kong residents of different age groups who are proficient in English has increased. The spread of English between 1983 and 1993 seems to have a strong correlation with the reduction (14%) in the number of Cantonese-monolinguals, since more and more young people have learned and will learn English at the secondary and tertiary levels and, as a result, may become bilinguals/trilinguals. This tendency will further promote the multilingual characteristics of the Hong Kong speech community (Bacon-Shone and Bolton 1998).

One of the most important issues in language planning in Hong Kong in the era of post-transfer of sovereignty is the Education Department's decision in 1998 to convert the medium of instruction of many English-medium secondary schools to Chinese. The decision marked a clear shift in the status of English in Hong Kong secondary education from that of a second language to that of a foreign language for the majority of students. There are 460 government-funded secondary schools in Hong Kong which are categorized into two groups: secondary schools using Chinese as a medium of instruction (CMI schools) and those using English as a medium of instruction (EMI schools). While the number of EMI schools was 260 (57%) and that of CMI schools was 200 (43%) before 1998, the number of EMI schools has been reduced to 114 (25%) and that of CMI schools has been increased to 346 (75%) respectively. Previous studies reported the perceived decline of secondary students' proficiency in English and also in Chinese (their mother tongue), and the subsequent decline of their overall academic performance over the past two decades (cf. The Hong Kong Education Commission 1995). Policy-makers and education planners tried to convince the general public that teaching academic subjects at secondary level through the students' mother tongue would be more effective. However, various representatives from the business and educational sectors as well as students and

parents made strong representations against the Education Department's decision, believing that as an international business community Hong Kong could not afford to reduce its international competitiveness by producing fewer efficient bilingual communicators in Chinese and English.

In the past, without English proficiency, no one in Hong Kong had been able to successfully attain professional goals. Even now, secondary school students who are poor at English cannot enter any of the seven government-funded universities, cannot enter the competitive job market, and cannot be promoted to a managerial post. Regardless of the decision of the Education Department described above, high recognition given to proficient Chinese-English bilinguals is likely to remain, as long as Hong Kong continues as an international business center. To be more precise, bilingual literacy in Chinese and English, and trilingual oral proficiency in Cantonese, Putonghua, and English appear to be the language requirements for business personnel in Hong Kong. From the social and economic viewpoint, the language requirements for a well-educated work force are seen as one of the most important factors in upholding the economic prosperity of Hong Kong, and the demand for well-educated bilinguals seems to be increasing. Hong Kong is situated in the Asia Pacific region, where many businesses are owned and operated by multinational/international companies involving Chinese business personnel speaking various Chinese varieties. Therefore, without doubt, English and Putonghua are, and will continue to be the two major *linguae francae* in business communication in the region. Thus, many studies (cf. Bacon-Shone and Bolton 1998; Pierson 1998) argue that the Hong Kong speech community will continue to move toward multilingualism in the future, where Cantonese, Putonghua, other varieties of Chinese, and English will be used.

1.5.3 The economic and cultural presence of Japan in Hong Kong

As mentioned in 1.4.1 above, the Japanese economic presence in Hong Kong is strongly felt. More than 24,000 Japanese nationals were officially registered as residing in Hong Kong in 1998, which ranks the Japanese as the ninth largest foreign community in Hong Kong (South China Morning Post 9-4-1998). The majority of them are employees, plus their families, of Japanese companies assigned to work for

three to five years at their Hong Kong branch offices. The number of Japanese business personnel is estimated to be higher than 30,000, if we include those who regularly commute between Japan, Hong Kong and China to do business. In 1996, more than 2.4 million Japanese tourists came to Hong Kong (Ueda 1997). There has been a drop since, however, more than 1 million Japanese tourists annually visited Hong Kong in 1998 and 1999 (The Hong Kong Tourist Association 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000).

The general public of Hong Kong is keenly aware of the current Japanese economic and cultural presence in Hong Kong. As in many other Asian cities, various Japanese electrical appliances are commonly used in offices and homes, and Japanese automobiles are everywhere in Hong Kong streets. Japanese fashion, toys, comic books, movies, and pop songs are popular, and Japanese cuisine attracts many people in Hong Kong. According to a recent survey, 65% of 320 respondents who were Cantonese-speaking university students in Hong Kong stated that the Japanese culture was the one they felt most familiar with among all foreign cultures in Hong Kong, and 73% felt that the Japanese language is the most frequently used, and the most useful foreign language in Hong Kong after English (Miyazoe-Wong, forthcoming).

1.5.4 Hong Kong Chinese learners of the Japanese language

According to a Japan Foundation (1995: 27) survey, the number of learners of Japanese as a foreign language (JFL) in Hong Kong was approximately 16,000, ranking eleventh in the world and comprising nearly 1% of the total number of JFL learners in the world. One of the characteristics of Hong Kong JFL learners is the fact that almost all of them are adult learners. In fact, more than 90% of the learners are adults in employment, studying Japanese language at language schools, taking private lessons, and/or studying it on their own after work. In contrast, about 1,500 learners, a little less than 10% of the total Hong Kong JFL learners, are full-time university students studying the language as a credit or non-credit-earning subject (Yue 1995; Shih 1996).

As to why Hong Kong JFL learners study Japanese, the results of a large-scale survey on learner motivation conducted on more than 6,400 working adult JFL learners at a language school in Hong Kong over a period of eight years showed that 75% of the respondents were studying the language because they wanted to learn it as a "hobby" (Saito 1995). Personal interest, rather than pragmatic considerations such as career development, is reflected by the fact that 73% of JFL respondents were not using Japanese in their current jobs. In fact, only 11% of them used Japanese every day, 14% used it frequently, 33% used it rarely, while 40% did not use it at all (Saito 1995). Their motivation in learning Japanese thus seems to be determined by their interest, and most of them also appear eager to know about the culture, society and people of Japan (Miyazoe-Wong 1997). This is in contrast to Hong Kong students' reasons for learning English, which is perceived by the majority of them as an important factor in expanding their opportunities for better education and employment prospects.

In recent years, more than 250 Hong Kong university JFL learners (approximately 17% of the total Hong Kong university JFL learners) have annually participated in some type of study/work programs in Japan as an integral part of their Japanese language programs (Miyazoe-Wong 1997). The duration of such programs varies from two weeks to one academic year. The number of those university JFL learners who have acquired higher proficiency in Japanese through their experiences in Japan is constantly increasing, and so is the number of those who wish to work as multilingual business communicators in Hong Kong as well as in other parts of the world. It transpires, therefore, that more and more university JFL learners in recent years have been refining their career goals in order to become multilingual businesspersons who possess trilingual literacy in Chinese, English, and Japanese, and multilingual oral proficiency in Cantonese, Putonghua, English and Japanese in social and business settings (Hara 1994; Miyazoe-Wong 1997).

Another interesting characteristic relating to JFL learners in Hong Kong is that they are enthusiastic about gaining external qualifications, through, for example, the Japanese Proficiency Tests, which are devised by the Japan Foundation and the Association of International Education Japan, and the JETRO Business Japanese Tests, which are devised by the Japan External Trade Organization (JETRO). For the past several years, more than 3,000 applicants have sat for the annual Japanese Proficiency

Tests in Hong Kong. The ratio of test applicants to the JFL learners of Hong Kong is 18.1%, which is the highest in the world, followed by Taiwan (13.25%), the PRC (3.76%), and Korea (2.41%) (The Japan Foundation 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997). This is probably due to the fact that some recent classified advertisements in local newspapers often include passes in such tests as prerequisites for application to Japanese-speaking business posts. Employers in Hong Kong often give special language allowances to job seekers who have passed the Level One test (highest level) or Level Two test (second highest level) of the Japanese Proficiency Tests. The popularity of the tests among Hong Kong JFL learners may motivate students to study Japanese beyond the classroom. This is because most of the reading comprehension tasks in Level One tests and Level Two tests are taken from authentic Japanese materials, such as newspapers and magazines, and most of the listening comprehension tasks are based on various authentic communicative situations in Japanese. Therefore, more and more Hong Kong JFL learners voluntarily read Japanese newspapers and magazines in hard copy as well as on the internet, watch Japanese videos and dramas, and try to find Japanese-speaking friends in Hong Kong with whom they can practise Japanese conversation.

1.5.5 Demand for Hong Kong Chinese speakers of Japanese in the workplace

Due to the strong economic and cultural presence of Japan in Hong Kong described above, the demand for Hong Kong Chinese speakers of Japanese in the workplace has become quite substantial. The statistics provided by the Joint Institution Job Information System 1998 (JIJIS) show that graduates of the discipline of Japanese Language/Japanese Studies in the seven government-funded universities in Hong Kong have very good employment opportunities. This is because the demand for Japanese-speaking graduates is much greater than their supply (The University of Hong Kong 1999: 11). In terms of the number of "vacancies per graduates"[8], a graduate of the discipline of Japanese Language/Japanese Studies has access to 8.41 jobs, whereas a graduate from the discipline of Business Studies has access to only 1.46 jobs. Table 1.2 below shows the summary of the competence expected for Hong Kong Chinese speakers of Japanese in the workplace, based on my previous research (Miyazoe-Wong 1997).

In summary, Japanese-speaking local businesspersons in Hong Kong are likely to be multilingual in four spoken linguistic codes, that is, Cantonese and Putonghua, English and Japanese. They should be able to interact appropriately according to the code(s) they are using, and should be able to switch among the four linguistic codes effectively and appropriately. In addition, they are expected to translate general or business texts mainly from Japanese into Chinese and English, and they should be capable of acting as a liaison interpreter between Chinese, English and/or Japanese between two (or more) parties who do not have a language in common. They must possess relatively high Japanese linguistic, sociolinguistic, and sociocultural competence in order to interact effectively and appropriately with the Japanese in social and business situations. As well as the multilingual and multicultural competence stated above, they should possess sound knowledge of one business discipline, such as management, finance, marketing or accounting, or computer literacy.

Table 1.2: Language competence expected for Hong Kong Chinese speakers of Japanese in the workplace.

Expected competence	Indicative contents
(1) Multilingual and multicultural competence	**- be able to speak fluently and appropriately in Chinese (Cantonese and Putonghua), English, and in Japanese; and - be able to switch among the four linguistic codes, depending on the topic and situation.**
(2) Translation skills	**- be able to translate Japanese business documents into Chinese and English; and - be able to produce summary translations of Chinese or English business documents into Japanese.**
(3) Liaison interpretation skills	**- be able to interpret effectively in Chinese (Cantonese and Putonghua), English and Japanese between two persons or among a small group of people.**
(4) Japanese interactive competence	**- be able to deal appropriately with Japanese written documentation and oral communication in Japanese in social and business situations by integrating high linguistic, sociolinguistic and sociocultural competence.**
(5) Business knowledge	**- be able to demonstrate sound knowledge and experience of at least one of such business disciplines as marketing, management, and finance; - possess computer literacy.**

However, the great demand for Japanese speaking local staff in Hong Kong is quite a recent phenomenon. Two decades ago, the language(s) of Chinese-Japanese

interaction in the business domain, particularly between Chinese and Japanese co-workers in workplace settings in Hong Kong, was predominantly English. At that time, English was the language preferred by both parties in intra-company and inter-company communication. Until recently, Japanese firms in Hong Kong put the highest priority on candidates who were bilinguals in Chinese and English and had training in a business discipline (Ugai 1995). In other words, Japanese language proficiency alone was not considered as a strong asset for employment in Japanese firms in Hong Kong (Ugai 1995). It has been also reported that Japanese personnel managers in overseas Japanese firms maintained that their companies purposely refrained from hiring Japanese-speaking local staff because Japanese managers wanted to keep some information in Japanese to themselves (cf. Kobayashi 1994). However, recent surveys on the language use in Japanese companies in Hong Kong reveals that Japanese, Cantonese, Putonghua and English, have become the codes used for the purpose of intra-company as well as inter-company communication involving Chinese and Japanese business persons in Hong Kong (Ugai 1995; Miyazoe-Wong 1997).

This is because the workplace in Hong Kong, which consists of Chinese and Japanese participants, has become more and more multilingual. Various reasons can account for the change. Firstly, the quantity and quality of JFL learners has changed rapidly in the past decade. The intake of students in the discipline of Japanese language/studies at the four universities has tripled. As a result, the proficiency of the Japanese language spoken by graduates who become local staff members in Japanese companies or other companies dealing with the Japanese is higher than before. Secondly, the number of Japanese co-workers who speak Cantonese and Putonghua has also increased. Thirdly, English is not a native language for the participants in Chinese-Japanese interaction. Thus, it is natural for Chinese and Japanese participants to choose one of their native languages for the purpose of communication, provided they can communicate with sufficient effectiveness (Miyazoe-Wong 1997).

1.6 The scope of the study

The present study investigates conversational negotiation in face-to-face verbal interaction in Japanese between Chinese and Japanese co-workers in multilingual

workplace settings in Hong Kong, as outlined above. The primary aim of the study is to analyze processes of conversational negotiation in Chinese-Japanese interaction in the workplace, to establish main factors which influence participants' choice of negotiation strategies and to investigate functions and outcomes of conversational negotiation.

The main data analyzed is 35 hours' audio-recorded data of 120 naturally occurring dyadic conversations in Japanese involving 10 Chinese participants (CJs) and 15 Japanese participants (JJs) in the multiiingual workplace in Hong Kong. All 10 CJs are female, and categorized as upper-intermediate or advanced speakers of Japanese. The transcribed data are supplemented by the researcher's field notes as a participant observer, follow-up interviews, and comments from Japanese native raters and Hong Kong Chinese raters who are advanced speakers of Japanese in the rating sessions. The data consists of work-related talk during office hours, non-work-related talk, such as small talk during teatime and lunchtime, and mixtures of both kinds of talk. As Brown and Yule (1983: 13) point out, naturally occurring conversations such as in the present data contains both *transactional speech*, which aims mainly to transfer information, and *interactional speech*, which functions to maintain social relationships.

1.7 The significance of the study

The significance of the present study can be summarized as follows:

(1) ***Natural conversation in a multilingual workplace:*** The present study focuses upon conversational negotiation which appears in naturally occurring Japanese conversations among co-workers in intercultural situations in a multilingual workplace.

(2) ***Authenticity of tasks:*** In connection with (1) above, the conversations which the Chinese and Japanese co-workers (CJs and JJs) in the present study engaged in constitute authentic talk at work.

(3) ***Social relationships between the participants and their aims and contexts of communication in workplace settings:*** CJs and JJs are co-workers, and their social

relations can be considered permanent, or at least, semi-permanent. As paid employees, CJs and JJs are socially and economically motivated to talk to each other on work-related as well as non-work-related issues.

(4) ***Language proficiency of nonnative speakers:*** Proficiency levels in Japanese of nonnative participants (CJs) in the present study are categorized as intermediate to advanced. The CJs in this study can communicate quite smoothly and efficiently in Japanese, and are expected to interact in Japanese with Japanese speaking co-workers, visitors and clients.

(5) ***Conversational negotiation between Chinese and Japanese interactants:*** Previous studies have suggested that the participants' shared knowledge of Chinese characters (*kanji)* play an important part in Chinese-Japanese interaction (Fan 1992; Miyazoe-Wong 1995, 1996). Miyazoe-Wong (1995, 1996), for instance, reported that Hong Kong elementary and lower-intermediate learners of Japanese in social and host-family settings frequently solve aural/oral communication problems with the Japanese participants by writing Chinese characters (*hitsudan* 筆談). In this way, writing Chinese characters (*hitsudan*) in oral communication constitutes a negotiation strategy which is used to clarify propositional meaning of the discourse by switching the channel of communication from the oral to an oral/visual one. The present study will further explore types of negotiation sequences using the shared written linguistic codes of characters, focusing on more advanced Chinese speakers of Japanese, who actually use Japanese to interact in the multilingual workplace.

1.8 The structure of the thesis

In Chapter One, I have briefly introduced the central issues and concepts most important to the analysis and discussion of the topic of this thesis. Chapter Two is a literature review of previous research selected from sociolinguistics, conversation analysis, second language acquisition, and learner language studies. As I mentioned above, there is no single framework appropriate for the present study. Therefore, in Chapter Three, I shall present Neustupny's framework to analyze sociolinguistic variables, my framework to analyze explicit CN strategies, and IS framework to

analyze implicit CN strategies. Chapter Four introduces the methodology employed in this study and provides information on the data, methodological procedures and sites of the data collection, on the Chinese and Japanese participants, and on the Japanese and Chinese raters and supplementary data. The data presentation in the thesis, including transcription conventions and English translations, will be explained in this chapter.

The Chapter Five presents an overview of the data, with regard to occurrence, frequency and triggers of all types of CN identified in this study. Discussion and analysis of the data in terms of conversational negotiation will be presented in the following three chapters. In Chapter Six, conversational negotiation of propositional meaning (CN-PM) will be discussed, focusing on general negotiation strategies through the oral channel and Chinese-character-based negotiation strategies through the oral/visual channel. Chapter Seven focuses on the analysis and discussion of negotiation of expertise (CN-EX). In Chapter Eight, conversational negotiation of interactional meaning will be discussed.

Chapter Nine is the concluding chapter and summarizes the findings and significance of this study in the areas of linguistic research on conversational negotiation and inter-cultural communication in the workplace. Finally, I shall present the implications for teaching Japanese as a foreign language, particularly with regard to Japanese programs for overseas university students who intend to work and communicate with Japanese co-workers in a multilingual workplace.

Notes:

[1] Neustupny explains that, due to "foreign" factors regarding linguistic, sociolinguistic and sociocultural knowledge among participants, an inter-cultural situation is full of communication problems (Neustupny 1985, 1987).

[2] In this thesis, I shall present Putonghua words in the Pinyin System, which is the official romanization system in mainland China, and Cantonese words in the Yale Romanization System developed by researchers at Yale University, U.S.A.

[3] Written Chinese is called "*shumianyu* (書面語)", the unified standard system that can be comprehended by speakers of various Chinese varieties. Spoken Chinese is called "*kouyu* (口語)", which has many regional varieties (dialects) such as Cantonese and Shanghainese, in addition to Putonghua (普通話), which is the standard spoken variety of Chinese (cf. Ramsey 1990).

[4] "Putonghua (普通話)," which is the standard spoken variety of Chinese based mainly on the Beijing regional dialect, literally means "Common Language". Putonghua has been widely used in the areas of education, business and tourism in the Peoples' Republic of China (PRC) as well as in overseas countries where Chinese speakers of various regional dialects communicate with each other. It is called "*Guoyu* (国語, National Language)" in the Republic of China (Taiwan), "Mandarin Chinese" in English, and "*Pekin-go* (北京語, Beijing regional dialect)" in Japanese. However, I shall use the term, 'Putonghua (普通話)' in the thesis, because the term is widely accepted nowadays, and it better reflects the nature and the function of the language in the socio-economic context of Hong Kong.

[5] All Chinese subjects in the study possess native competence of reading and writing standard Chinese. In this sense, Chinese is their L1. As for oral communication, while they assess themselves as possessing native competence in Cantonese, most of them assess their competence in Putonghua as semi-native (cf. Bacon-Shone and Bolton 1998). Therefore, I shall categorize Cantonese as their L1a, and Putonghua as their L1b.

[6] English was a sole official language of Hong Kong until 1974, when a new ordinance called "The Official Language Ordinance" was stipulated, and both English and Chinese (standard Chinese for written communication and Cantonese as oral communication) became official languages of Hong

[7] In the Hong Kong school system, there are six years of primary school, seven years of secondary school and three years of university. Grades in a primary school are called Primary 1, Primary 2... Primary 6, whereas the grades in a secondary school are called Form 1, Form 2... Form 7.

[8] The number of "vacancies per graduate," used in the Joint Institution Job Information System 1998 (JIJIS), is the total number of job vacancies for specific disciplines, divided by the total number of graduates from all the seven government-funded universities in the respective disciplines (The University of Hong Kong 1999: 11).

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

As briefly mentioned in Chapter One, the topic of *conversational negotiation* (CA) has been studied by many researchers in very diversified areas. In this chapter, I shall review relevant issues from studies in the areas of sociolinguistics, conversation analysis (CA), learner language studies, and second language acquisition studies (SLA). In order to investigate *conversational negotiation* found in naturally occurring situations, I have drawn upon theoretical frameworks and methodologies from the following areas: ethnography of communication, conversation analysis (CA), and interactional sociolinguistics (IS). More detailed explanation of the three frameworks used in the study will be given in Chapter Three. I shall also explain how I apply them for the purpose of investigating CN in naturally occurring interactions between Chinese participants and Japanese participants in the multilingual workplace.

2.1 Three views of conversational negotiation

In this section, I shall first consider three views of *conversational negotiation*, before I present a more detailed review of previous studies investigating this area. The first view involves a definition of *negotiation* by Richard, Platt and Platt (1992: 244), which refers to activities performed by participants to carry out communication successfully and effectively. Firstly, participants may indicate their understanding or non-understanding, by using explicit cues such as backchannels, clarification requests and comprehension checks. Secondly, they may indicate their willingness to make conversation proceed naturally and spontaneously through continuous moves and explicit linguistic cues. Thirdly, they may facilitate mutual understanding by modifying their own or other's utterances. Fourthly, they may correct (repair) their

own/others' utterances, if necessary. This definition seems to cover characteristics and functions of explicit CN, though it does not refer to those of implicit CN.

The second view of conversational negotiation is advanced by Pica (1992: 200), who, as a SLA researcher, views *negotiation* as linguistic repair processes to solve communication problems found in spoken discourse involving learners, and subsequent repair processes. It refers to interactional work undertaken by participants to secure mutual understanding and to solve communication problems through linguistically marked *interactional modifications*, such as comprehension checks and requests for clarification. *Negotiation* in SLA literature has been referred to as those interactions in which learners and their interlocutors modify their speech phonologically, lexically, morphologically and syntactically in order to solve communication problems. The negotiation process is characterized by linguistically marked signals of non-understanding, repetition and clarification requests issued by participants. SLA researchers argue that negotiation processes are of great significance to SLA, because modified interaction through negotiation enables learners to gain more "comprehensible input" and produce more "comprehensible output", which, in turn, leads them to acquire the language.

The third approach in conversational negotiation has been developed by Gumperz, who, as an IS researcher, views *conversational negotiation* (Gumperz 1992c: 305) as the communicative processes through which participants in face-to-face interaction mutually and collaboratively achieve the goal of shared understanding with regard to linguistic, interactive and sociocultural knowledge (cf. 1.3). Participants proceed with the interaction by continually reinforcing and renewing their ongoing interpretation of the propositional and interactional meaning of the ongoing discourse. They attain the goal mostly unconsciously through inference, implicit discourse (negotiation) strategies by adopting subtle contexualization cues, and sometimes through explicit discourse (negotiation) strategies.

Table 2.1 below summarizes how the three views cover the six functions and outcomes of conversational negotiation discussed above.

Table 2.1 Summary of functions and outcomes of conversational negotiation in four approaches

Functions and outcomes of conversational negotiation	"Negotiation" Richards *et al.* (1992: 244)	"Negotiation" Pica (1992: 200)	"Conversational negotiation" Gumperz (1992c: 305)
(1) To indicate understanding and non-understanding through feedback, backchannel signals and comprehension checks.	V		V
(2) To make conversation progress naturally and spontaneously through continuing moves.	V		V
(3) To facilitate mutual understanding through linguistic modifications of one's own and other utterances.	V	V	V
(4) To correct or repair inadequate and/or unclear utterances through requests for clarification/repetition.	V	V	V
(5) To communicate implicitly participants' intentions (interactional meaning) through contexualization cues.			V
(6) To communicate implicitly participants' meta-messages to display their feelings and attitudes.			V

Comparison of the second and third approaches summarized above reveals distinctively different points regarding conversational negotiation. Firstly, SLA researchers focus on negotiation in interaction involving learners, mainly in *experimental settings*, while IS researchers focus on conversational negotiation in everyday face-to-face interaction in *natural settings*.

Secondly, SLA researchers view negotiation processes as *repair processes* involving linguistic and interactional modifications in which participants use explicit signals and verbal expressions to solve communication problems and to achieve mutual comprehensibility of propositional meaning. Therefore, they regard conversational negotiation as mostly resulting from nonnative speakers' linguistic deficiencies in the target language in terms of their production and reception skills. In contrast, IS researchers view conversational negotiation as *communicative processes* triggered by any interactant, in either intra-cultural or intercultural situations.

Thirdly, the focus of SLA studies on negotiation is heavily on linguistic forms and linguistic (propositional) meaning, rather than on social (interactional) meaning. On the other hand, IS researchers investigate conversational negotiation, focusing on

linguistic as well as social meaning, and examining explicit/direct processes as well as implicit/indirect processes which appear in the ongoing discourse. This is because certain types of conversational negotiation in everyday face-to-face interaction may be realized only through implicit/indirect signals called *contexualization cues* (Gumperz 1982, 1992c). That is to say, in addition to the linguistically explicit features, linguistically unmarked features of conversational negotiation, as found in implicit signals and conversational routines which speakers unconsciously use, should be also considered. Therefore, it can be said that the IS view is more comprehensive than the SLA view, since it provides us with two additional functions of conversational negotiation to those four which are described by Richards *et al.* (1992). These extra functions are firstly, indications to communicate participants' intention (illocutionary force), such as requests, suggestions, disagreements and compliments, and secondly, indications to communicate participants' meta-messages to display their feelings and attitudes, such as involvement, closeness, rapport and friendliness (Gumperz 1982).

Being very much influenced by the findings of Garfinkel (1964, 1967, 1972), Hymes (1972a, 1972b, 1974) and various CA researchers (cf. Schegloff 1972; Sacks *et al.* 1974), Gumperz's work is based on the analysis of naturally occurring conversations involving English native speakers of different ethnic backgrounds, or of English conversations in intercultural situations. Gumperz's approach covers various types of conversational negotiation: conversational negotiation of linguistic form and content, speakers' intentions, participants' roles and social relations, attitudes and evaluations, expertise and topics. I find Gumperz's approach to conversational negotiation the most appropriate one for the analysis performed in the present study.

2.2 Sociolinguistics

2.2.1 Ethnography of communication

The ethnography of communication, which is based in anthropology and linguistics, was developed by Hymes in his series of papers published in the 1960s and 1970s, and further developed by Neustupny (cf. 1978, 1987) and others such as Saville-Troike (1989). Hymes (1974) proposed an ethnographic framework to

describe various factors involved in any particular communicative event. When a message is to be conveyed successfully and appropriately, numerous speech act components must be chosen by a speaker for realization of any act of speaking (Hymes 1972a, 1972b, 1974). According to Hymes (1972a, 1972b) and Saville-Troike (1989: 3), the primary focus of the ethnography of communication is a *speech community*, and how communication within it is systematically patterned. While it aims at describing and analyzing communicative behavior in particular cultural settings (a speech community), it is also intended to formulate theories "upon which to build a global metatheory of human communication" (Saville-Troike 1989: 2).

Hymes lists eight components of communication (Hymes 1972a, 1972b, 1974; Saville-Troike 1989). The first component is the *setting and scene*, which indicates the time and place of a communicative event. The second one is the *participants*, including speakers, listeners, and/or audience. The third component is *ends*, which refers to socially and customarily expected outcomes as well as participants' goals. The fourth one is *act sequence*, which includes message forms and content. The fifth component is *key*, which indicates tone and manner in which the message is conveyed, such as in an ironical way or in a serious mode. *Instrumentalities* is the sixth component, which means choice of channel (for instance, oral, written, or manual) and choice of dialect, code or register. The seventh component is the *norms* which participants use to interpret their ongoing interaction. The final component is *genre*, which refers to types of discourse, such as lectures, prayers, poems, and jokes. Based on Hymes' framework of communication, Neustupny has further developed the rules of communication (cf. Neustupny 1978, 1982, 1987), which I presented in 1.1 above. The eight components in Neustupny's framework are *switch-on rules*, *setting rules*, *participant rules*, *variety rules*, *content rules*, *message rules*, *channel rules*, and *management rules*.

The ethnographical approach has been often adopted by researchers to analyze and describe spoken discourse. For instance, they investigate how social meaning is conveyed by members of a speech community, what speakers should know in order to communicate appropriately within the speech community, and how speakers acquire so-called *communicative competence*. According to Hymes (1974) and Neustupny

(1978, 1987), communicative competence consists not only of rules of communication, including both linguistic and sociolinguistic rules, but also of rules of interaction, and cultural knowledge. Hymes views language as "a socially situated cultural form" (Saville-Troike 1989: 3), and as a dynamic form rather than a static form, a view that was very much strengthened by new developments in sociology in the 1960s and 1970s. Sociologists such as Goffman (1955, 1959, 1967) and Cicourel (1974) introduced interactionist orientations into sociology, "which have focused attention on the processes by which members of a community *negotiate* relations, outcomes, and meanings, and construct new realities and meanings as they do so" (Saville-Troike 1989: 7).

As mentioned above, any piece of conversation requires the skills of speakers and listeners. When misunderstanding or ambiguity is detected in the spoken language, researchers may utilize the frameworks of Hymes and Neustupny to examine reasons for the specific problems. For instance, when particular factors are neglected or not appropriately applied by participants, they may start to negotiate the meaning of the ongoing discourse (Wardaugh 1995: 247). Ethnographers thus view *conversational negotiation* (CN) as a communicative process through which participants collaboratively engage in constructing and interpreting the meaning of the ongoing discourse in order to mutually and successfully attain the goal by adopting appropriate rules regarding the components of communication outlined above. In addition to this, participants may also convey meta-messages such as their intentions and attitudes to other participant(s).

2.2.2 Interactional sociolinguistics

Interactional Sociolinguistics (IS), which is concerned with studies of intercultural and/or inter-ethnic communication, was briefly introduced in Chapter One. Developed by John Gumperz (cf. 1977, 1982), IS is based on diverse disciplinary areas including anthropology, sociology, and linguistics, and its research focuses on issues regarding culture, society and language (Schiffrin 1994: 95). Gumperz's theoretical framework has been influenced by interactionists' views in

sociology (cf. Goffman 1967, 1981; Cicourel 1974), and the Hymesian theoretical framework of ethnography of communication (cf. Hymes 1974).

As mentioned in Chapter One, IS researchers have shown how people with shared linguistic knowledge may misunderstand each other. This is because they may contexualize each other's utterances very differently due to their ethnic and cultural backgrounds, and, consequently, interpret each other's intentions, attitudes and abilities differently. For instance, face-to-face interaction between whites and blacks in the United States (Gumperz 1982), Indians and British people in England (Gumperz 1982), English native speakers of different ethnic backgrounds in the United States (Tannen 1981, 1984, 1985a, 1990), and English male and female native speakers in the United States (Tannen 1992a), often results in misunderstandings and/or speakers reaching negative evaluations of their interlocutors who do not share the same interactive norms and sociocultural knowledge. In one of the examples, Gumperz (1982) illustrates how South Asians, such as Indians and Pakistanis, are often misunderstood by British English speakers. The former participants have no obvious difficulties in conveying and understanding propositional meaning when interacting with their British interlocutors in English, so the communication problems they are facing are not propositional (linguistic), but are interactional and sociocultural in nature. That is to say, South Asian participants' intentions, abilities, attitudes, and personalities are often negatively evaluated by the British. Such misunderstandings are mainly due to differences in participants' interpretive norms (inference), interactive norms and discourse strategies. In order to investigate why and how misunderstandings and communication breakdowns between participants occur in inter-ethnic or intercultural situations, some IS researchers employ Gumperz's *cross talk* model, which considers cultural and social factors with regard to participants and situations (cf. Tannen 1992a; Yamada H.1992; Szatrowski 1994).

In order to achieve communicative goals successfully and appropriately, participants should share interactive[1] and sociocultural rules, in addition to linguistic knowledge (Gumperz 1982; Saville-Troike 1989). Like ethnographers, IS researchers describe and analyze communication in terms of knowledge encompassing linguistic, interactive and sociocultural phenomena, which must be shared by participants. For

instance, linguistic knowledge includes verbal and nonverbal elements and their patterns and organizations in particular speech events. Interactive knowledge covers perception of salient features in communicative situations, selection and interpretation of forms appropriate to specific situations, roles and relationships, discourse organization and processes, norms of interaction and interpretation regarding contexualization cues, and strategies for achieving goals. Sociocultural knowledge refers to knowledge regarding background information, such as socio-economic structure, customs and traditions of the society (societies), values and attitudes of participants, cognitive schemata, and enculturation processes such as transmission of knowledge and skills (Saville-Troike 1989: 24). In everyday face-to-face conversations, however, participants generally have a certain degree of shared knowledge through which they can interpret the meaning of the ongoing discourse correctly and appropriately, so conversational negotiation may not be necessary all the time. That is to say, based on this shared knowledge with regard to linguistic, interpretive and sociocultural rules, participants can infer the propositional and interactional meanings of the discourse correctly and appropriately (Gumperz 1990a, 1990b, 1992a, 1992b).

In the theoretical framework of IS, there are three important concepts: *frame, contexualization cues*, and *inference*. Participants interpret the meaning of the ongoing discourse based on an interactional *frame* (shared expectations and understandings), which is usually common to a group of people who belong to the same culture or speech community. As a result, occurrence of misunderstanding may not be as frequent as in intercultural situations. This is because in intercultural situations, participants may not mutually understand propositional meaning, mainly due to the lack of shared linguistic knowledge. They may also misinterpret the interactional meaning of the ongoing discourse, such as speakers' intentions and attitudes, primarily due to the lack of shared frames, communicative rules, interpretive norms, and sociocultural rules. Particularly, interpretative norms regarding subtle *contexualization cues*, which include verbal and non-verbal signs in the ongoing discourse, help speakers to imply what they mean, or implicitly clarify what their interlocutors mean, and also aid listeners to make *inferences* about the ongoing discourse (Duranti and Goodwin 1992: 229). Typical contexualization cues are

prosody, conversational routines, formulaic speech, non-verbal cues, code-switching, code-mixing and shift in register and variety in the spoken discourse, which may not be fully shared by participants in intercultural situations. The term *inference* has been used by Gumperz to refer to "those mental processes that allow conversationalists to evoke the cultural background and social expectations necessary to interpret speech" (Duranti and Goodwin 1992: 229). It should be noted that Gumperz makes full use of regularities of ordering in conversation, such as turn-taking organization, sequential organizations and preference, as identified by CA researchers. However, Gumperz points out that the IS approach to discourse has a "speaker-oriented perspective" (Gumperz 1992c: 306), whereas that of CA focuses mainly on "the general principle of conversational ordering" (Gumperz 1992c: 305-306). The IS framework, including the cross talk model, will be further explained in Chapter Three.

2.2.3 Language management

As explained in 2.2.1, there are numerous factors involved in the effective and successful accomplishment of any conversation. Routines and sequences of conversations, such as openings and closings, topic nomination and management, and the organization of turn-taking must be implemented by participants. For successful communication, all participants, including speakers and listeners, are required to comprehend the meaning of the ongoing discourse and the intention of the speakers, and to interact appropriately and cooperatively (cf. Goffman 1967; Schegloff 1972; Schegloff and Sacks 1973; Grice 1975).

However, researchers in the area of language management view communication problems such as misunderstanding, non-understanding and communication breakdown as inherent in all communication (Neustupny 1978, 1981, 1985a, 1985b; Jernudd and Thuan 1983). Communication problems can be divided roughly into reception problems and production problems. The existence of the former will lead interactants to engage in such processes as requests for clarification, requests for repetition, and comprehension and confirmation checks. Production problems, on the other hand, may result in interactants' search for appropriate words and requests for assistance from their interlocutors. In order to facilitate communication, to anticipate

problems, and to solve actual communication problems, the participants constantly correct and/or adjust their own utterances as well as those of the other participants. Such linguistic and interactional adjustment processes are viewed not merely as correction, but also as involving "control of language" (Jernudd and Thuan 1983).

As presented in the previous chapter, Neustupny's framework of interaction (Figure 1.1) encompasses sociocultural competence and communicative competence which, in turn, is composed of linguistic competence and sociolinguistic competence. One of the main rules of communication in his framework is the management rule, which enables interactants to deal with communication problems in interaction. Successful communication requires the implementation of both linguistic and sociolinguistic rules, including rules of linguistic correction (language management rules). According to Neustupny's (1978) theory of correction, which was later referred to as "language management" (Neustupny 1985a, 1985b), deviations from linguistic, sociolinguistic and sociocultural norms may or may not be noted by either or both interactants. Noted deviations may be disregarded, or else evaluated either positively, neutrally or negatively, which, in the latter case, constitute inadequacies. These inadequacies, in turn, may trigger adjustment/correction. In Neustupny's framework of language management, speakers thus adopt various adjustment (correction) strategies to cope with negatively evaluated inadequacies. These adjustment (correction) strategies are used as explicit and implicit CN strategies, as previously mentioned in 1.3.

Fan's (1992, 1994) study on language management in intercultural situations between Japanese and Chinese participants is based on the theoretical framework of language management developed by Neustupny and Jernudd (cf. Neustupny 1978; Jernudd and Thuan 1983; Jernudd and Neustupny 1987). Fan proposes a typology for intercultural situations in terms of the contact language with relation to the participants. Fan's findings reveal that when Japanese and Chinese participants interact in Japanese in native-nonnative situations, and also use the English language in nonnative-nonnative situations, they constantly make full use of their shared knowledge of Chinese characters (*kanji*). Chinese characters are thus a linguistic resource common to both groups of participants, and are employed in order to enhance

mutual understanding as well as to solve communication problems. One of the typical situations is where the participants negotiate the propositional meaning of the ongoing discourse due to their limited proficiency in the target language (Japanese in native-nonnative situations or English in nonnative-nonnative situations). Another example may be when they solve production and/or reception problems in the ongoing discourse. In such situations, Chinese and Japanese participants actively use such language management strategies to make full use of their shared linguistic knowledge. Among such strategies, Fan reports that Chinese lexical code-switching and Chinese lexical transfer in speech production and speech reception are the most prevalent ones.

Miyazoe-Wong's (1995, 1996) studies on Chinese-Japanese verbal interaction also report that Hong Kong university students frequently solve oral communication problems with Japanese interactants by writing Chinese characters (*hitsudan* 筆談). This is a feature seemingly specific to face-to-face interaction between Chinese and Japanese speakers. Previous findings suggest that this strategy (*hitsudan* 筆談) is a developmental CN strategy, since it is more frequently found in Chinese-Japanese verbal interaction involving low proficiency Chinese speakers of Japanese (Miyazoe-Wong 1995, 1996). She also reports that, in addition to their shared knowledge of Chinese characters, Chinese and Japanese participants' shared knowledge of English as their second language also plays a significant role in Chinese-Japanese interaction.

2.3 Conversation analysis

As briefly explained in Chapter One, researchers in conversation analysis (CA) view negotiation as a "sense-making" (Wagner 1996: 222), and "context renewing" (Heritage 1989: 22) activity, as well as a repair/correction (solving propositional problems) activity (cf. Schegloff *et al.* 1977), which is collaboratively performed by participants. Negotiation research in the field of CA has focused on propositional meaning including factual and linguistic meaning, and interactional meaning, such as interactants' intentions and identities. The primary role of negotiation carried out by participants through the turn-taking process is to aim at mutual understanding by constructing the meaning of the ongoing discourse. In addition, the outcomes of

negotiation activities often result in solving perceived or expected communication problems, generating topics and talk, mutually finding out participants' social roles and expertise, and showing the participants' emotions, such as dissatisfaction, anger, rapport and friendship

As for conversational negotiation of propositional (linguistic) meaning (CN-PM/ling), CA research has provided various typologies. One of the most widely cited typologies is that of "repair" in everyday conversation proposed by Schegloff *et al.* (1977). They analyzed everyday English conversations in intra-cultural situations, focusing particularly on the organization of repair phenomena. When trouble sources or errors ("repairable") are noted by either speaker or interlocutor, these will be self-corrected, or other-corrected. In their typology of repair, repair is categorized into the following four types in terms of who initiates and who completes the repair:

Typology of repair in everyday conversation (Schegloff *et al.* 1977)

<Type 1> Self-initiated self-completed repair (SISR):
Immediately after speakers notice their own errors or their interlocutors' non-understanding signals, they complete the repair by replacing the error with correct words or phrases, within the same turn.

<Type 2> Other-initiated self-completed repair (OISR):
Speakers finish their own turns. At the transition space, their interlocutors indicate their non-understanding or uncertainty by initiating correction, by issuing non-understanding cues (either verbal or non-verbal), or clarification requests. The speakers then complete the repair in the following turn.

<Type 3> Self-initiated other-completed repair (SIOR):
After speakers either notice their own errors in their utterances, or feel uncertain about their utterances, they initiate correction by seeking assistance from their interlocutors. Their interlocutors complete the repair by supplying correct words or phrases in the following turn.

<Type 4> Other-initiated other-completed repair (OIOR):
Interlocutors notice errors or misinformation in speakers' utterances. In the subsequent turn, the interlocutors immediately indicate their non-understanding and complete the repair by supplying correct words or phrases.

They further report that repair may occur where no visible error exists, and that it may not occur despite the fact that there is an error. They argue that there is a general tendency of preference for self-initiated and self-completed correction over other-initiated and other-completed correction in the organizational repair in conversation. This is because the speech act of correcting others is basically face-threatening in most situations, except in language learning situations involving teachers and second/foreign language learners, or in conversations involving adult

speakers, such as parents or care-givers, and children. In both situations, social relationships and linguistic proficiency among the participants are clearly asymmetrical, so that the speech act of correction is often initiated by the socially higher and linguistically more proficient party and is directed toward the other party. As such, this type of correction is not considered as a face-threatening act. However, Schwarts (1980), in an analysis of repair phenomena in conversations involving English learners, found that both self-repairs and other-repairs exist. She explains that self-repairs are preferred in learner-learner interaction, because they are generally more face-saving than other-repairs, though the learners sometimes need to repair the latter, despite their low proficiency in the target language. In an investigation of native-nonnative interaction in English, Gaskill (1980) concluded that occurrence of other-repairs is relatively infrequent. He claims that other-repairs are triggered when nonnative speakers indicate their production problem and invite the native speakers' assistance in one turn, with native speakers completing the correction by supplying the appropriate words in the following turn.

Regarding the repair sequence, Schegloff (1972) proposes "insertion sequences" in conversation, in which two or more turns are inserted to repair (negotiate) the meaning of the ongoing discourse, and return to the major flow of conversation. Jefferson (1972) further discusses the phenomenon of a certain type of correction as "side-sequences", which refers to the following systematic organization in conversation. Firstly, in the middle of the ongoing conversation, an interlocutor initiates a correction move, often in the form of information or clarification questions to clarify a speaker's previous utterance, and subsequently the main flow of conversation is interrupted. Secondly, the speaker supplies appropriate information in response to the interlocutor's request for information, and solves the problem by correction. Lastly, the conversation returns to the original topic of flow. Jefferson and Schenkein (1978) further developed the organization of correction in the three-turn sequence of repair organization proposed by Schegloff *et al.* (1977), where the first turn is called "Correction Solicitor", the second turn "Correction" and the third turn "Acknowledgment".

A few studies applying the CA framework to investigate conversational negotiation of interactional meaning (CN-IM) in Japanese conversational data in intra-cultural situations have so far been undertaken. For example, in Szatrowski's (1987, 1993) analysis of Japanese invitations in intra-cultural situations, she argues that Japanese invitation is so implicit and indirect that an invitee has to negotiate its interactional/pragmatic meaning before he/she accepts or rejects it. Furthermore, Jones' (1990) study on conflict management in Japanese in intra-cultural situations concludes that the general belief that Japanese do not argue and that they are a harmonious people is a myth. She maintains that they do argue by negotiating in a very implicit way, using various subtle conversational conventions and discourse strategies, and that participants in Japanese conversation, therefore, very often negotiate the interactional meaning of the sequence of the ongoing discourse (for example, speakers' intentions) before they get more involved in their talk.

Only a limited number of studies have been conducted in the area of CA to investigate CN in intercultural workplace situations. For instance, Wagner's (1996) study presents an example of CN-PM in a telephone business conversation in German between a German businessman and a Danish businessman at their first encounter. In this study, there are several occasions when the Danish businessman indicates his non-understanding and negotiates propositional meaning of a technical acronym used by the German speaker. However, the German ignores the Dane's clarification requests. Instead, he insists on continuing the business talk over the telephone, as if the Dane had no linguistic (comprehension) problems. After the Dane issues several signals of non-understanding, the German finally starts to explain its meaning. But the German still does not modify his speech or use German "foreigner talk" to suit the nonnative speaker's linguistic level. His rate of speech does not become slower, and his words and expressions are not simplified. Wagner maintains that the native participant (German) treats the nonnative participant's difficulties as conceptual, not linguistic, arguing that the lack of native speaker's modifications in the data is due to the fact that the nonnative speaker has the initiative in the conversation and a clear social role to play. What matters in such business situations is not participants' linguistic competence but their professional competence. Wagner thus suggests that too many linguistic or interactional modifications in professional situations can be

interpreted as "social intrusions" (Wagner 1996: 230). As Schgloff *et al.* (1977) pointed out, other-repairs are generally highly constrained due to their face-threatening effect, and thus excessive native speakers' modifications in business situations may also be highly restricted. This is because they may imply not only the linguistic incompetence of nonnative speaking participants, but also refer to their professional incompetence. Many social and situational factors are thus involved in determining the occurrence and processes of CN-PM in natural business situations, which is quite different from those in the experimental settings studied by SLA researchers, as described above.

In summary, in CA, CN is considered as a process in which the unknown or unshared matter is negotiated by participants so as to make it become mutually known and shared by all. CA's basic concept of CN covers negotiation at various levels: linguistic meaning, interactional meaning, participant's roles and identity, and topic. In this sense, CA and IS researchers share similar basic concepts relating to CN. CA researchers investigate CN, primarily to find out its systematic organizations and patterns, regardless of social and cultural factors pertaining to communicative situations, while IS researchers study it by focusing on how and why social and cultural factors pertaining to the communicative situations affect its occurrence, functions and outcome. The previous studies in CA reviewed above have provided us with interesting findings relevant to the analysis of CN in the multilingual workplace in the present study. However, as Firth (1990, 1996) points out, CA research has focused on analysis of everyday conversations involving adult native speakers without providing any suitable framework to analyze face-to-face interaction in intercultural situations. While participants in studies of CA are often assumed to have adult native competence in the language, the conversations in the present study occur in inter-cultural situations involving native and nonnative speakers of a language.

2.4 Research on modified speech

When proficient speakers interact with less proficient speakers of a language, the former tend to modify their speech in many ways in order to suit the linguistic level of their conversational partners and to facilitate mutual communication. Typical

situations can be those of native and nonnative participants in various situations, teachers and young children/learners at school, or mothers/care takers and babies/infants. These types of modified and simplified speech are called "foreigner talk", "teacher talk", or "caretaker talk/motherese" respectively. Speech modifications are motivated by various considerations of the more proficient speakers toward the less proficient. Firstly, there is the communicative consideration to facilitate the less proficient speakers' comprehension by making their input more comprehensible to their interlocutors. Secondly, there is the educational consideration with the intention of enhancing learning of the less proficient speakers, and to reduce their linguistic and psychological burden. Thirdly, there is the interpersonal consideration to promote mutual exchange and socialize with each other (Sanada *et al.* 1992: 155). Modified speech is believed to reduce the linguistic and psychological burden of the less proficient speakers, to facilitate their comprehension and production of the target language, and to eventually promote language learning and acquisition (Sanada *et al.* 1992; Ellis 1985, 1994).

Many researchers in first language acquisition (FLA) have investigated how the modified speech of the more proficient speakers enhances the less proficient speakers' active use of the target language (cf. Freed, B. 1981). Caretakers' talk (including motherese), which is addressed by adults to infants or children who are still at the stage of acquiring the target language, is characterized mainly by linguistically simpler and clearer language than that addressed to adult native speakers of the language. The characteristics include: slower rate of speech, higher pitch, and exaggerated intonation; syntactically shorter utterances, and more frequent use of repetition; a simpler and limited vocabulary range, and preference of general terms over specific terms; and frequent use of questions, especially display questions[2], rather than of referential questions (Ferguson 1971, 1981; Snow *et al.* 1981; Ellis 1994: 248-251). Questions and self/other repetitions issued by caretakers function as clarification requests, comprehension checks, and confirmation checks and self and other repetition. In turn, self/other repetitions issued by children function as requests for clarification, and requests for assistance in searching for proper words (Snow *et al.* 1981).

Ferguson (1971) introduced the term "foreigner talk" (FT) in his study on modified speech by English native speakers to foreigners. Ferguson's studies (cf. 1971, 1981) have been considered as the seminal work on FT as "simplified speech". The main features of English FT can be categorized as a slower rate of speech, more careful and articulated pronunciation, emphatic intonation, use of limited vocabulary, use of shorter utterances and explicit expressions, frequent use of topics at the beginning of sentences, and preference for yes/no questions over wh-questions. However, native English speakers modify their speech systematically for the purpose of local as well as global management of discourse (Ferguson 1971, 1981). For instance, the local management of English FT is characterized with prosodic and lexical features, such as those listed above. Global management occurs on the level of discourse, and in some cases, such speech modifications are grammatical and in other cases, ungrammatical. In ungrammatical FT, the following three types can be observed: (1) omission, in which native speakers omit grammatical elements, such as copula and articles; (2) expansion, in which native speakers expand their speech, for example, by inserting "you" before verbs in imperative sentences; and (3) rearrangement, in which word orders are recorded to facilitate nonnative speakers' comprehension (Ferguson 1971, 1981).

Ferguson's studies on FT have influenced later studies on FT in other languages, such as Japanese FT (Skoutarides 1981, 1987), and German FT (cf. Misel 1980; Clyne 1981), as well as a large number of studies on English FT (cf. Freed, B. 1981; Snow *et al.* 1981). A number of studies of FT in various languages have revealed that ungrammatical FT is highly constrained according to situational variables, because it tends to appear in "talking down" situations. This is confirmed by Clyne's (1981) studies of Australian factory foremen's use of ungrammatical English FT to foreign workers, and by Dittmar and Sutterheim's (1985) study of Germans' use of ungrammatical German FT to address guest workers. Meisel's (1980) study on German ungrammatical FT concludes that it is more likely to occur when the nonnative speakers' proficiency in L2 is low, when native speakers assess themselves as possessing higher social status than nonnative interlocutors, when native speakers have previous experience in using FT, and when conversations are spontaneous rather than when they are planned and formal. However, various studies

on FT have also provided evidence that ungrammatical FT is highly marked (cf. Arthur *et al.* 1980). In addition, the majority of studies of "teacher talk", a sub-category of FT in which more proficient speakers (teachers) modify their speech to address less proficient speakers (learners) in instructional settings, have also revealed that the norm in most classrooms is not ungrammatical FT but grammatical FT (cf. Henzl 1973, 1979; Gaise 1982; Chaudron 1988). The processes of modification of grammatical FT can be categorized into three types: (1) simplification, (2) regularization, and (3) elaboration (Ellis 1994: 254-257). For example, native speakers simplify their speech by adjusting the speech rate, and using longer and more frequent pauses. They also regulate their speech by using basic forms rather than contracted forms, general terms rather than specialized terms, and they avoid idiomatic expressions. Furthermore, they elaborate their speech in order to make the meaning clearer to nonnative speakers, by providing concrete examples and paraphrasing by replacing difficult lexical items with easier ones.

Many studies on teacher talk have been carried out, and their major focuses can be summarized as follows (Chaudron 1988): the amount of teacher talk (cf. Bialystok *et al.* 1978): rate of speech (cf. Henzl 1973), phonological characteristics, such as intonation and stress (cf. Mannon 1986), modifications of vocabulary and syntax (cf. Henzl 1979; Bialystok and Frohlich 1980), and modifications in discourse (cf. Ellis 1985). Some studies aim at investigating how modifications in teacher talk facilitate second language learning, and how teachers conduct error treatment, such as repair/corrective feedback in classroom, and its effect on learners' comprehension and language learning (cf. Chaudron 1988). The major findings on error treatment summarized in Chaudron (1988) suggest that errors related to lexis, content and discourse tend to receive treatment more frequently than phonological or grammatical errors; that many errors are left untreated (uncorrected); and that frequency of error treatment and type of errors treated varies depending on the teacher. However, various questions related to error treatment, such as how teachers' error treatment facilitates development of learners' interlanguage systems, how it affects students' learning, whether errors should be treated or left untreated in order to promote language learning, and why some errors are not treated, have not yet been thoroughly answered.

Kato's (1994, 1997) investigation into non-corrective teacher feedback in Japanese language classrooms attempts to cover one of the areas which have been understudied. By adopting Neustupny's framework of language management, he categorizes non-corrective teacher feedback into three types: "unnoticed errors, noticed errors which were unevaluated, and negatively evaluated errors which were disregarded" (Kato 1997). Kato found that the occurrence of non-corrective feedback is influenced by the type of elicitation used by teachers, the type of learner errors, the context, and teaching styles. Ellis (1994: 586) argues that error treatment should be carried out by considering learner's general interlanguage development, for example, teachers should correct only those errors that learners are ready to eliminate. Van Lier (1988) proposes that self-repair is more conductive to and effective for learners' acquisition of the target language than other-repair, since it is less likely to have a negative affective impact on the learners. Thus, error treatment by teachers remains an important area for further inquiry, which should be supported by empirical evidence.

I have reviewed the above research on modified speech by more proficient speakers addressing less proficient speakers. The research focuses of these studies have been mainly on the features of linguistic and interactional modifications on the part of more proficient speakers. In other words, the linguistic modifications made by less proficient speakers, and/or interactional modifications jointly made by both groups of speakers have been less frequently investigated. Although some of the above studies have been limited in scope and focus, they have influenced researchers in the area of SLA research, in particular, with regard to studies on input and interactional modifications, and studies on negotiation of meaning, which I shall review in the following section.

2.5 Second language acquisition (SLA) research

2.5.1 Input, interaction and output in SLA

As briefly mentioned in Chapter One, many studies in the area of SLA have been conducted in the United States of America in the past 30 years. One of the

major issues SLA researchers have been investigating is the quality and quantity of input to which learners are exposed. This is because, according to Krashen's "Input Hypothesis" (1981, 1982, 1985), a certain kind of input would promote language learning. Krashen hypothesized that target language input which is at a slightly higher level than that of the learner's current interlanguage (i +1) is the essential condition for language learning. That is to say, whether learners are exposed to comprehensible input (according to Krashen's term "i+ 1") is crucial to promote their interlanguage development. This hypothesis has been further supported and developed by various SLA researchers who strongly believe that the linguistic environment is one of the determining factors to facilitate learners' acquisition. Another important SLA study in the U. S. A. around the same time as Krashen's studies was by Hatch (1977, 1978). Hatch emphasized the importance of interaction in language learning. She proposed that SLA research shift from a focus on how L2 learning could determine learners' communicative use of the L2, to a focus on how L2 learning could be promoted through actual communicative use of the L2.

The notion that NS's (native speaker's) input which is originally incomprehensible to NNS's (nonative speaker's) can be made comprehensible through interaction between NSs and NNSs has led researchers to carry out various studies. In comparison between pre-modified spoken discourse and discourse which allows NNSs to negotiate to obtain modifications, the latter has been confirmed to be more comprehensible to NNSs (cf. Gass and Varonis 1985a, 1985b; Varonis and Gass 1985a, 1985b). The results of these studies generally support the first stage of the SLA hypothesis proposed by SLA researchers, that is, interaction promotes NNSs' comprehension. Furthermore, they imply that the second stage of the hypothesis, that is, interaction that provides NNSs with comprehensible input directly promotes SLA, may be supported. However, this suggestion has not been confirmed with any substantial evidence (Ellis 1994).

Nevertheless, extensive SLA studies have been conducted which attempt to obtain positive evidence of a correlation between a linguistic environment that is full of comprehensible input and SLA. For instance, Long's (1980, 1981, 1983a, 1983c) investigations of native-nonnative discourse report that both native and nonnative

speakers mutually work linguistically to modify their speech and interaction in order to avoid and repair communication problems. These were called "interactional modifications" (Long 1980, 1981, 1983a) and "conversational adjustments" (Long 1983b), but were known later as "negotiation" (cf. Scarcella and Higa 1981; Varonis and Gass 1985a; Gass and Varonis 1986; Larsen-Freeman and Long 1991) and "negotiation of meaning (NM)" (cf. Varonis and Gass 1985b) in various SLA studies. Researchers in the area of SLA consider frequent occurrence of NM in face-to-face interaction among native and nonnative speakers as a vital condition for second language acquisition. As mentioned in 1.3, NM is clearly defined as a repair strategy to solve communication problems resulting mainly from NNSs' deficiency in production and reception of the target language (mostly English). Consequently, in SLA research, NM is considered neither as an exchange to facilitate mutual comprehension between the participants, nor as a process for interactants to mutually unfold unknown matters (new information) to become known matters (old information). This is the fundamental difference between the NM of SLA and conversational negotiation in CA and IS.

SLA theory views the NM process as one providing learners with opportunities to modify their interlanguage in the target language. This includes the following three stages: firstly, NNSs, who are linguistically (sometimes socially) less competent persons, signal their incomprehension; secondly, NSs, who are linguistically (sometimes socially) more competent persons, produce input comprehensible to the NNSs by linguistically modifying their previous utterances; thirdly, the NNSs acknowledge NSs' modifications by minimal responses, or by incorporating the NSs' modified (linguistically correct form) input into their own utterances as their output. Thus, NM provides NNSs with comprehensible input adjusted to the NNS's level through NSs' modifications (cf. Krashen 1981, 1985; Long 1983a, 1983b). It also provides NNSs with NSs' negative and positive feedback on NNSs' interlanguage systems as to whether these are grammatically correct or not (cf. Schachter and Celce-Murcia 1977; Lightbown and Spada 1990). It also offers NNSs opportunities to test their interlanguage and modify it, if necessary (Swain 1985, 1993). With regard to the third stage of the NM process, described above, Swain (1985, 1993) proposes the "output hypothesis" in which she emphasizes that "comprehensible

output" is necessary in addition to "comprehensible input", in order for NNSs to promote their interlanguage development. "Comprehensible output" refers to utterances that are made by NNSs at the last stage of NM, containing their efforts to test/modify their interlanguage after receiving (negative) feedback from NSs. Swain argues that such NNSs' comprehensible output should be "pushed", that is to say, NNSs should be constantly urged to produce correct oral or written output, after receiving negative feedback from NSs or teachers (cf. Gass and Madden 1985; Ehrlich *et al.* 1989; Gass *et al.* 1989; Crookes and Gass 1993a, 1993b).

Based on the hypotheses discussed above, SLA researchers strongly believe that the creation of a linguistic environment abundant with NM would serve the necessary condition to promote SLA. As a result, a large amount of research has been carried out to investigate under what conditions NM occurs most frequently. Various studies have investigated such variables as task type (for example, one-way task/two-way task, convergent/divergent task), activity type (for example, lock step, small group), participant variables (for example, age, gender, familiarity, social relationship, language proficiency), and type of settings (for example, inside/outside classroom, natural settings). In terms of task variables, participants who work on two-way tasks, such as information gap tasks and picture location tasks, negotiate more often than when they work on one-way tasks, such as discussion (cf. Doughty and Pica 1986; Duff 1986; Pica, Young and Doughty 1987; Pica 1991a). In terms of participants' social relationships, much research shows that NS-NNS/NNS-NNS interactions involving participants of equal status tend to have more NM than those involving people of unequal status. For example, NM in NNS-NNS interaction in experimental settings occurs more frequently than in NS-NNS situations[3] (Varonis and Gass 1985). Yamada T. (1996) investigates how learners' experience in Japan affects their use of NM strategies in Japanese. He reports that the high proficiency learners with long in-country experience use NM more efficiently by engaging in it less frequently and, furthermore, they are able to solve problems with brief NM. In contrast, the low proficiency learners with long in-country experience tend to employ longer and more complicated NM strategies. This finding suggests that their current linguistic competence might not be matched with what they wish to say in Japanese,

despite the fact they have gained confidence in talking in Japanese through their in-country experience.

The results of the SLA studies reviewed above conflict with those reported on CN-PM in natural settings involving NS-NNS participants. As reviewed in the previous sections, occurrence and types of NM in natural settings are highly constrained (cf. Aston 1986; Wagner 1996). In content-subject classroom settings, conversational negotiation between teachers and students is also highly restricted (Musumeci 1996). Moreover, the ethnic background of participants may inhibit such interactional behavior as negotiation or inquiring (cf. Savlle-Troike 1989; Tannen 1990). Unlike in the frameworks of CA and IS, in the SLA framework, NM occurs only when there is miscommunication due to linguistic problems, usually NNSs' deficiency in the target language. While participants in conversations in experimental settings in SLA research have an orientation towards learning activity, participants in natural conversations in CA or IS research possess other orientations, such as business or socialization (Wagner 1996: 233).

2.5.2 Expertise and authority in native and nonnative conversations

As discussed above, the majority of SLA researchers analyzed NM in experimental settings. Most data investigated by SLA researchers were not natural but elicited and collected in language learning/teaching contexts. However, the body of research investigating native-nonnative interaction in the area of SLA has been growing. For instance, Musumeci's (1996) study examines teacher-student exchanges in content-based language classrooms on an undergraduate course, where the social geography of Italy is taught in Italian. The students' proficiency in Italian is categorized as being at least at intermediate level. In such content-based classrooms, both teachers and students focus on the content rather than on the linguistic forms. The data, however, are characterized by the typical patterns of teacher-student interaction, in which teachers generally dominate classroom talk, hold the floor, and initiate most exchanges by means of display questions. The teachers try their best not to use explicit negotiation strategies to indicate their non-understanding, but to infer the meaning of the students' speech and encourage them to speak in order to avoid any

chances of communication failure. They also check the comprehension of the students by issuing non-verbal cues and exact repetition. Their effort to save the face of the students indicates that they are taking full responsibility as a linguistic host in order to reduce the linguistic burden of the students, while encouraging the students' willingness to communicate more on the content of the subject. The students' explicit requests for clarification in whole class activities are non-existent. In terms of modification, the teachers frequently modify their speech to respond to students' non-linguistic signals of non-understanding to facilitate their understanding. However, the students do not incorporate corrected forms supplied by the teachers through teachers' feedback, and the teachers do not oblige them to reformulate their speech as "comprehensible output" (Swain 1985, 1993).

As summarized above, Musumeci argues that the previous studies' findings on the role of negotiation (of meaning) as a vital condition for SLA is controversial. She maintains that certain types of interaction, such as negotiation, are highly constrained in natural conversations since they may be affected by various social factors, such as participants' social roles, relationships, face, topics and settings (Musumeci 1996: 318). Negotiation in the classroom must be considered an important component of the learning experience, where the social role of teacher is to "help the students get through the exchange as painlessly as possible" (Musumeci 1996: 316). It seems overly simplistic for SLA researchers to claim that a higher occurrence of negotiation will lead to more participation of learners in the classroom and promotion of their SLA.

Previous research has suggested that the power relationships of participants (status differences) and participants' knowledge affects native-nonnative interaction in natural situations in terms of the amount of talk, interruption patterns, pause fillers, backchannels, and topic moves (cf. Woken and Swales 1989; Zuengler 1989a; Zuengler and Bent 1991; Tyler 1995). Such studies are of considerable relevance to the present study because they cover native-nonnative interaction in natural settings in terms of the participants' status and knowledge, in comparison with the static dichotomous model of native-nonnative participants as linguistic host-guests. The majority of SLA research in experimental settings reviewed in 2.5.1 has dealt with this

static model, while the studies to be reviewed in 2.5.2 investigate interaction in a more dynamic model.

Woken and Swales (1989) investigate dyadic conversations involving nonnative and native speakers of English, which reveal the nonnative participants' dominance. The three nonnative participants are graduate students in computer science at a North American university, and are given the task of teaching native-speaking students how to use word-processing software. They talk more, hold the floor, and correct the native participants' utterances without modulation, while the native participants maintain their roles as learners by asking many procedural questions. The discourse thus reveals the clear roles of the participants: experts (nonnative speakers) resume active roles to control speech, while non-experts (native-speaking participants) resume passive roles to show their obvious lack of knowledge.

Other studies on the asymmetry of content knowledge among participants in native-nonnative interaction also report that participants' content knowledge influences their participation in conversation (Woken and Swales 1989; Zuengler 1989a, 1989b, 1993a, 1993b; Zuengler and Bent 1991). A further example is found in Tyler's (1995) study of a tutoring session, in which a Korean graduate student at a North American university teaches a native-speaking undergraduate student. The Korean tutor's unconscious use of his native contexualizaion cues and conversational routines in English interaction are not compatible with those in standard U.S. English. Consequently, the participants each negatively evaluate their partner as uncooperative, and their discourse strategies, contextualization cues, frame, and interpretive norms conflict with each other, and finally lead to miscommunication

2.6 Constraints and avoidance of conversational negotiation

It is important to note that conversational negotiation (CN) may be more highly constrained in everyday face-to face interaction in social and business situations as opposed to instructional settings (Saville-Troike 1990; Tannen 1990). As discussed in the previous section, Wagner (1996) argues that CN involving other-correction,

which implies nonnative speakers' linguistic incompetence, tends to be avoided in intercultural business situations because it is face-threatening. Participants' professional competence is more important than their linguistic competence, and behavior that emphasizes the asymmetry of linguistic competence of native and nonnative participants is often avoided. Furthermore, Aston (1986) argues that CN is not only highly restricted, but that it may be triggered by factors other than propositional/interactional ambiguity in the discourse, such as speakers' willingness to convey their involvement and friendliness to their interlocutors, particularly in social settings in intercultural situations. That is to say, participants in natural situations often negotiate with each other in order to express rapport, involvement and solidarity with their interlocutor, in addition to attaining mutual understanding or to solving communication problems (cf. Jordan and Fuller 1975; Harder 1980).

Conversational negotiation can be interpreted by participants either as face-saving or face-threatening, depending on various contextual factors. Tannen (1990: 135-137), for instance, explains that certain types of interactional behavior in face-to-face communication, such as interruption and excessive questioning, can be explained by the notion of *double bind* (Becker 1982: 125; Scollon, 1982; Bateson and Bateson 1987). That is to say, people simultaneously send and receive conflicting messages in everyday communication (Tannen 1984: 17). According to Scollon (1982: 344-345), all communication is a double bind, because people simultaneously have conflicting needs to be different and independent from others and to be the same as others and accepted as a member of society. Becker (1982: 125) defines the notion of double bind as "a matter of continual self-correction between exuberance (that is, friendliness: you are like me) and deficiency (that is, respect: you are not me)." The meaning of the same linguistic strategies through which some participants attempt to express power and solidarity, distance and closeness, and negative face and positive face, may be interpreted by others differently, depending on the context. For example, overlapping in conversation may be interpreted as a display of involvement and participation (solidarity), and also as interruption (power and dominance), depending on the contextual variables. Thus, the seemingly conflicting factors of power and solidarity are in fact complementary, and so, power and solidarity is constantly negotiated by participants in conversational interaction.

Tannen's notion of *double bind*, presented above, can also be used in relation to CN. Whether CN can be interpreted as participants' interruption or indication of enthusiastic involvement is determined by the context, which consists of such factors as the participants and their social roles, topic, task, time frame, setting, conversational styles of participants, and so on. Its types, occurrence/non-occurrence and frequency are also affected by these contextual variables. Saville-Troike (1989) argues that participants' violation of rules of speaking, such as when and how to appropriately question or negotiate with their interlocutors, constitute more serious deviations in communication than more visible deviations from the grammatical norms of the target language. Erickson (1976, 1979) and Erickson and Schults (1982) focus on the negotiation of interactional meaning in ongoing discourse between interviewers and interviewees during gate-keeping interviews, where the former evaluate the abilities and attitudes of the latter. They argue that some types of interaction, such as explicit negotiation initiated by socially lower participants (interviewees), are quite restricted due to the asymmetry of the role and status of the participants. Thus, participants in face-to face interaction must constantly engage in attempting to maintain a delicate balance between power and solidarity, and distance and closeness prior to and during the processes of conversational negotiation.

2.7 Summary

As summarized above, many researchers from various fields have displayed a keen interest in CN. Naturally, their analytical frameworks and research methods have varied greatly. While CA and IS researchers deal with naturally occurring conversational data, the majority of SLA researchers a[illegible]e negotiation in experimental settings. Generally speaking, research on CN in authentic situations at work is scarce, apart from a few CA and IS studies (cf. Jefferson and Schenkein 1978; Schenkein 1978; Wagner 1996).

As mentioned in Chapter One, there is no single relevant framework for me to use for the analysis of naturally occurring conversational data in the multilingual workplace. In Chapter Three, I shall explain the three frameworks I adopted for

analysis in the present study. I shall also explain how I apply them for the purpose of investigating CN in naturally occurring interactions between Chinese participants and Japanese participants in the multilingual workplace.

Notes:

[1] Gumperz argues that three types of knowledge (linguistic knowledge, interactive knowledge, and sociocultural knowledge) should be shared by participants, in order to mutually and collaboratively attain the communicative goal. In contrast, Neustupny's framework of interaction (cf. Figure 1.1), interactive competence, embraces sociocultural competence and communicative competence, which, in turn, consists of linguistic and sociolinguistic competence.

[2] Display questions are those in which questioners know their answers before they ask. In contrast, referential questions are those in which questioners do not know their answers before they ask. Questions categorized in the former type are often asked by teachers in the classroom, for the purpose of teaching. Questions of the latter type are genuine questions through which questioners want to seek information.

[3] Varonis and Gass (1985a, 1985b) also report that NM occurs more frequently in NNS-NNS situations than in NS-NS situations or NS-NNS situations. Participants in NS-NS situations do not have much to negotiate, since they share linguistic and sociocultural knowledge. Participants in NS-NNS situations often refrain from negotiating, considering this behavior impolite, probably because NSs (as linguistic hosts) do not wish to threaten NNSs' face, whereas NNSs (as linguistic guests) do not wish to lose their own face, by initiating NM.

CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In the previous two chapters, I have introduced central issues and a review of the literature, which is most significant to the analysis and discussion of the present study. As mentioned before, I have adopted the following three frameworks to analyze the conversational data in the multilingual workplace: *framework 1* (Neustupny's framework of interaction, cf. Figure 1.1), which was briefly introduced above, is adopted to describe and analyze the data in terms of the eight components of communication; *framework 2* is the one that I have developed for analyzing explicit conversational negotiation (CN) in this study, based on various frameworks in the area of conversation analysis; and finally *framework 3*, developed by Gumperz and further extended by Tannen, is the IS framework (including the *cross talk* model) for analyzing implicit CN.

In the analysis of the data in the present study, Framework 1 provides us with a broad and comprehensive framework, and enables us to analyze any type of CN, regardless of its linguistic markedness. In contrast, the other two frameworks permit analysis of the two major types of specific CN identified in the present study. Frameworks 2 and 3, therefore, have been applied to examine the linguistically marked (explicit), and the linguistically unmarked (implicit) types, respectively. In this chapter, I shall explain how these three theoretical frameworks will be applied for the purpose of investigating and analyzing CN between Chinese speakers of Japanese (CJs) and Japanese speakers of Japanese (JJs) in the present study.

3.1 Framework 1: Neustupny's framework of communication

As explained in previous chapters, the present study deals with naturally occurring conversations in a multilingual workplace. In order to focus on the processes and outcomes of CN, the degree of shared knowledge among participants in terms of the linguistic, sociolinguistic and sociocultural rules of the language in use (in this study, Japanese) is of great significance. The eight components of communication comprising Neustupny's (1982, 1987) framework in the context of the present study are as follows:

1. Switch-on rules

Under what conditions do participants switch on communication and conversational negotiation?

With regard to switch-on rules, answers to the following questions may vary depending on situational variables: how and when CN occurs; how and when it is reduced; how and when it is totally avoided; who initiates it, and whether it occurs more frequently among participants of the same gender, or the opposite gender.

2. Setting rules

Where and when do participants communicate and negotiate meaning of the ongoing discourse?

Setting rules govern the use of time and place of communication. Since the data were collected at various offices in multilingual workplaces in Hong Kong, the setting can be roughly categorized as a multilingual workplace. However, in terms of the time of occurrence of CN, it can be roughly divided into working and non-working hours (such as tea time, lunch time, and after-office hours). During working hours, conversational negotiation may be more constrained due to the limited time frame than during non-working hours. As a result, its occurrence, sequence, and processes may vary depending on the situational variables.

3. Participant rules

Who participates in communication and conversational negotiation?

Participants are co-workers consisting mainly of Japanese native speakers (JJs), who may also be proficient in English, Cantonese and/or Putonghua, and Hong Kong Chinese speakers (CJs), who speak Cantonese as their L1a, Putonghua (L1b), English (L2), and Japanese (L3). They are categorized as members of the in-group, and their relationships can be categorized as equal, rather than junior-senior relationships. They may speak informal Japanese with fewer honorifics, since they are categorized as in-group members.

4. Variety rules

What types of languages do the participants use to communicate and negotiate?

In this study, JJs and CJs interact mainly in Japanese. The spoken Japanese in the data can be categorized into different varieties/registers, such as formal/informal varieties, regional varieties, social varieties, female/male varieties, native/nonnative varieties, spoken/written varieties, and serious/joking modes. Occasional shifts in variety/register are found in the data.

As mentioned in 1.2 above, all CJs possess multilingual competence in Cantonese (their L1a), Putonghua (L1b), English (L2) and Japanese (L3), and most of JJs possess bilingual/multilingual competence in Japanese (their L1), English (L2), Cantonese (L3a/L3b) and/or Putonghua (L3a/L3b). Consequently, occasional code-switching[1] characterizes the discourse.

5. Content rules[2]

What content is communicated and negotiated?

Content transmitted in communication may be classified into various types: one of the types can be *factual* content; another type is *presentational* content (Neustupny 1987: 109), through which participants communicate their social status, attitudes, intention, humor and joking. A further type can be *appellative* content (Neustupny 1987: 109), through which participants transmit their requests for information or performance of an act.

With regard to content rules, answers to the following questions may vary depending on situational variables: whether content transmitted is factual, presentational, and/or appellative; what content (topic) tends to be more frequently negotiated by participants; what content (topic) tends to be less frequently negotiated; and what kind of attitudes, intention, and meta-messages (friendliness, closeness, distance, solidarity, rapport, or politeness) are communicated through the processes of conversational negotiation.

6. Message rules

What form do verbal messages of conversational negotiation take?

Message rules regulate how participants arrange what they want to communicate in a sequence. In relation to message rules, answers to the following questions vary depending on situational variables: what, and how conversational negotiation (discourse) strategies are used; what kind of routine components (such as words/phrases, sentences, paralinguistic features, and non-verbal elements) are used; and how CN sequences start, proceed and end.

7. Channel rules

What channels of communication are used for negotiation?

Messages can be communicated in various ways: verbal/non-verbal channels and oral/spoken channels. The choice of channel in the study is mostly oral. However, participants occasionally present visual (written) materials, and/or write

Chinese-character-based-vocabulary (*hitsudan* 筆談) in order to facilitate mutual understanding through oral CN of the propositional meaning of the ongoing discourse, and/or to solve oral communication problems. Thus, shifts from an oral to an oral/ visual channel are identified in this study.

8. Management rules

How do participants maintain their communication and conversational negotiation?

Management rules regulate the way participants label communication acts, assess and evaluate them, interpret them, and adjust/correct them through repair and CN, if necessary. In the present study, CJs and JJs may apply different types of management rule with regard to CN due to their lack of shared knowledge pertaining to norms of interaction and interpretation.

When applying Framework 1 in this study, it is apparent that among the eight components, those such as setting rules and participant rules are basically fixed, whereas those such as switch-on rules, variety rules, content rules, message rules, channel rules, and management rules may vary greatly depending on the situation.

3.2 Framework 2 for analysis of explicit CN sequences

3.2.1 Basic pattern of an explicit CN sequence

As previously introduced, CA analysts such as Jefferson and Schenkein (1978) and Schenkein (1978) have investigated various aspects of CN sequences in naturally occurring dyadic conversations. Four frameworks, which deal with analysis of correction and conversational negotiation, are summarized in Table 3.1 below. All of them are based on a four-turn-sequence in which two speakers interact. Speaker A and Speaker B in each framework can be anyone, regardless of their personal variables, such as their native language, gender, or social status.

The first framework in Table 3.1 is that proposed by Jefferson and Schenkein (1978), where when Speaker B notices something in Speaker A's utterance (turn 1) it induces Speaker B to solicit correction. Speaker B solicits Speaker A's self-correction (Turn 2: Correction Solicitor). In turn 3, Speaker A corrects her/his own previous utterance (Turn 3: Correction). Finally, in turn 4, Speaker B acknowledges the correction made by Speaker A (Turn 4: Acknowledgment).

Table 3.1 Comparison of four frameworks to analyze explicit CN sequences

Turn	Speakers' Turn-taking	Jefferson & Schenkein (1978)	Schenkein (1978)	Gass &Varonis (1985)	Present study (symbol)
1	Speaker A	Correction Source	Puzzle	Trigger	Trigger (→)
2	Speaker B	Correction Solicitor	Pass [+ Candidate Solution]	Signal	Signal* (⇒) [+ Candidate Answer]
3	Speaker A	Correction	Confirmation	Response	Response (☆)
4	Speaker B	Acknowledgment -	Comment	Reply To response	[Reaction to response] or [Continuing move]

<Note> The Signal turn* in the framework employed in the present study can be also called a *negotiation solicitor*, since Speaker B's clarification of the meaning of Speaker A's Trigger utterance solicits conversational negotiation.

The second framework, also presented in Table 3.1, is proposed by Schenkein (1978). Here, Speaker A's utterance in turn 1 *puzzles* Speaker B (Turn 1: Puzzle). Speaker B repeats Speaker A's utterance, by *passing it back* to Speaker A to clarify the meaning of the ongoing discourse, either with or without a candidate solution (Turn 2: Pass [+ Candidate Solution]). Speaker A notes Speaker B's inquiry, confirming another Speaker B's candidate solution is correct or acceptable to Speaker A (Turn 3: Confirmation). In the fourth turn, Speaker B comments on Speaker A's previous utterance or the ongoing topic in general (Turn 4: Comment).

As mentioned in Chapter Two, SLA researchers have developed their theoretical frameworks for analyzing negotiation of meaning by drawing upon analytical frameworks on correction, repair or negotiation proposed by previous CA studies such as Schegloff *et al.* (1977), Jefferson and Schenkein (1978) and Schenkien (1978). In the third framework, proposed by Gass and Varonis (1985a, 1985b), ambiguous/incorrect information in Speaker A's utterance in turn 1 serves as a direct cause (Turn 1: Trigger) to make Speaker B indicate her/his non-understanding of the previous utterance in the following turn (Turn 2: Signal). In turn 3, Speaker A responds to the Speaker B's utterance in various ways: by supplying information needed by Speaker B, by giving minimum acknowledgment to continue their conversation, or by ignoring Speaker B's inquiry in turn 2 (Turn 3: Response). In the last and fourth turn, Speaker B reacts to the comments made by Speaker A, either by

simply acknowledging new information given by Speaker A, or by continuing conversation without acknowledgment (Turn 4: Reply to response).

In applying the three frameworks presented above to investigate the kinds of CN sequences found in this study, I have found that the majority of sequences can be analyzed with a three-turn-sequence as the minimum unit, with or without the fourth turn following. Therefore, I have developed a framework, shown in Table 3.1, which is a three-turn-sequence framework, with the fourth turn being optional. In my framework (summarized in Table 3.2, as Framework 2 in the present study), the utterance of Speaker A (Turn 1: Trigger) serves to *trigger* Speaker B to *signal* that she/he wishes to clarify the meaning, and/or that she/he wishes to seek more information regarding the topic provided by Speaker A in turn 1. The *signal* utterance issued by Speaker B in turn 2 is sometimes followed by a candidate answer (cf. Pomerantz 1988), which is often issued by Speaker B in the form of supplying correct/relevant information and/or a confirmation check of Speaker A's Trigger utterance (Turn 2: Signal [+ Candidate Answer]). Speaker B's signal utterance therefore can be also termed a *negotiation solicitor*, since Speaker B's clarification of the meaning of Speaker A's Trigger utterance solicits conversational negotiation. In turn 3, Speaker A responds to Speaker B by confirming and/or commenting on the candidate answer provided by Speaker B, or by continuing conversation without acknowledging Speaker B's utterance in the previous turn (Turn 3: Response). The fourth turn is optional, depending on Speaker A's response in turn 3 (Turn 4: Reaction to Response), since Speaker A may react to the response given by Speaker B, or may ignore it and move on to a totally new topic.

In my framework (cf. Table 3.1 and Table 3.2), utterances in Trigger turns include wide-ranging messages, such as ones that are linguistically, factually and interactionally ambiguous, inadequate and/or incorrect, in which Speaker B wishes to clarify the propositional meaning of the ongoing discourse, and ones from which Speaker B wishes to seek in-depth knowledge and information from Speaker A, who is an expert on the topic of the ongoing discourse. This is thus a broader framework with which to investigate explicit sequences of CN-PM and CN-EX, and implicit sequences of CN-IM, while the other three frameworks in Table 3.1 deal mainly with

analysis of correction and repair in the discourse. It also enables us to analyze conversational negotiation encompassing various levels such as linguistic, factual and interactional levels with regard to participants' sharing of linguistic, sociolinguistic and sociocultural rules.

3.2.2 Components of an explicit CN sequence

As discussed above, based on my framework (Framework 2 in the study), explicit CN in this study can be analyzed in a three-turn-sequence, which contains some or all of the following three components of Trigger, Signal and Response, with an optional fourth turn of Reaction to Response/Continuing Move. In some cases, a Signal turn may be totally omitted, probably because its message is not necessarily verbalized, and/or is transmitted through non-verbal signal(s) such as gesture or gaze.

Table 3.2 presents the four basic components of an explicit CN sequence.

Table 3.2 Basic components of an explicit CN sequence in my framework (Framework 2 in the present study)

Turn	Speaker	Function of turn (symbol)	Description
1	Speaker A	Trigger (→)	Ambiguity source in Speaker A's utterance prompts Speaker B to negotiate the meaning of the ongoing discourse.
2	Speaker B	Signal (⇒) [+ Candidate answer]	Speaker B issues non-understanding expressions and/or interjection after hearing Trigger utterance. Speaker B may partially or completely repeat, paraphrase or elaborate the Trigger utterance(s). The Signal turn can be also called a *negotiation solicitor*, since Speaker B's Signal utterance solicits conversational negotiation.
3	Speaker A	Response (☆)	Speaker A responds to the Signal issued by Speaker B by paraphrasing and/or elaborating Trigger utterance(s).
4	Speaker B	Reaction to Response/ Continuing Move	Speaker A and Speaker B continue their conversation after conversational negotiation (from turn 1 to turn 3).

In order to indicate the first three components in a CN sequence, each example of CN in the present study is marked with three symbols to indicate the Trigger, Signal and Response turns of the CN sequence. The single arrow (→) placed at the beginning of the turn indicates a Trigger turn, which prompts Speaker B (an interlocutor) to negotiate the meaning of Speaker A's utterance in the ongoing

discourse, while the double arrow (⇒) placed at the beginning of the turn indicates a Signal turn which consists of linguistic remarks by Speaker B (the interlocutor) to initiate negotiation. The star mark (☆) placed at the beginning of the turn indicates a Response turn.

As discussed above, the basic pattern of an explicit CN sequence can be described as a four-turn sequence of Trigger-Signal-Response-Reaction to Response/Continuing Move, as in pattern 1 in Table 3.3, with the fourth turn being optional. However, many more variations may occur, as listed in the same table. Utterances in Signal and Response turns may also function as Trigger turns of new CN sequences, as in patterns 2, 3, 5 and 6. Pattern 4 describes the sequence without a Signal turn. When an utterance in a Signal issued by Speaker B becomes another Trigger to prompt Speaker A to issue linguistic devices which are characteristic of a Signal, the CN sequence is Trigger-Signal/Trigger-Response, as in sequence pattern 2 in Table 3.3. CN sequences may also continue recursively, as in pattern 3, when speakers repeatedly issue linguistic features characteristic of a Signal turn. A CN sequence may form a "side-sequence" (Jefferson 1972) when speakers return to the major flow of conversation by resuming the original topic after solving communication problems in the discourse. The sequence patterns 1, 2 and 3 in Table 3.3 can be categorized as "other-initiated self-correction", according to the typology of repair (cf. Schegloff *et al.* 1977). In contrast, pattern 4 is categorized as "other-initiated other-correction" (cf. Schegloff *et al.* 1977), in which Speaker B corrects Speaker A's Trigger utterance without issuing any linguistic remarks in the Signal turn.

Table 3.3 Patterns of CN sequences

1. Trigger – Signal - Response - [Reaction to Response/Continuing Move]
2. Trigger – Signal/Trigger – Response
3. Trigger – Signal/Trigger - Signal/Trigger – Response
4. Trigger – Response - [Reaction to Response/Continuing Move]
5. Trigger – Signal-Response/Trigger-Response - [Reaction to Response/Continuing Move]
6. Trigger-Signal-Response/Trigger-Response - [Reaction to Response/Continuing Move]

Example 6-1 below illustrates how this framework is employed for description and analysis of explicit CN. It shows a typical sequence of explicit CN of propositional meaning. The sequence can be categorized as Trigger-Signal-Response/ Trigger-Response, as the symbols marked at the beginning of the relevant turns show

(Table 3.2). The data are presented in three ways: Japanese text, its English translation, and a Romanized transcription of the Japanese text. Detailed explanation of the transcription conventions employed in the present study will be given in Chapter Four.

Example 6-1 [CJ10 -3]

1	→	CJ10:	畳のうえに座ってご飯食べるは、すごく『しぶる』。
2	⇒	JJ14:	(1)... ごめん、わからないけど。
3	☆→	CJ10:	あー (1)... 足がすごく痛くなる。
4	☆	JJ14:	(1)...『しびれる』?
5		CJ10:	そう、そう、そう、[@@@]
6		JJ14:	[@@@] あれ、痛いのよね@@

[English translation]

1	→	CJ10:	When I ate sitting on the *tatami* mats, I became very numb.
2	⇒	JJ14:	(1)... Sorry, I don't understand.
3	☆→	CJ10:	Ah- (1)... one's legs become very painful.
4	☆	JJ14:	(1) ...(You mean)'to become numb'?
5		CJ10:	Yeah, yeah, yeah[@@@]
6		JJ14:	[@@@] That's very painful

[Romanized transcription]

1	→	CJ10:	Tatami no ue ni suwatte gohan taberu wa, sugoku shiburu.
2	⇒	JJ14:	(1)... Gomen, wakaranai kedo.
3	☆→	CJ10:	Aa- (1)... ashi ga sugoku itaku naru.
4	☆	JJ14:	(1) . Shibireru?
5		CJ10:	Soo, soo, soo[@@@]
6		JJ14:	[@@@]Are itai no yo ne@@

In line 2, a Japanese participant (JJ14) issues an expression of non-understanding to negotiate the linguistic meaning of an ambiguous source, that is, the Chinese participant's (CJ10's) mispronounced word in line 1. CJ10's utterance in line 1 serves as a Trigger for JJ14 to issue a Signal in the form of a direct expression of non-understanding, "*wakaranai kedo*" (I don't understand, but...) in line 2. In line 3, after hearing JJ14's Signal, CJ10 attempts to adjust her mispronounced word (*shiburu*) of line 1, not by correcting her own pronunciation of the word, but by paraphrasing it to solve the problem. Thus, CJ10's utterance of line 3 serves not only as a Response to the Trigger-Signal sequence in lines 1 and 2, but also as a second Trigger to solicit JJ14's Response (line 4). In line 4, JJ14 offers a candidate answer (cf. Pomeranz 1988), "*shibireru?*" ([You mean] to become numb?), with rising intonation. This utterance of JJ14's (line 4) also functions to complete a sequence of "self-initiated other completed" repair (cf. Schegloff *et al.* 1977). In line 5, since the candidate answer given by JJ14 is correct, CJ10 simply affirms JJ14's request for confirmation, saying "*Soo, soo, soo*" (Yeah, yeah, yeah), with laughter, but without incorporating the

correct form into her utterance. More detailed discussion and analysis of the above example will be presented in Chapter Six below.

Using the proposed framework (Framework 2 in the present study) discussed above, I shall elaborate on utterances in Trigger turns, and linguistic features in Signal and Response turns in the following two sections.

3.2.3 Utterances in Trigger turns

(a) Utterances in Triggers of conversational negotiation of propostional meaning (CN-PM)

In this study, utterances in Trigger turns which prompt CN-PM can be categorized into the following two types: (a) *linguistic ambiguity* and (b) *factual ambiguity*. CN sequences triggered by linguistic ambiguity are categorized as CN-PM/ling, and those triggered by factual ambiguity are categorized as CN-PM/fact. Sources of linguistic ambiguity are further divided into the following three categories: *phonological ambiguity*, *lexico-semantic ambiguity*, and *morpho-syntaxtic ambiguity*. Lexico-semantic ambiguity is further classified into ambiguity derived from *non-Chinese-character based (NChB) vocabulary* and ambiguity derived from *Chinese-character based* (ChB) *vocabulary* (*kanji/kango* 漢字/漢語). Sources of factual ambiguity are categorized into the following two types: *inadequate information* and *misunderstanding among participants*. The classifications of ambiguity sources mentioned above are summarized in Table 3.4 below. In Chapter Five, I shall analyze how CN-PM was attained by the Chinese and Japanese participants in the workplace.

Table 3.4 Utterances in Triggers of CN-PM

Utterances in Trigger turns	Sub-categories
(a) linguistic ambiguity	- Phonological ambiguity - Lexico-semantic ambiguity (1) Ambiguity derived from non-Chinese-character based (NChB) vocabulary (2) Ambiguity derived from Chinese-character based (ChB) vocabulary - Morpho-syntactical ambiguity
(b) factual ambiguity	- inadequate information - misunderstanding

Linguistic ambiguity and factual ambiguity in the discourse that trigger CN-PM include both verbal and non-verbal types. As mentioned above, the present data were

audio-recorded, not video-recorded, so the analysis and discussion of CN strategies in the present study is limited primarily to Triggers of the oral type. However, I shall occasionally add information on the Triggers of non-verbal type, which I collected as a participant observer.

(b) Utterances in Triggers of conversational negotiation of expertise (CN-EX)

Utterances in Triggers of CN-EX include messages that a participant wishes to seek more information and knowledge about from her/his interlocutor, who possesses expertise on the topic of the ongoing discourse. These can be roughly categorized into the following two types: *work-related expertise*, which is displayed by participants primarily in transactional talk, and *non-work-related expertise*, which is presented by participants mainly in interactional talk, as shown in Table 3.5 below.

Table 3.5 Utterances in Triggers of CN-EX

Utterances in Trigger turns	Sub-categories
(a) work-related expertise	
(b) non-work-related expertise	- knowledge related to the language, culture and society of participant's speech community and native culture - knowledge related to personal experience of participants (for example, hobbies, families, and friendship networks)

Those to do with non-work-related expertise can be further divided into knowledge related to the language, culture and society of participants' own speech community and native culture, and knowledge related to the personal experience of participants, such as hobbies, families, and friendship networks. Examples of CN-EX will be presented and analyzed in Chapter Six.

3.2.4 Explicit CN strategies in Signal and Response turns

I have categorized the linguistic features in a Signal turn and a Response turn into the following seven categories: non-understanding, interjection, partial repetition, complete repetition, minimum reply, paraphrasing and elaborating. I shall describe the linguistic features of the seven categories as follows:

(1) Expressions of non-understanding

Typical examples of non-understanding expressions are "*Nan te iimashita?*" (What did you say?), "*Moo ichido itte kudasai*" (Can you repeat once more?), and "*Wakarimasen*" (I don't understand). Expressions in this category are the most explicit type of request for clarification among the seven categories.

(2) Interjection

Expressions such as "*E?*" (What?), "*Haa?*" (What?), and "*Nani?*" (What?) are typical examples of the category.

(3) Partial repetition

In a Signal turn, speakers partially repeat previous (Trigger) utterances spoken by their interlocutors. In this category, there are four sub-types: question-word replacement type, partial repetition (polite) type, partial repetition (plain) type and incomplete repetition type.

① Question-word replacement type
Participants insert words to replace *a negotiation solicitor* in previous (Trigger) utterances spoken by their interlocutors, and repeat the rest of the utterances in order to elicit only the required part from their interlocutors. Question words used for replacement can be "*nani?*" (what?), "*dare?*" (who?), and "*doko?*" (where?).

② Partial repetition (polite) type

③ Partial repetition (plain) type
Participants partially repeat *a negotiation solicitor* in previous (Trigger) utterances in order to clarify the propositional meaning of the discourse or to seek more information on the ongoing topic. For example, when participants catch the sound of a word/phrase in their interlocutor's utterance but cannot understand its linguistic meaning, they issue a signal of either partial repetition (polite) type or partial repetition (plain) type. Such signals are issued by participants, partly due to their own reception (comprehension) problems, and partly due to their interlocutors' production problems. In some cases, participants issue this type of Signal, wishing to seek more detailed information on the ongoing topic, and it functions as a negotiation solicitor.

The difference in the linguistic features of the two partial repetition types indicates a different degree of politeness (Ozaki 1989, 1993)[3]. The linguistic feature of partial repetition (polite) type in a Signal turn is "ambiguous word/phrase" followed by "*desu ka?*" (is it/ are they?), which is the polite form of the Japanese copula. In contrast, that of partial repetition (plain) type in a Signal turn is "ambiguous word/phrase" without "*desu ka?*"

④ Incomplete repetition type
When participants cannot catch the meaning and/or sound of the ambiguous source in the ongoing discourse, they produce a part of the ambiguous word/phrase of the previous utterance incompletely to clarify the meaning.

(4) Complete repetition

Participants repeat previous (Trigger) utterances made by their interlocutors in a Signal turn, either to confirm or to clarify the meaning of the discourse. The difference between the third category, "partial repetition," and the fourth, "complete repetition," is that the former is partial repetition of ambiguous sources in the previous (Trigger) utterances, while the latter is the exact and complete repetition of ambiguous sources in the previous (Trigger) utterances.

(5) Minimum reply + correct information

Participants issue a very short reply in a Response turn to negate what is said in a Trigger turn, followed by correct information regarding the Trigger. Typical linguistic features are "*chigau yo*" (that's not what I said) + correct information, "*iya*" (no) + correct information, "*.... ja nai yo,... da yo*" (not ..., but ...), and/or its polite form, "*... de wa nakute, ... desu yo*" (not ..., but ...).

The Linguistic features of this category used in the two-turn sequence of CN by participants can be quite blunt and direct. This is because they are typical cases of other-correction, since they are "other-initiated other-correction", rather than "other-initiated self-correction", according to the typology of repair (cf. Schegloff *et al.* 1977).

(6) Paraphrasing

In a Response turn, participants paraphrase previous (Trigger) utterances of their interlocutors by supplying "candidate answers" (cf. Pomerantz 1988) for the purpose of clarifying and/or confirming the propositional meaning of the ongoing discourse, or for showing their keen interest in the ongoing topic. Paraphrasing is often realized by participants in the form of "yes-no questions" marked with rising intonation, which prompts their interlocutors either to confirm or to negate whether the given candidate answer is correct (or acceptable). In this way, participants can continue interaction without lengthy interruption. Typical linguistic patterns used for paraphrasing in the data include simply supplying a candidate answer, or supplying a candidate answer followed by the sentence patterns such as "*...tte koto?*" (Do you mean...?), "*...tte koto ne*" (You mean...), "*...tte wake?*" (Are you saying ...?), and "*...tte wake ne?*" (Are you saying...?).

This category is further divided into the following seven sub-categories:

① **Synonyms and antonyms** (同義語・反対語)
Participants supply synonyms and/or antonyms as candidate answers to clarify and/or confirm the propositional meaning of the ongoing discourse.

② **Switching of intransitive and transitive verbs**
(***Jidooshi-tadooshi* switching** 自動詞ー他動詞切り替え)
Participants switch between intransitive verbs (*jidooshi* 自動詞) and transitive verbs (*tadooshi* 他動詞) as candidate answers to clarify and/confirm the propositional meaning of the ambiguous source in the ongoing discourse.

③ **Switching of Chinese reading and Japanese reading of Chinese characters**
(***Onyomi-kunyomi* switching** 音読みー訓読み切り替え)
Participants switch between Chinese reading (*onyomi* reading 音読み) and Japanese reading (*kunyomi* reading 訓読み) of ambiguous Chinese-character-based (ChB) vocabulary in the ongoing discourse to negotiate the propositional meaning of the ongoing discourse.

④ **Multilingual code switching** (多言語切り替え)
Participants switch between various pronunciations of ChB vocabulary in multilingual codes, such as Cantonese, Putonghua (Mandarin Chinese), Shanghainese, Japanese, and English (Anglicized pronunciation), to negotiate the propositional meaning of the ambiguous source (Trigger) in the ongoing discourse, and also to negotiate expertise.

⑤ **Explaining the radicals of Chinese characters** (漢字の部首説明)
Participants explain the radicals (components or parts) of a Chinese character in a Response turn to negotiate the propositional meaning of the ambiguous source (Trigger) in the ongoing discourse. Radicals of Chinese characters used for negotiation in the present data include the left-hand radical (*hen* 偏), the right-hand radical (*tsukuri* 旁), the crown part (*kanmuri* 冠), and the embracing radical (*kamae* 構え).

This strategy is used not only in face-to-face conversations, but also in telephone conversations among Japanese and Chinese participants, where strategies such as showing visual documents and/or showing visual cues by actually writing Chinese characters (*hitsudan*) in front of their interlocutors are not possible.

⑥ **Showing visual documents** (視覚資料の提示)
While participants are engaging in face-to-face interaction, they may point at the ChB ambiguity source in visual/written documents, such as memos, brochures and maps in order to negotiate the propositional meaning of ChB vocabulary. Visual documents are used in the strategy to assist participants in mutually attaining understanding of ChB ambiguity source in the spoken discourse.

In some cases, foreseeing certain kinds of oral production/reception problems related to ChB vocabulary, the participants prepare visual documents even before they start their oral interaction. In some cases, participants pick up visual documents around them as soon as they note some oral communication problems related to ChB vocabulary occurring in the ongoing spoken discourse. In Neustupny's (1978) theory of language management, the former cases can be categorized as examples of "*pre-correction*" and the latter can be called cases of either "*in-correction*" or "*post-correction*", depending on the time when the participants note problems and actually starting correcting/negotiating them.

The main difference between the strategy of showing visual documents and the next strategy - writing Chinese characters (*hitsudan* 筆談) - is whether participants show visual documents which are already written, or they themselves actually use a writing tool to write ChB vocabulary (*kanji/kango* 漢字/漢語) in front of their interlocutors for the purpose of solving oral communication problems.

⑦ **Writing Chinese characters** (*hitsudan* 筆談)
Participants actually write ChB vocabulary (*kanji/kango* 漢字/漢語), as a means to represent the ambiguous source in the ongoing discourse which is causing an oral communication problem. Written Chinese characters are used here to provide visual cues to assist participants to attain shared understanding of the propositional meaning of the ongoing spoken discourse.

The CN sequence involving the strategy of writing Chinese characters (*hitsudan* 筆談) can be categorized as the most explicit and conspicuous type of "side sequence"

(Jefferson 1972) among all the other strategies used in a Signal turn and Response turn in the process of explicit CN strategies listed above. It halts the current flow of oral interaction completely by switching the mode of communication from an oral to an oral/visual channel.

(7) Elaboration

Participants elaborate the previous utterances of their interlocutors by adding concrete examples, detailed information, and their own personal experience related to the topic.

Table 3.6 below presents examples of CN sequences which appeared in the present study according to the seven categories of linguistic features in Signal and Response turns of explicit CN sequences outlined above.

Table 3. 6 Examples of explicit CN strategies

Types of explicit CN strategies	Examples appeared in the data
(1) Expressions of non-understanding	⇒*Nan to iimashita?* (What did you say?) ⇒*Moo ichido itte-kudasai.* (Can you repeat once more.) ⇒*Wakarimasen.* (I don't understand what you mean.)
(2) Interjection	⇒*E?* (What?) ⇒*Haa?* (What?) ⇒*Nani?* (What ?) ⇒*Nan no koto?*(What do you mean?)
(3) Partial repetition (repeating Trigger utterance partially)	
① Question-word replacement type	→ A: *Ki ni naranai kara ne.* ([He] did not mind.) ⇒ B: *Nan ni naranai no?* (What doesn't [he] become?)
② Partial repetition (polite) type	→ A: *B-san no otoosan, tanomoshii hito?* (Is your father, dependable?) ⇒ B: "*Tanomoshii*" *desu ka?* (Did you say "*tanomoshii*"?)
③ Partial repetition (plain) type	→ A: *B-san no otoosan, tanomoshii hito?* (Is your father dependable?) ⇒: B: "*Tanomoshii*" ? ("*Tanomoshii*"?)
④ Incomplete repetition type	→ A: *B-san no otoosan, tanomoshii hito?* (Is your father dependable?) ⇒ B:"*Tano*... ?" ("*Tano*...?")
(4) Complete repetition (repeating Trigger utterance completely)	→ A: *Ashita kaisha de kuji ni [mukaeru].* ([Pick me up] at 9 o'clock at the company.) ⇒ B: *Ashita kaisha de kuji ni [mukaeru].* ([Pick you up] at 9 o'clock at the company.)
(5) Minimum reply **+ correct information**	→ A: *Ja, ashita kuji ni mukae...* (Well, [the driver] will pick you up at 9 o'clock tomorrow...) ☆ B: *Chigau yo, hachiji da yo.* (No. It's 8 o'clock.)
(6) Paraphrasing (Paraphrasing previous utterance; providing candidate answers)	
① Synonyms and antonyms	→ A: *Yasuku nai shi, chotto kitanai.. amarr... waiseei ja nai.* (Not very cheap, and a bit dirty... not very hygeiene...)

(同義語・反対語)	☆ B: *Soo, ano hen no mise, kitanai, hi-eisee yo ne.* (That's right, shops around there are dirty and unhygenic.) A: *Soo.* (Yes.)
② **Switching of intransitive and transitive verbs** (*Jidooshi-tadooshi* switching, 自動詞ー他動詞切り替え)	→ A: *Bideo-ten de kashite, an... uchi de... mimasu.* (I lend [video] at a video shop, and watch [it] at home.) ☆ B:. *(1) A...(1) karite?* (Oh, you borrow [it]?)
③ **Switching of Chinese reading and Japanese reading of Chinese characters** (*Onyomi-kunyomi* switching, 音読みー訓読み切り替え)	→ (A and B are talking over the telephone) ☆ A: *Anoo, Matsunaga san no "naga" wa "eien" no "ei" ja nakute, "choo-tan" no "choo" no hoo da yo.* (The character of "naga" in a personal name "Matsunaga" is not the one in the word eternity, but the character "choo (nagai)" in "long and short (choo-tan)" B: *Aa, "nagai- mijikai" no "naga" no hoo ne.* (Oh, the character of "long (nagai)" in "long and short (nagai-mijikai)," isn't it?)
④ **Multilingual code-switching** (多言語切り替え)	→ A: *Sekko-Daiichi no Ri-san, denwa arimashita yo.* (Mr. Li from Sekko-Daiichi [Bank] phoned you.) ⇒ → B: *Nani-Daiichi?* (Which Daiichi [Bank]?) ⇒ → A: (1)... *Ah, Chekiang-Daiichi.* ([I mean] Chekiang Daiichi [bank].) ⇒ → B: *Ah, Jikgwong-Daiichi?* ([You mean] Jigging-Daiichi [Bank]?) ⇒ A: (1) ...*Eeto, Zhejiang-Daiichi.* (Let's me see, [what I mean is] Zhejiang-Daiichi [Bank].) ☆ B: *Aa, Zhejiang ne.* (Oh, [you mean] Zhejiang, isn't it?) A: *Soo, soo Zhejiang.* (That's right, that's right, Zhejiang.)
⑤ **Explaining the radicals of Chinese characters** (漢字の部首説明)	→ (Both A and B are looking at the document prepared by B) ⇒ A: *Nakamura-san no "naka" wa ninben ga aru yo.* (The character "naka" of the name Mr Nakamura has a left-hand radical of person.) ☆ B: (1)... Aa, ninben no "naka." (Oh, "naka" with a left-hand radical of person.)
⑥ **Showing visual documents** (視覚資料の提示)	→ A: *Kanshuku- shoo nan desu ga...* (It is in Guansu Province, but...) ⇒ → B:.... ((A and B are looking at the map of China)) ☆ A: ((Pointing at Guansu Province in the map)) *Kanshuku-shoo no hokubu nan desu ga...* (In the northern part of Guansu Province...) B: *Haa, haa, Guansu Province ne.* (Yeah, yeah, Guansu Province, isn't it?)
⑦ **Writing Chinese characters** (*Hitsudan* 筆談)	((A and B are talking about Hong Kong's transportation systems.)) → A: *Atchi no hoo ni "keitetsu"... to iu ano...* (There is a transportation system called "light rail" ...around there...) ⇒ → B: *Keitetsu..* ("Keitetsu"...) ☆ A: *Anoo...* (Well...) ((A starts to write the Chinese characters of 'light rail'.)) B: *Ah, 'keitetsu' tte iu n'desu ka, ano densha?* (Oh, those trains are called 'light rail'?)
(7) Elaborating (elaborating previous utterance; giving and	→ A: *Mushiba arimashita, kodomo no toki?* (Did you have cavities, when you were a child?)

adding concrete examples to previous utterance; giving detailed information)	⇒ B: *Mushiba?* (*Cavities?*) ☆ A: *Mushiba tte ne, ha ga kuroku natte, hora, ana aku desho.* (Cavities mean that the tooth gets black and has holes, you know?)

Note: The single arrow (→) placed at the beginning of the turn indicates **Trigger**, which prompts an interlocutor to negotiate the meaning of the ongoing discourse, while the **double arrow** (⇒) placed at the beginning of the turn indicates the **Signal** turn in which the interlocutor initiates negotiation. **The star mark** (☆) placed at the beginning of the turn indicates the **Response** turn, in which participants respond to their interlocutors' queries in the Signal turn.

3.2.5 Explicit CN strategies in oral and visual channels

As discussed above, the seven explicit CN strategies can be realized by participants in order to attain their communicative goals in the oral channel, in the oral/visual channel, or in the visual channel. For instance, the first five strategies and the seventh strategy, that is, expressions of non-understanding, interjections, partial repetition, complete repetition, minimum reply plus correct information and elaboration, can be categorized as the ones that are realized through the oral channel.

However, of the seven sub-categories in the strategy of paraphrasing, some are realized in the oral channel, some in the oral/visual channel, or else in the visual channel only. For instance, strategies such as ① synonyms and antonyms (同義語・反対語) and ② switching of intransitive and transitive verbs (*jidooshi-tadooshi* switching 自動詞ー他動詞切り替え), are realized orally. Strategy ③, switching of Chinese reading and Japanese reading of Chinese characters (*onyomi-kunyomi* switching 音読みー訓読み切り替え), is realized orally by participants, who switch an ambiguous source based on ChB vocabulary to its Chinese reading (*onyomi*) or Japanese reading (*kunyomi*). Strategy ④, multilingual code switching (多言語切り替え), is realized orally, but with the visual information of ChB vocabulary. Strategy ⑤, explaining the radicals of Chinese characters (漢字の部首説明), is realized through the oral channel with the assistance of explicit verbal statements of visual shapes and parts of Chinese-character(s). In other words, participants *visualize* the shapes and parts of the ChB vocabulary, but negotiate the meaning of the ongoing discourse *orally*. Strategy ⑥, showing visual documents (視覚資料の提示), and strategy ⑦, writing Chinese characters (*hitsudan* 筆談), are categorized as those that are realized mainly visually with the assistance of communication through the oral channel. It is apparent that strategy ⑦, writing Chinese characters (*hitudan*, 筆談) is

the most extreme case of this continuum, since participants actually write ambiguous sources in the Trigger derived from ChiB vocabulary with a writing tool in hand, and also utilize oral communication to negotiate the propositional meaning of discourse. Strategies ⑥ and ⑦ seem to be characteristic of Chinese-Japanese interaction and allow participants to establish their shared understanding of the meaning of the ongoing discourse by visualizing ChB vocabulary *orally* as well as *visually*.

According to Saville-Troike (1989: 144), "both verbal and nonverbal codes are significant in the *message form*, *message content*, and *act sequence* components of communicative events, and each type of code is transmitted by both vocal and nonvocal channels". Table 3.7 below is an expanded version of Saville-Troike's (Saville-Troike 1989: 145) figure showing the four-way distinction in communication on the dimensions of *verbal-nonverbal* and *oral (vocal)–visual (nonvocal)* and includes all categories of explicit CN.

Table 3. 7 Explicit CN strategies in terms of a four-way distinction in communication on the dimensions of verbal-nonverbal and oral-visual

Channel → / ↓ code	Oral channel (Vocal channel)	Oral & visual channels	Visual channel (Nonvocal channel)
Verbal Codes	Spoken language	Written language (Deaf) Sign language Whistle/drum languages Morse codes	
	(1) Expressions of non-understanding (2) Interjection (3) Partial repetition (4) Complete repetition (5) Minimum reply + correct information (6) Paraphrasing ① Synonyms & antonyms 同義語・反対語 ② Switching of intransitive & transitive verbs (*Jidooshi-tadooshi* switching, 自動詞一他動詞切り替え) ③Switching of Chinese reading & Japanese reading of Chinese character(s) (*Onyomi-kunyomi* switching 音読み一訓読み切り替え) ④Multilingual code switching (多言語切り替え) ⑤Explaining the radicals of Chinese characters (漢字の部首説明) ⑥Showing visual documents (視覚資料の提示) ⑦Writing Chinese characters (*hitsudan*, 筆談) (7) Elaboration		
	Paralinguistic and Prosodic features Laughter		Silence Kinesics Proxemics Eye behaviour Pictures & Cartoons

As presented in Table 3.7 above, the last five sub-categories of the strategy of paraphrasing (③④⑤⑥⑦) are employed by participants for CN, and are triggered by utterances derived from ChB ambiguity. Therefore, these can be called *Chinese-character-based (ChB) negotiation strategies*. These five strategies actually form a continuum in terms of participants' use of channels of communication from a solely oral channel to a combination of an oral and a visual channel. Consequently, JJs and CJs negotiate orally by utilizing both oral (vocal) and visual (nonvocal) channels. In other words, visual contexualization cues (cf. Gumperz 1982) are exploited by participants through the visual (nonvocal) channel, in order to enhance oral interaction, which is carried out through the oral (vocal) channel.

3.3 Framework 3: IS framework (including the *cross talk model*) for analysis of implicit CN sequences

As mentioned in Section 2.2.2 above, in the theoretical framework of IS, participants' interpretation of the discourse is based on a *frame* (shared expectations and understanding), which is usually common to a group of people who belong to the same culture and speech community. However, while participants often share a frame for interpretation of the ongoing discourse in intra-cultural situations, they may not be able to interpret the ongoing discourse appropriately in intercultural situations, due to the lack of shared knowledge with regard to language, the interpretive norms of *contexualization cues*, and sociocultural elements. *Contexualization cues* are "marginal features of languages...(and) signaling mechanisms such as intonation, speech rhythm, and choice among lexical, phonetic, and syntactic options.... said to affect the expressive quality of a message but not its basic meaning" (Gumperz 1982: 16).

The most significant function of such cues is to signal implicitly to participants in the ongoing face-to-face interaction which frame they are in. Since contexualization cues are often used automatically and unconsciously by the participants of the same speech community, they are often too implicit and subtle for nonnative participants to interpret appropriately. Consequently, nonnative participants' misinterpretation of these may result in failure to understand the

social/interactional meaning of the discourse and at times, can lead to communication breakdown. Native participants may thus have to change their communication styles and conversational negotiation strategies in order to achieve their communication goals in such situations. This is where conversational negotiation for social/interactional meaning often comes into play.

Gumperz's (1982) studies on the conversations between blacks and whites in the United States and those of Indians and British people in England show how differences in marginal features (contexualization cues) such as those listed above can cause misunderstandings of the ability and attitude of the participants belonging to minority groups, and hence affect "the expressive quality" of the message. I will apply this approach in Chapter Seven to examine how the expressive quality of messages is affected by participants' misinterpretation of highly conventionalized and subtle contextualization cues.

Examples of contexualization cues identified in the present study are summarized in Table 3.8 below.

Table 3.8 Examples of contextualization cues

Examples of Contexualization Cues
grammatical errors
foreign accent
backchannel
prosody (intonation, loudness, quality of voice)
discourse markers
formulaic speech
conversational routines
repetition
questions
request for clarification, request for repetition
speech style shift (register shift)
code-switching
showing visual documents to facilitate mutual understanding
writing Chinese characters ("*hitsudan*") to solve oral communication problems
laughter
facial expression (smile, nod, gaze)
gesture (body and hand movements)

I shall investigate the ways in which interactants signal their understanding as well as their non-understanding of the meaning of the ongoing discourse in which they

participate. This will involve an examination of the explicit/direct linguistic forms they use, as well as other inexplicit/indirect contexualization cues.

As mentioned previously, I shall adopt the IS framework, including the *cross talk model* (Gumperz 1982; Tannen 1992b: 9-10), as Framework 3 in this study to analyze the conversational processes in which interactants negotiate the interactional meaning of the ongoing discourse. The following are the steps of the *cross talk model* to collect, describe and analyze conversational data (Tannen 1992b: 10):

> (a) Tape-recording and transcribing the interaction among speakers of different cultural or subcultural backgrounds.
>
> (b) Interviewing participants separately to gain insight into their interpretations of the interaction, and to identify the linguistic phenomena which led to their interpretations.
>
> (c) Where possible, comparing instances of cross-cultural communication with recordings of similar speech events involving participants of a single cultural background.
>
> (d) Examining the tapes and transcripts to identify the linguistic strategies for signaling frames, and identifying speech activities which were differentially interpreted by the culturally different participants.
>
> (e) Explaining how the cultural differences in interpretive norms led to the differing interpretations, and consequently the breakdown in communication.
>
> (f) Checking the cultural basis of interpretive norms by playing segments of the interaction for other members of the cultural group represented to see if their reported interpretations follow patterns similar to those identified for participants.

The *cross talk model* highlights some important methodological procedures which I will apply in this study. This includes the employment of follow-up interviews with interactants (step b), the importance of using baseline data in which Japanese native speakers interact with each other in similar speech events (step c). Furthermore, the model recommends using native raters from the respective participant group (step f), thus I will employ Japanese and Chinese native-speaking raters to comment upon various segment of my data in the rating sessions, focusing on contexualization cues crucial to the appropriate interpretation of the meaning of the ongoing discourse. Detailed information on the Japanese (JRs) and Chinese raters (CRs) will be presented in Chapter Four.

3.4 Summary

In this Chapter, I have elaborated the three theoretical frameworks and explained how they will be employed to analyze the main types of CN in the study. The three types of CN to be investigated are prospositional meaning (CN-PM), expertise (CN-EX), and interactional meaning (CN-IM). Framework 1, which is Neustupny's framework of communication based on Hymes' approach, will be used to analyze the components of communication in all three types of CN. Framework 2 is the model that I have proposed to analyze the sequences and outcomes of CN which are marked with explicit linguistic features, such as those of CN-PM and CN-EX. As explained above, this framework was formulated after modifying and extending the major frameworks developed by researchers in the areas of CA and SLA. Framework 3, which is the IS framework (including the *cross talk model*), is the most appropriate framework for analysis of CN-IM, particularly in intercultural situations. The processes of CN-IM are often highly implicit and subtle in terms of linguistic features, and thus there is a need for this framework to analyze such processes.

Notes:

[1] Richards *et al.* (1992:57-58) define code-mixing as "a mixing of two codes or languages, usually without change of topic". In contrast, they define code-switching rather broadly as "a change by a speaker (or writer) from one language or language variety to another one. Code switching can take place in a conversation when one speaker uses one language and the other speaker answers in a different language. A person may start speaking one language and then change to another one in the middle of their speech, or sometimes even in the middle of a sentence" (Richards, Platt & Platt 1992: 58). That is to say, Richards *et al.* include the phenomenon of code-mixing as a sub-category of the code-switching phenomenon.

In this study, I shall use the term code-switching to include various categories of phenomena in which speakers switch/mix different codes (languages/language varieties) in the ongoing discourse (Richards *et al.*' 1992; Gumperz 1982).

Gumperz (1982) further categorizes code-switching into two types: *situational code-switching* (SCS) and *metaphorical code-switching* (MCS). SCS takes place when the code (language/language variety) adopted is switched according to the situation, in which speakers use one code in one situation and another in a different situation and no topic change is involved. When a change of topic entails a change of code (language/language variety), this type of code-switching is MCS.

[2] Details and examples of *content rules* are elaborated in Neustupny (1987:108-120).

[3] According to Ozaki (1989, 1993), noun (polite) type and noun (plain) type are included in the types of request for clarification. However, in my data, not only nouns, but also phrases and words belonging to other parts of speech, such as adjectives, adverbs and verbs, are also partially repeated in Signal turns in CN sequences. The categories in this study are therefore named as *PR (partial repetition) polite type* and *PR (partial repetition) plain type.*

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

As mentioned in Chapter One, the primary objective of this study is to investigate how and when Chinese and Japanese co-workers in Hong Kong attain a goal of shared knowledge with regard to linguistic, sociolinguistic, and sociocultural matters at the multilingual workplace through the process called *conversational negotiation* (Gumperz 1992c: 305). For the purpose of observing the processes and outcomes of conversational negotiation, I collected naturally occurring dyadic conversations in Japanese involving Chinese and Japanese co-workers at five office settings in Hong Kong.

4.1 Recordings of authentic interaction

4.1.1 The data collection procedure

The discourse analysis of conversational negotiation (CN) in this study is mainly based on naturally occurring dyadic conversations in Japanese between Chinese speakers of Japanese (CJs) and their Japanese co-workers (JJs) at five workplace settings in Hong Kong. The recordings involved 10 CJs and 15 JJs. Twelve conversations for each CJ were recorded longitudinally, at three to four week intervals. The total number of conversations was 120 and the duration of recordings was approximately 35 hours. Most of the recordings were further supplemented by my field notes as a participant observer, follow-up interviews (cf. Neustupny 1990) with CJs and JJs and rating sessions involving 10 Chinese and Japanese raters.

To undertake the recording, I used micro-cassette tape recorders as well as pocket-sized regular-cassette tape recorders, which were placed in the pockets of CJs' clothes. Both types were equally good in terms of sound quality, but there were advantages and disadvantages with both types. All 10 CJs who volunteered for this study happened to be female, and their clothes had rather small pockets, if at all. For this reason, the micro-cassette tape recorder was small and light weight and fitted better than the regular cassette tape recorder in the small pockets of women's' clothes. One disadvantage, however, was that before I listened and transcribed the data, I had to dub all recordings made on the micro-cassettes onto regular-cassettes. Without this, I could not have used a transcribing machine, which took only regular-cassette tapes to transcribe the data in detail. The pocket-sized regular cassette recorder, on the other hand, was sometimes too large for the tiny pockets found in CJs' clothes. For the actual recording, I asked CJs to wear jackets, skirts or pants with reasonably large and deep pockets in which the cassette tape recorder could be placed. As a result, they themselves, as well as their Japanese interactants, told me in the follow-up interviews that they were not so conscious about the fact of their conversations being recorded. They reported to me that during the recordings they interacted as naturally as usual.

It is very important that ethical codes be cleared before any research involving authentic recordings of interaction takes place. For this purpose, I first explained my research plan and design, and gave information about the recording procedures to approximately 40 former students of mine who were using Japanese actively in their work situations. Then I asked them about the possibility of making recordings of their everyday office interaction involving their Japanese co-workers. I also requested that they verbally asked their direct supervisors whether they could give permission to me to record the interaction for my research. Once I received verbal permission from their supervisors and found prospective recording sites, I sent letters to supervisors as well as to prospective Chinese and Japanese interactants to officially seek permission to undertake the recordings. I eventually found 10 Chinese interactants and 15 Japanese interactants working at five different offices in Hong Kong who were willing to cooperate in the recordings for the present study.

In order to facilitate the transcription and analysis of the 35 hours of interaction consisting of 120 conversations, the 10 CJs were coded from CJ1 to CJ10, while the 15 Japanese interactants were coded from JJ1 to JJ15. The 120 conversations were coded as CJ1-1, CJ10-12, and so on. For example, CJ1-1 indicates the dyadic conversation involving CJ1 which was recorded in the first of the 12 sessions, while CJ10-12 means the dyadic conversation involving CJ10 which was recorded in the last of the 12 sessions. The codes and the duration of the conversations of each Chinese interactant are summarized in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1 Audio tape-recordings of authentic interaction at multilingual workplace

Interactant code	Codes of conversations	Total duration of conversations (minutes)	Duration of work-related talk (minutes)	Duration of non-work-related talk (minutes)
CJ1	CJ1-1, CJ1-2.....CJ1-12	250	163	87
CJ2	CJ2-1, CJ2-2.....CJ2-12	170	65	105
CJ3	CJ3-1, CJ3-2.....CJ3-12	225	183	42
CJ4	CJ4-1, CJ4-2.....CJ4-12	240	94	146
CJ5	CJ5-1, CJ5-2.....CJ5-12	170	35	135
CJ6	CJ6-1, CJ6-2.....CJ6-12	150	98	52
CJ7	CJ7-1, CJ7-2.....CJ7-12	155	49	106
CJ8	CJ8-1, CJ8-2.....CJ8-12	215	104	111
CJ9	CJ9-1, CJ9-2.....CJ9-12	265	77	188
CJ10	CJ10-1, CJ10-2.....CJ10-12	240	49	191
Total duration of conversation (minutes)		2,080 minutes (= 34 hrs 40 min.) [100%]	917 minutes (=15 hrs 17 min.) [44.1%]	1163 minutes (=19 hrs 23 min.) [55.9%]

In terms of the nature of talk, my data can be roughly grouped into *work-related talk* (WRT) during office hours and *non-work-related talk* (NWRT), such as small talk and/or *phatic talk* during teatime and lunchtime. The duration of the former type of talk in the data is about 15 hours and 17 minutes (44.1% of the total duration of the data), while that of the latter type of talk is about 19 hours and 23 minutes (55.9% of the total duration of the data). Following Brown and Yule (1983: 13), in the present study, the WRT was message-oriented, where transference of a clear message was of great importance for interactants in order to carry out their assigned tasks. On the other hand, NWRT was listener-oriented, where interactants communicated mainly to achieve and strengthen interpersonal relationships. Nevertheless, sometimes it is difficult to draw a clear line between these two categories of talk, since WRT often contains various types of small talk, and apparent small talk often consists of essential background information for subsequent WRT.

4.1.2 Participants and settings

As noted above, the investigated dyadic conversational data involved 10 Chinese interactants (CJs) and their co-workers who were 15 Japanese interactants (JJs) at five workplace settings in Hong Kong.

(1) Chinese participants (CJs)

All 10 Chinese participants (CJs) were female, between 22 and 34 years of age, who had majored in Japanese language at a Hong Kong university. Although the original research design was to include equal numbers of female and male Chinese interactants, I was unable to locate male participants who, together with their Japanese co-workers, would agree to cooperate at the time.

The total hours of formal instruction of Japanese that the Chinese participants (CJs) had received at the university varied from 700 to 1200 hours. As a part of this language program at the university, all of them had participated in a short-term summer program in Japan, consisting of a language course, a home-stay, and company work-experience, but the duration of their stay varied from two weeks to four months (Miyazoe-Wong 1997). In addition, three of them (CJ1, CJ2 and CJ3) had studied at Japanese universities for one to two years before they started to work in Hong Kong.

In terms of their Japanese proficiency, the Chinese participants could be categorized into three groups: three advanced speakers, four upper-intermediate and three intermediate level speakers, as shown in Table 4.2 below. This categorization was primarily made by five Japanese raters (JRs) after listening to sample segments of the recorded interaction, and was further supplemented by CJs' attainment in the Japanese Proficiency Tests, devised and administered by the Japan Foundation and the Association of International Education, Japan. All the advanced speakers and upper-intermediate speakers had passed the Level One test (highest level), while the three intermediate speakers had passed the Level Two tests (second highest level). Detailed information with regard to the proficiency of each level of the test has been explained earlier (cf. 1.4.4).

The job titles of the Chinese participants at the time of the recordings were manager, management trainee, executive officer, researcher, secretary, and trilingual information officer. The duration of their work experience ranged from one to nine years. The five workplace settings for the data collection consisted of (1) an office of a management consultancy firm, (2) a tourist information office, (3) an administration office of a department store, (4) an office of a trading firm, and (5) an office of a trade organization. The personal data of the CJs are presented in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2 Personal data: Chinese participants (CJs)

Code	Age	Sex	Japanese Proficiency (assessed by Japanese raters)	Japanese Proficiency Test (level attained)	Formal Japanese instruction in Hong Kong (hrs.)	Duration of stay in Japan	No. of years worked using Japanese	Job title	Work-place setting*
CJ1	32	F	Advanced	Level One	1,200	2 yrs	5 yrs	Manager	1
CJ2	26	F	Advanced	Level One	1,200	1 yr.	2 yr.	Information officer	2
CJ3	25	F	Advanced	Level One	720	1 yr	1 yr.	Information officer	2
CJ4	28	F	Upper Inter.	Level One	1,200	1 mo.	3 yrs	Executive officer	5
CJ5	28	F	Upper Inter.	Level One	1,200	1 mo.	3 yrs	Management trainee	4
CJ6	26	F	Upper Inter.	Level One	1,200	2 weeks	3 yrs	Secretary	5
CJ7	26	F	Upper Inter.	Level One	1,200	2 weeks	2 yrs	Research assistant	5
CJ8	34	F	Intermediate	Level Two	720	4 mo.	6 yrs	Research assistant	5
CJ9	31	F	Intermediate	Level Two	720	3 mo.	4 yrs	Secretary	3
CJ10	23	F	Intermediate	Level Two	720	3 mo.	1 yr	Information officer	2

* Note: Workplace settings where the data for this study were collected are coded as follows:

1. an office of a management consultancy firm
2. a tourist information office
3. an administration office of a department store
4. an office of a trading firm
5. an office of a trade organization

(2) Japanese participants (JJs)

Fifteen Japanese participants (JJs) interacted with CJs as their co-workers and those consisted of 10 females and five males, aged 25 to 45 years of age. Ten JJs (JJ1, JJ2, JJ3, JJ4, JJ6, JJ8, JJ9, JJ10, JJ12 and JJ15) were of equal rank with their Chinese interlocutors, whereas five JJs (JJ5, JJ7, JJ11, JJ13 and JJ14) were superior to their Chinese interlocutors. Their job titles were as follows: managing director, manager, information officer, researcher, management trainee, secretary, and executive officer.

Twelve of the Japanese participants were sojourners who had been assigned to work in Hong Kong by their employers in Japan for a period of three to five years. Three of them were semi-permanent residents who intended to stay in Hong Kong for a longer period than the sojourners. Their personal details and CJs' relationships to JJs are presented in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3 Personal data of Japanese participants (JJs)

Code	Age	Sex	Duration of stay in Hong Kong	Job title	Chinese interactant(s) of JJ (CJ's relationship to JJ)	Work-place setting*
JJ1	30s	M	10 yrs	Manager	CJ1 (equal)	1
JJ2	30s	F	8 yrs	Manager	CJ1 (equal)	1
JJ3	30s	F	1 yr	Manager	CJ1 (equal)	1
JJ4	40s	F	3 yrs	Information officer	CJ2 (equal) CJ3 (equal)	2
JJ5	30s	M	0.5 yr	Senior researcher	CJ4 (senior-junior)	5
JJ6	30s	F	3 yrs	Secretary	CJ4 (equal)	5
JJ7	40s	M	0.5 yr	Director	CJ5 (senior-junior)	4
JJ8	30s	F	2 yrs	Secretary	CJ5 (equal)	4
JJ9	20s	F	1 yr	Management trainee	CJ6 (equal)	5
JJ10	30s	F	1.5 yrs	Executive officer	CJ7 (equal)	5
JJ11	40s	F	8 yrs	Manager	CJ7 (senior-junior)	5
JJ12	30s	F	3 yrs	Secretary	CJ8 (equal)	5
JJ13	40s	M	3.5 yrs	Managing director	CJ9 (senior-junior)	3
JJ14	30s	F	2 yrs	Senior Information officer	CJ10 (senior-junior)	2
JJ15	20s	F	1 yr	Information officer	CJ10 (equal)	2

* Note: Workplace settings where the data for this study were collected are coded as follows:

1. an office of a management consultancy firm
2. a tourist information office
3. an administration office of a department store
4. an office of a trading firm
5. an office of a trade organization

(3) Settings

As mentioned above, the data for this study were collected in five office settings in Hong Kong, as presented in Table 4.4 below.

Table 4.4 Chinese and Japanese participants in the five workplace settings

Workplace settings of interaction	Chinese participants (job title/age/sex)	Japanese participants (job title/age/sex)
1. Office of a management consultancy firm	CJ1 (Manager/32/F)	JJ1 (Manager/30s/M) JJ2 (Manager/30s/F) JJ3 (Maneger/30s/F)
2. Tourist information office	CJ2 (Info officer/26/F) CJ3 (Info officer/25/F) CJ10 (Info officer/23/F)	JJ4 (Info officer/40s/F) JJ14 (Info officer/30s/F) JJ15 (Info officer/20s/F)
3. Administration office of a department store	CJ9 (Secretary/31/F)	JJ13 (Managing director/40s/M)
4. Office of a trading firm	CJ5 (Management trainee/28/F)	JJ7 (Director/40s/M) JJ8 (Secretary/30s/F)
5. Office of a trade organization	CJ4 (Executive officer/28/F) CJ6 (Secretary/26/F) CJ7 (Research assistant/26F) CJ8 (Research assistant/34/F)	JJ5 (Senior researcher/30s/M) JJ6 (Secretary/30s/F) JJ9 (Management trainee/20s/F) JJ10 (Executive officer/30s/F) JJ11 (Manager/40s/F) JJ12 (Secretary/30s/F)

Table 4.4 includes information regarding the settings, participants interaction in each setting and relationships among participants, and also illustrates which Chinese and Japanese participants interacted as co-workers in the five different offices.

The first setting was an office of a management consultancy company, where CJ1, JJ1, JJ2 and JJ3 interacted as co-workers. This company was incorporated in Hong Kong by several Japanese and Hong Kong Chinese partners. All four participants were managers whose relationship could be categorized as equal, though their working experience in the field in Hong Kong varied greatly. Their main job was to offer management consultancy services to companies, including Japanese firms and branches of Japanese companies operating in Hong Kong, and to offer management seminars to newly established companies in Hong Kong.

The second setting was a tourist information office belonging to a semi-governmental organization affiliated with the Hong Kong Government, where CJ2, CJ3, CJ10, JJ4, JJ14 and JJ15 worked as information officers. Their job included offering information to overseas tourists who visited the office to seek help and information, guiding tourists on various tours organized by the organization and interviewing them for tourism surveys. The three Chinese participants were hired as trilingual information officers who were competent in Cantonese/Putonghua, English, and Japanese, while the three Japanese participants were recruited as bilingual information officers who could speak Japanese and English. The official job titles of CJ2, CJ3, CJ10, JJ4 and JJ15 were Information Officers, while that of JJ14 was Senior Information Officer. JJ14 was of a higher rank with more administrative responsibility than the other four co-workers in the office.

The third setting in the study was in the Hong Kong branch administration office of a Japanese department store where CJ9 and JJ13 were working. JJ13 was the managing director of the branch store, that is, the highest rank in the workplace, and was responsible for the operation and management of the store's business. CJ9 was JJ13's personal secretary who assisted JJ13's daily work regarding the administration and management of the store. Consequently, CJ9's relationship to JJ13 can be categorized as a typical example of a junior-senior relationship.

The fourth setting was an office of a trading firm, the Hong Kong branch as well as the regional headquarters of a Japanese trading company, where CJ5, JJ7 and JJ8 were employed as co-workers. JJ7 was managing director of the branch as well as of

the regional headquarters, holding the most senior post in the office. JJ8 was JJ7's personal secretary, who assisted in JJ7's daily work as the managing director. CJ5 was a management trainee. Therefore, the relationship of JJ8 and CJ5 to JJ7 can be categorized as those of junior-senior, while the relationship between JJ8 and CJ5 can be considered as equal.

The fifth setting was an office of a trade organization, the Hong Kong branch of a semi-governmental organization affiliated with the Government of Japan, where CJ4, CJ6, CJ7, CJ8, JJ5, JJ6, JJ10, JJ11 and JJ12 worked as co-workers. JJ1 was one of the seven managers in the office. CJ4 was an executive officer assisting the managing director of the Hong Kong office and two managers, including JJ11. JJ10 was also an executive officer in a department headed by JJ11 as manager. CJ6, JJ6 and JJ12 were secretaries to managers, while JJ9 was a management trainee. JJ5 was a senior researcher, who was assisted by two research assistants, CJ7 and CJ8.

4.2 Participant observation

When I sought permission to make recordings of the conversations between CJs and JJs at work, I also asked whether it was possible for me to sit quietly in the same office, where I could observe their interaction. Fortunately, I was allowed in all five recording sites to sit at a desk to participate as an observer. Among the 120 conversations of the present study, 51 conversations were recorded where I was a participant observer, while 69 were recorded without my presence. For instance, the conversations took place in other room(s) or conference room(s) where I could not observe, or they were recorded when I did not go to the workplace settings for the purpose of participant observation.

During the periods of participant observation, I sat at a desk in the corner of the office, and engaged mostly in reading some materials and quietly taking down field notes. Thus, I endeavored to minimize the participants' consciousness of my presence. My field notes provided me with useful background information to interpret and analyze the data, particularly with regard to understanding the atmosphere of the

workplace, the relationship of the participants, and the emotional and non-verbal signals of the interactants.

Though I intended to observe participants' *natural interaction* in authentic situations while collecting the data, I was fully aware of the need to consider how to handle the problem of what Labov called the "observer's paradox" with regard to the data collection method for this study. Labov argues that "... the aim of the linguistic research in the community must be to find out how people talk when they are not being systematically observed; yet, we can only obtain these data by systematic observation" (Labov 1972: 209). In order to minimize or avoid the paradox, I endeavored to devise various measures to have the participants behave as naturally as possible during the recordings. For instance, as mentioned above, small pocket-sized tape-recorders were placed in the pockets of CJs' clothes, so that the recorders were not conspicuous. I also visited the five recording sites quite frequently to make recordings and to conduct follow-up interviews, so that the participants and I established friendship and rapport to carry out the research project. The recordings of conversations were made 12 times for each CJ at three- to four-week intervals, and the CJs as well as their Japanese co-workers seemed to behave more naturally as time went by. Consequently, during the follow-up interviews the majority of the CJs and JJs commented that they were conscious of their conversations being recorded at first, but that they gradually became less conscious of the equipment. Furthermore, background information collected from the follow-up interviews and comments collected from the rating sessions involving 10 Japanese and Chinese native speakers have provided me with more objective assessments of the participants' behavior.

4.3 Follow-up interviews

In order to gain multiple perspectives on the interaction and to supplement the recordings and information obtained through participant observation, I also conducted systematic follow-up interviews within two weeks following each recording (Neustupny 1990). On these occasions, I selected segments of the interaction containing CN and interviewed each individual participant separately. This technique is highly

recommended by Neustupny (1990), because it enables us to obtain more information about the interaction processes which is not observable on the surface level.

4.4 Use of rating panels

According to the IS framework (Framework 3 in the present study including the *cross talk model*), discussed in Chapter Three, one of the important processes to investigate intercultural *cross talk* is to examine the criteria for interpretive norms, depending on the different cultural groups. Furthermore, it is of great significance for us to identify reasons for misinterpretation and misunderstanding and to see if a particular interaction in a *cross talk* example follows patterns similar to those that have often been encountered by other members of the cultural group. During the analytical procedure, we must pay special attention to the meaning of implicit and subtle contexualization cues used in the ongoing discourse (Gumperz 1982; Tannen 1992b). For this purpose, playing back segments of taped interaction to other members of the cultural groups to gather their comments is highly recommended by IS researchers such as Gumperz and Tannen (cf. 3.3).

In the present study, comments from ten raters at the rating sessions were collected, in order to see whether any communication problems in the discourse were peculiar to the situation, or ones that commonly occur in Chinese-Japanese intercultural situations. In other words, various comments of raters on behavior, misinterpretation and misunderstanding among the participants of the recordings provided us with more objective insights into the analysis of the *cross talk* data. Five raters were native speakers of Japanese (JRs) and residents of Hong Kong at the time of data collection. The other five were Chinese raters (CRs), who were bilingual in Cantonese and English, and possessed advanced to near-native proficiency in Japanese language.

(1) Chinese raters (CRs)

The five Chinese raters (CRs) who commented on the CN sequences in the data were very advanced or near native speakers of Japanese. All of them had received their university education in Hong Kong and had stayed in Japan as a student or a company trainee for periods ranging from six months to five years. For instance, CR3

underwent a six-month company-training program in Osaka, Japan, while all the Chinese raters, apart from CR3, had pursued postgraduate degrees at Japanese universities. Their proficiency in Japanese was based on self-report and therefore only constitutes an approximate assessment. Personal details of the raters are presented in Table 4.5 below.

Table 4.5 Personal data of Chinese raters (CRs)

Rater code	Age	Sex	Duration of stay in Japan	Occupation	Japanese proficiency*
CR1	30s	F	5 yrs	university staff	A
CR2	20s	F	3 yrs	company employee	A
CR3	30s	M	0.5 yr	translator	A
CR4	40s	M	4 yrs	company employee	B
CR5	40s	M	2 yrs.	company employee	B

* Note: Proficiency level (A=Excellent, B=Good, C=Fair, D=Poor, - = no knowledge)

(2) Japanese raters (JRs)

The personal details of the five Japanese raters (JRs) who commented on the CN sequences in the data are presented in Table 4.6 below. Their proficiency in English and Chinese was based on self-report, and is therefore, only an approximate assessment.

Table 4.6 Personal data of Japanese raters (JRs)

Rater code	Age	Sex	Duration of stay in Hong Kong	Occupation	English proficiency*	Chinese proficiency*
JR1	50s	F	20 yrs	housewife	B	A
JR2	20s	F	2 yrs	bank employee	A	B
JR3	30s	F	1 yr	company employee	C	-
JR4	30s	M	1.5 yrs	company employee	B	A
JR5	40s	M	0.5 yr	manager of a company	A	-

* Note: Proficiency level (A=Excellent, B=Good, C=Fair, D=Poor, - = no knowledge)

4.5 Transcription conventions

I transcribed all the 120 conversations according to the transcription conventions based upon a modification of the system developed by Du Bois *et al.* (1992) to suit an analysis of Japanese spoken discourse. All examples used for analysis and discussion for this thesis were checked and verified by three linguistic researchers, consisting of two Japanese native speakers and one Chinese native speaker with advanced proficiency in Japanese, who were familiar with the transcription conventions. A list of the transcription convention used in the study is presented below.

1. UNITS	
Intonation unit	{carriage return}
Truncated intonation unit	_ _ _
Word	{space}
Truncated word	_ _
2. SPEAKERS	
Speaker identity/turn start	:
Speech overlap	[ ]
3. TRANSCRIPTIONAL CONTINUITY	
Final	. (English or Rominized script) 。(Japanese script)
Continuing	, (English or Romanized script) 、(Japanese script)
Appeal	?
4. LENGTHENING	=
5. PAUSE	
Long (1 second or longer)	...(N)
6. VOCAL NOISES	
Vocal noises	( )
Laughter	@
7. QUALITY	
Rapid speech quality	<A A>
Slow speech quality	<L L>
Loud quality	<F F>
Soft quality	<P P>
Laugh quality	<@ @>
Quotation quality	<Q Q>
8. TRANSCRIBER'S PERSPECTIVE	
Researcher's comment in capitals	(( ))
Uncertain hearing	<X X>
Indecipherable syllable	X
9. SPECIALIZED NOTATIONS	
Duration	(N)
Intonation unit continued	&
10. LANGUAGE	
Code	{English is written in English and Japanese is written in "*hiragana* + *kanji*" script or in Romanized script}
Loanword	{*katakana* or Romanized script is used

(pronounced according to rules of base language)	if the base language is Japanese}
Code-switching (use of non-base language)	<NB NB>
Interlanguage closer to Japanese	<IJ katakana IJ>(/phonetic sign/) eg. <IJ モノポリー/monoporii IJ> (/monopori:/)
Iinterlanguage closer to Cantonese	<IC kanji/romanization IC> (/phonetic sign based on the Yale Romanization system/) eg. <IC 飲茶/yamcha IC>(/yamchah/>
Interlanguage closer to Putonghua	<IP kanji/Romanization IP> (/phonetic sign based on the Pinyin system/) eg. <IP 京都/Jingdu IP>(/Jingdu/)
Interlanguage closer to English	<IE English IE>(/phonetic sign/) eg. <IE file IE> (/fail/)
11. NON-TRANSCRIPTION LINES	$
12. PRESENTATION	
Silent words	{bold}
Ellipsis	eg. ((6 LINES OMITTED))
Source citation	{ }

4.6 Presentation of the data

The data in the study are presented in Japanese regular writing, followed by an English translation and a transcription in Romanization. English translations are inserted after each Japanese example. The aim was not to provide word-for-word translation of the Japanese examples, but to give the whole meaning of the utterances in the Japanese interaction. The Romanized transcription of Japanese data is based on the Hepburn system, while the transcription of Cantonese data is based on the Yale Romanization system, and that of Putonghua, on the Pinying system, as briefly introduced in Chapter One.

4.7 Summary

In this chapter, I have introduced the research design, methodology and data collection procedures used for this study, including recordings of authentic interaction,

data collection procedures, participants, follow-up interviews, participant observation, use of rating panels, transcription conventions, and presentation of the data in this study. In the following four chapters, I shall present an analysis and discussion of the following three major types of CN found in this study: conversational negotiation of propositional meaning (CN-PM), expertise (CN-EX), and interactional meaning (CN-IM).

CHAPTER 5

OVERVIEW OF THE DATA

In the previous four chapters, I have introduced the background information and research focus of the study, the literature review, theoretical frameworks and methodology which are of most importance to the analysis of naturally occurring conversations in the multilingual workplace in Hong Kong. This chapter gives an overview of the data of all three types of conversational negotiation (CN) identified in this study, before presenting in Chapters Six to Eight detailed discussion and analysis of the three types of CN, that is, CN of propositional meaning (CN-PM/ling and CN-PM/fact), that of expertise (CN-EX), and that of interactional meaning (CN-IM).

5.1 Occurrence of all types of conversational negotiation (CN)

As summarized in Table 5.1 below, the total number of CN sequences in the present study was 1,819, the breakdowns of which were CN-PM (841: 46.2%), CN-EX (570: 31.4%), and CN-IM (408: 22.4%). CN-PM was further categorized into those resulting from linguistic ambiguity (CN-PM/ling, 553: 30.4%) and those resulting from factual ambiguity (CN-PM/fact, 288: 15.8%). The occurrences of CN-PM/ling, CN-PM/fact and CN-IM in work-related talk (WRT) were far more frequent than those in non-work-related talk (NWRT), while only in the case of CN-EX, its occurrence in WRT (16.5%) was much less than those in NWRT (83.5%).

Table 5.1 Occurrence of all types of conversational negotiation (CN)

Type of conversational negotiation (CN)*	CN-PM*				CN-EX*		CN-IM*		Total	
Total number of CN sequences in the data	841 [46.2%]***				570 [31.4%] (100%)		408 [22.4%] (100%)		1819 [100%] (100%)	
Sub-type of CN	CN-PM/ling*		CN-PM/fact*							
Total number of CN sequences in the data	553 [30.4%] (100%)****		288 [15.8%] (100%)							
Type of talk**	W**	NW**	W	NW	W	NW	W	NW	W	NW
Number of sequences in work-related and non-work related talk	431 (77.9%)	122 (20.1%)	176 (61.1%)	112 (38.9%)	94 (16.5%)	476 (83.5%)	311 (76.2%)	97 (23.8%)	1012 (55.6%)	807 (44.4%)

Notes:

* <Type of conversational negotiation>

CN-PM:	conversational negotiation of propositional meaning
CN-PM/ling:	conversational negotiation of propositional meaning resulting from linguistic ambiguity
CN-PM/fact:	conversational negotiation of propositional meaning resulting from factual ambiguity
CN-EX:	conversational negotiation of expertise
CN-IM:	conversational negotiation of interactional meaning

** <Type of talk>

W:	work-related talk
NW:	non-work-related talk

*** Figures shown in [ ] indicate the ratio of occurrence of CN according to the four major types, that is, CN-PM/ling, CN-PM/fact, CN-EX, and CN-IM

**** Figures shown in ( ) indicate the ratio of occurrence of each CN type in work-related (W) and non-work-related (NW) talk.

5.2 Average frequency, number of turns and duration of all types of conversational negotiation (CN)

As shown in Table 5.2 below, the frequency (per minute) of all types of CN in WRT was 1.10, while that in NWRT was 0.67, which indicates that the Chinese (CJs) and Japanese participants (JJs) generally negotiated far more frequently in WRT than in NWRT. For instance, the average frequency of CN-PM/ling in WRT (0.47) was more than four times than that in NWRT (0.10), that of CN-PM/fact in WRT (0.19) was nearly twice than that in NWRT (0.10), and that of CN-IM in WRT (0.34) was more than five times that in NWRT (0.06). In contrast, the average frequency (per minute) of CN-EX in WRT (0.10) was only one-fourth that in NWRT (0.41).

While the average durations of CN-PM/ling and CN-PM/fact both in WRT and NWRT were short (between 20" and 31"), those of CN-IM in WRT and NWRT were slightly longer (36" and 57" respectively). The average numbers of turns per sequence of CN-PM/ling and CN-PM/fact were between 11 and 19, both in WRT and NWRT, and those of CN-IM were a little longer (26.6 and 38.0 respectively). It is worth noting, however, that the average durations of CN-EX in WRT and NWRT were far longer (1'02" and 2'23" respectively), and that the average number of turns per sequence much longer (40.2 and 94.6 respectively) than those of the other CN types. The results indicate that sequences of CN-PM/ling, CN-PM/fact and CN-IM tended to occur when urgent transmission of clear messages was required (as in WRT), and they tended to be reduced or totally avoided in small talk/phatic talk (as in NWRT) where task orientation was weak. In contrast, the occurrence of CN-EX tended to be much more frequent in NWRT than in WRT, since, as mentioned earlier, the participants primarily adopted this type of CN as a strategy for generating topics, rather than for removing ambiguity in the discourse. Consequently, the durations of CN-EX tended to be much longer than those of other CN types, its longest sequences in WRT and NWRT being 4'22" and 11'54" respectively.

Table 5.2 Average frequency, number of turns and duration of all types of conversational negotiation (CN)

Type of conversational negotiation (CN) *	CN-PM/ling*		CN-PM/fact*		CN-EX*		CN-IM*		Total	
Total number of CN sequences in the data	553 [30.4%] (100%)		288 [15.8%] (100%)		570 [31.4%] (100%)		408 [22.4%] (100%)		1819 [100%] (100%)	
Type of talk**	W**	NW**	W	NW	W	NW	W	NW	W	NW
Number of sequences in work-related and non-work related talk	431 (77.9%)	122 (20.1%)	176 (61.1%)	112 (38.9%)	94 (16.5%)	476 (83.5%)	311 (76.2%)	97 (23.8%)	1012 (55.6%)	807 (44.4%)
Average frequency per minute	0.47	0.10	0.19	0.10	0.10	0.41	0.34	0.06	1.10	0.67
Average number of turns per sequence	12.4	11.0	18.6	21.2	40.2	94.6	26.6	38.0		
Average duration per sequence (minutes and seconds)	23"	20"	31"	[illegible]	1' 02"	2' 23"	36"	57"		
Number of sequences longer than 3 mins. and shorter than 5 mins.	0	0	0	0	5	18	6	0		
Number of sequences longer than 5 mins.	0	0	0	0	0	28	2	0		
Longest sequence (minutes & seconds)	2' 48"	1' 45"	2' 02"	1' 22"	4 ' 22"	11' 54"	7' 21"	2' 26"		

Notes: * <Type of conversational negotiation>

CN-PM: conversational negotiation of propositional meaning
CN-PM/ling: conversational negotiation of propositional meaning resulting from linguistic ambiguity
CN-PM/fact: conversational negotiation of propositional meaning resulting from factual ambiguity
CN-EX: conversational negotiation of expertise
CN-IM: conversational negotiation of interactional meaning

** <Type of talk> W: work-related talk, NW: non-work-related talk
*** Figures shown in [ ] indicate the ratio of occurrence of CN according to the four major types, that is, CN-PM/ling, CN-PM/fact, CN-EX, and CN-IM
**** Figures shown in ( ) indicate the ratio of occurrence of each CN type in work-related (W) and non-work-related (NW) talk.

5.3 Occurrence and frequency of all types of CN by Chinese participants

Table 5.3 below summarizes the occurrence and frequency of all types of CN by Chinese participants (CJs). In CN-PM/ling sequences in WRT (the overall frequency: 0.41 per minute), all seven CJs in upper-intermediate and intermediate proficiency groups participated more actively than the three advanced CJs. The most active participant was CJ5 (1.94 per minute), followed by CJ10 (1.51), CJ7 (1.10), CJ4 and CJ8 (0.60), CJ9 (0.46), and CJ6 (0.33), while CJ1, CJ2 and CJ3 participated in CN-PM/ling only 0.02, 0.09 and 0.13 times per minute respectively. In CN-PM/ling sequences in NWRT (the overall frequency: 0.10 per minute), all CJs showed very limited participation. However, CJs in the upper intermediate and intermediate groups seemed to participate slightly more frequently (0.07 - 0.39) than the three advanced CJs (between 0.04 - 0.17). As for CN-PM/fact, the overall frequency was 0.19 times per minute in WRT and 0.10 per minute in NWRT. The seven CJs in the upper intermediate and intermediate proficiency groups were more active participants than the three advanced CJs in WRT as well as in NWRT.

In CN-EX, the overall frequency was 0.10 times per minute in WRT and 0.41 in NWRT. In WRT, the most active participant was CJ5 (0.23 times per minute), followed by all the other CJs in the advanced and upper intermediate proficiency groups, while no CJs in the intermediate proficiency group participated. In contrast, all CJs actively participated in CN-EX sequences in NWRT. The most active participant was CJ3 (1.01 times per minute), followed by CJ6 (0.79), CJ7 (0.55), and CJ8 (0.55). It is worth noting that the frequency of CN-EX in NWRT among the upper intermediate and intermediate CJs was quite high, in comparison to that of CN-EX in WRT.

In CN-IM, the overall frequency was 0.34 times per minute in WRT and 0.06 in NWRT. In WRT, the most active participant was CJ5 (1.40 times per minute), followed by CJ7 (0.80), CJ2 (0.49), and CJ4 (0.45), but three CJs in the intermediate group showed very low participation. In NWRT, where the overall frequency was low (0.06), CJ3 participated in CN-EX 0.31 times per minute, followed by CJ8 (0.3) and CJ1 (0.26).

Table 5.3 Occurrence and frequency of all types of CN by Chinese participants

Chinese participants	CJ1		CJ2		CJ3		CJ4		CJ5		CJ6		CJ7		CJ8		CJ9		CJ10		Total		
Japanese proficiency*	Adv.		Adv.		Adv.		Upper Inter.		Upper Inter.		Upper Inter.		Upper Inter.		Inter.		Inter.		Inter.				
Duration of conversations (minutes)	250		170		225		240		170		150		155		215		265		240		2080 (mins.)		
<Type of talk>**	W	NW	W	NW	W	NW	W	NW	W	NW	W	NW	W	NW	W	NW	W	NW	W	NW	W	NW	
Duration of conversations (minutes)	163	87	65	105	183	42	94	146	35	135	98	52	49	106	104	111	77	188	49	191	917	1168	
Occurrence by CN Type *** [frequency/minute]																							Total: Occurrence & [frequency/min]
Occurrence of CN-PM	25	18	11	7	35	8	78	39	81	44	54	36	87	36	74	14	71	21	91	11	607	234	841
[frequency/minute]	0.15	0.21	0.17	0.07	0.19	0.19	0.83	0.27	2.31	0.33	0.55	0.69	1.78	0.34	0.71	0.13	0.92	0.11	1.86	0.60	0.66	0.20	0.40
(Occurrence of CN-PM/ling)	*(4)*	*(11)*	*(6)*	*(4)*	*(24)*	*(7)*	*(56)*	*(18)*	*(68)*	*(19)*	*(32)*	*(11)*	*(54)*	*(21)*	*(62)*	*(8)*	*(51)*	*(14)*	*(74)*	*(9)*	*(431)*	*(122)*	*(553)*
[frequency/minute]	*0.02*	*0.13*	*0.09*	*0.04*	*0.13*	*0.17*	*0.60*	*0.39*	*1.94*	*0.14*	*0.33*	*0.21*	*1.10*	*0.20*	*0.60*	*0.07*	*0.46*	*0.07*	*1.51*	*0.5*	*0.47*	*0.10*	*0.13*
(Occurrence of CN-PM/fact)	*(21)*	*(7)*	*(5)*	*(3)*	*(11)*	*(1)*	*(22)*	*(21)*	*(13)*	*(25)*	*(22)*	*(25)*	*(33)*	*(15)*	*(12)*	*(6)*	*(20)*	*(7)*	*(17)*	*(20)*	*(176)*	*(112)*	*(288)*
[frequency/minute]	*0.13*	*0.08*	*0.08*	*0.03*	*0.06*	*0.02*	*0.23*	*0.14*	*0.37*	*0.19*	*0.22*	*0.48*	*0.67*	*0.14*	*0.11*	*0.05*	*0.26*	*0.04*	*0.35*	*0.10*	*0.19*	*0.10*	*0.14*
Occurrence of CN-EX	24	31	14	33	22	46	11	55	8	44	8	41	7	58		61		58		49	94	476	570
[frequency/minute]	0.15	0.36	0.22	0.31	0.12	1.01	0.12	0.38	0.23	0.33	0.08	0.79	0.14	0.55		0.55		0.31		0.26	0.10	0.41	0.27
Occurrence of CN-IM	44	23	32	8	38	13	42	16	49	11	37	9	39	6	14	3	9	4	7	4	311	97	408
[frequency/minute]	0.27	0.26	0.49	0.08	0.21	0.31	0.45	0.11	1.40	0.08	0.35	0.17	0.80	0.06	0.14	0.3	0.12	0.02	0.14	0.2	0.34	0.06	0.20
Occurrence total	93	72	57	48	95	67	126	110	128	99	99	86	133	100	88	78	80	83	98	64	1012	807	1819
[frequency/minute]	0.57	0.83	0.88	0.46	0.52	1.59	1.39	0.75	3.66	0.73	1.01	1.65	2.72	0.95	0.85	0.70	1.04	0.44	2.0	0.34	1.10	0.69	0.87

Notes: * <Japanese Proficiency> Adv.: advanced level of proficiency, Upper Inter.: upper intermediate level of proficiency, Inter: intermediate level of proficiency

** <Type of talk> W: work-related talk, NW: non-work-related talk

*** <Type of conversational negotiation>

CN-PM: conversational negotiation of propositional meaning

CN-PM/ling: conversational negotiation of propositional meaning resulting from linguistic ambiguity

CN-PM/fact: conversational negotiation of propositional meaning resulting from factual ambiguity

CN-EX: conversational negotiation of expertise

CN-IM: conversational negotiation of interactional meaning

5.4 Summary

In this chapter, I have shown an overview of the occurrence and frequency of all CN types appearing in the present study. The following three chapters present in-depth discussion and analysis of conversational data with regard to the CN of propositional meaning (CN-PM), that of expertise (CN-EX), and that of interactional meaning (CN-IM), respectively.

CHAPTER 6

CONVERSATIONAL NEGOTIATION OF PROPOSITIONAL MEANING

In the previous chapter, I have presented a summary of the occurrence and frequency of the three major types of conversational negotiation identified in work-related talk (WRT) and non-work-related talk (NWRT) in the present study. This chapter is the first of the three discussion chapters and focuses on the analysis and discussion of conversations involving the Chinese (CJs) and Japanese participants (JJs) in the multilingual workplace with regard to the conversational negotiation of propositional meaning (CN-PM) resulting from linguistic ambiguity (CN-PM/ling) and factual ambiguity (CN-PM/fact).

6.1 Use and frequency of strategies for CN-PM

The data in the present study can be categorized as typical native-nonnative discourse, which is characterized by various types of linguistic deviations in Japanese on the part of CJs. As summarized in Table 6.1 below, the total number of CJs' linguistic deviations in the data was 2,310, the breakdown of which were: phonological deviations (1128: 48.8%), lexico-semantic deviations (650: 28.1%), and morpho-syntactic deviations (532: 23.0%). Lexico-semantic deviations were further categorized into non-Chinese-character-based [NChB] deviations and Chinese-character-based [ChB] deviations, each of which accounted for 21.8% (504) and 6.3% (146) of the total number of CJs' deviations.

Table 6.1 The ratios of CJs' linguistic deviations that triggered CN-PM/ling over the total number of CJs' linguistic deviations

	Number of CJs' linguistic deviations (A)			Number of CJs' linguistic deviations that triggered CN- PM/ling (B)			Ratios of CJs' linguistic deviations that triggered CN- PM/ling over the total number of CJs' linguistic deviations (%) (B)/(A)		
Type of talk → / Type of linguistic deviation ↓	WRT*	NWRT*	Total	WRT*	NWRT*	Total	WRT*	NWRT*	Total
Phonological deviations	**413**	[illegible]	**1128**	**144**	[illegible]	**169**	**34.9**	[illegible]	**15.0**
Lexico-semantic deviations	**378**	[illegible]	**650**	**224**	[illegible]	**295**	**59.3**	[illegible]	**45.4**
(1) Non-Chinese-Character-based (NChB) deviations	*288*	[illegible]	*504*	*154*	*49*	*203*	*53.5*	[illegible]	*40.3*
(2) Chinese-character-based (ChB) deviations	*90*	[illegible]	*146*	*70*	*22*	*92*	*77.8*	[illegible]	*63.0*
Morpho-syntactic deviations	**278**	[illegible]	**532**	**4**	[illegible]	**5**	**1.4**	[illegible]	**0.9**
Total	**1069**	[illegible]	**2310**	**372**	[illegible]	**469**	**34.8**	[illegible]	**20.3**

* <Type of talk> WRT: Work-related talk
NWRT: Non-work-related talk

The analysis of the data further revealed that a mere 20.3% of the total number of CJs' linguistic deviations (469 out of 2310) actually triggered JJs to initiate CN-PM/ling. Among the three types of linguistic deviations, CJs' lexico-semantic deviations were the most likely to induce JJs to initiate CN-PM/ling (45.4%), followed by their phonological deviations (15%). The percentages of CJs' deviations that triggered CN-PM/ling over the number of CJs' deviations by category were as follows: phonological (169: 15%), lexico-semantic [NChB] (203: 40.3%), lexico-semantic [ChB] (92: 63.0%), and morpho-syntactic (5: 0.9%). Among the two sub-categories of lexico-semantic deviations, CJs' ChB deviations seemed to be more likely to induce JJs to initiate CN-PM/ling (63.0%) than NChB deviations (40.3%). All in all, CJs' linguistic deviations in WRT were four times more likely (34.8%) to induce JJs to trigger CN-PM/ling than those in NWRT (7.8%). CJs' phonological and morpho-syntactic deviations in NWRT (3.5% and 0.4% respectively) particularly were unlikely to trigger CN-PM/ling, while CJs' lexico-semantic deviations in WRT were highly likely to trigger JJs' CN-PM/ling (53.5% and 77.8% for NChB and ChB deviations, respectively).

As shown in Table 6.2 below, which summarizes the breakdown of total

ambiguous sources (553) that triggered CN-PM/ling, the number of CJs' linguistic deviations (469) accounted for nearly 85% of the total cases, while only 15% (84) were due to other kinds of linguistic ambiguity in the ongoing discourse. For example, CN-PM/ling was triggered mostly by CJs' linguistic deviations in WRT (372: 67.3%), followed by CJs' linguistic deviations in NWRT (97: 17.5%), other linguistic ambiguity in WRT (59: 10.7%) and other linguistic ambiguity in NWRT (25: 4.5%). As for the total cases of CN-PM/ling, more than 90% of the total cases were initiated by JJs, primarily due to CJs' linguistic deviations, while only its 7.4% were initiated by CJs, due to other ambiguous sources in the discourse.

Table 6.2 The breakdown of ambiguous sources that triggered CN-PM/ling

Types of ambiguous sources →	CJs' linguistic deviations that triggered CN-PM/ling (A)			Other ambiguous sources that triggered CN-PM/ling (B)			Total number of ambiguous sources that triggered CN-PM/ling (A) + (B)		
Type of talk → / Initiator of CN-PM/ling ↓	WRT*	NWRT*	Total	WRT	NWRT*	Total	WRT	NWRT*	Total
Number of CN-PM/ling initiated by JJs	372 (72.7)** [100]***	97 (18.9) [100]	469 (91.6) [100]	27 (5.3) [45.8]	16 (31.1) [64.0]	43 (8.4) [51.2]	399 (77.9) [92.6]	113 (22.1) [92.6]	512 (100) [92.6]
Number of CN-PM/ling initiated by CJs	0	0	0	32 (78.0) [54.2]	9 (22.0) [36.0]	41 (100) [48.8]	32 (78.0) [7.4]	9 (22.0) [7.4]	41 (100) [7.4]
Total	372 (67.3) [100]	97 (17.5) [100]	469 (84.9) [100]	59 (10.7) [100]	25 (4.5) [100]	84 (15.1) [100]	431 (77.9) [100]	122 (22.1) [100]	553 (100%) [100%]

* <Type of talk> WRT: Work-related talk
NWRT: Non-work-related talk
** Figures in ( ) show percentages against the total number of each horizontal row.
** Figures in [ ] show percentages against the total number of each vertical column.

In the follow-up interviews, nearly all JJs stated that they were reluctant to explicitly negotiate propositional ambiguity resulting from CJs' linguistic deviations if they could infer the overall propositional meaning (cf. Gumperz 1979: 15). Thus, JJs seemed to use explicit CN strategies to clarify such ambiguity sparingly, and only when CJs' utterances contained information of very important or urgent nature. There seem to be various reasons why some types of CJs' deviations triggered CN-PM/ling more frequently. In other words, some categories of CJs' deviations tended to be "other-corrected" by JJs more frequently than other categories of deviation. For instance, CJs' morpho-syntactic deviations, such as their errors in inflections of verbs/adjectives,

word order, particles and tense, triggered less than 1% of CN-PM/ling. This means that JJs could appropriately guess the propositional meaning of the ongoing discourse in spite of such deviations. Only 15% of CJs' phonological deviations resulting from errors in pronunciation, intonation and accent triggered CN-PM/ling, probably because JJs, who as co-workers had become accustomed to CJs' utterances in Japanese, and could easily guess what CJs intended to say from the context. However, CJs' lexico-semantic [NChB] deviations and lexico-semantic [ChB] deviations tended to create more ambiguity than other types of CJs' deviations, and accordingly 40.3% and 63% of these two types triggered CN-PM/ling respectively. Though CJs' Japanese proficiency was high enough to conduct everyday office communication smoothly, when a CJ or a JJ used relatively unfamiliar ChB words orally, these sometimes became ambiguous sources in the ongoing discourse. As mentioned earlier, this is due to the fact that Chinese and Japanese languages partly share Chinese characters and ChB words *visually*, but not *orally*. Therefore, CJs and JJs often had difficulty in mutually understanding ChB words used in *oral* communication.

As shown in Table 6.3 below, the total number of sequences of CJ-PM/fact identified in the study was 288, of which 176 (61.8%) and 112 (38.9%) occurred in WRT and NWRT respectively. A breakdown of ambiguous sources that triggered CN-PM/fact shows that "inadequate information" and "misunderstanding" accounted for 72.2% (208) and 27.8% (80) respectively. As discussed above, JJs were dominant initiators for CN-PM/ling (92%) both in WRT and NWRT (cf. Table 6.2). Table 6.3 shows, in contrast, that JJs (50.7%) and CJs (49.3%) initiated CN-PM/fact almost equally, both in WRT and NWRT. It is especially worth noting that, in WRT, JJs initiated CN-PM/fact slightly more frequently (56.8%) than CJs (43.2%), while in NWRT, CJs tended to become more active initiators (58.9%) of CN-PM/fact than JJs (41.1%). This suggests that JJs took dominant roles as linguistic hosts, and CJs retained their role as linguistic guests in the process of CN-PM/ling, especially in WRT, while CJs (particularly high proficiency CJs) tended to take a more active role in initiating CN-PM/fact in both WRT and NWRT.

Table 6.3 The types of ambiguous sources that triggered CN-PM/fact

Types of ambiguous sources →	Inadequate information (A)			Misunderstanding (B)			Total number of ambiguous sources that triggered CN-PM/fact (A) + (B)		
Type of talk → / Initiator of CN-PM/fact ↓	WRT*	NWRT*	Total	WRT	NWRT	Total	WRT	NWRT	Total
Number of CN-PM/fact initiated by JJs	85 (58.2) [62.0]	[illegible]	114 (78.1) [54.8]	15 (10.3) [38.5]	[illegible]	32 (21.9) [40.0]	100 (68.5) [56.8]	[illegible]	146 (100) [50.7]
Number of CN-PM/fact initiated by CJs	52 (36.6) [38.0]	[illegible]	94 (66.2) [45.2]	24 (16.9) [61.5]	[illegible]	48 (33.8) [60.0]	76 (32.4) [43.2]	[illegible]	142 (100) [49.3]
Total	137 (47.6) [100]	[illegible]	208 (72.2) [100]	39 (13.5) [100]	[illegible]	80 (27.8) [100]	176 (61.8) [100]	[illegible]	288 (100%) [100%]

* <Type of talk> WRT: Work-related talk
NWRT: Non-work-related talk
** Figures in ( ) show percentages against the total number of each horizontal row.
** Figures in [ ] show percentages against the total number of each vertical column.

In spite of suggestions often made in SLA studies that SLA might be facilitated when a nonnative speaker incorporates the native speaker's modified input (correct forms of nonnative speaker's deviations) in her/his own utterance (cf. Gass and Varonis 1985a, 1985b; Swain 1985, 1993), CJs in this study seldom incorporated modified input made by JJs, as shown in Table 6.4 below. As for CN-PM/ling, CJs incorporated JJs' modified input in their utterances in 23% cases in WRT and in 3.3% cases in NWRT, while JJs incorporated CJs' modified input in their utterances in 3.9% cases in WRT and in 4.9 % cases in NWRT. With regard to CN-PM/fact, on the other hand, CJs incorporated JJs' modified input in their utterances in 50.6% cases in WRT and in 42.9% in NWRT, while there were 22.2% cases in WRT and 25 % cases in NWRT where JJs incorporated CJs' modified input.

The results show that CJs were extremely reluctant to incorporate JJs' modified input regarding linguistic ambiguity, presumably because CN-PM/ling has a face-threatening effect on CJs during the repair processes of JJs' other-correction of CJs' linguistic deviations, as discussed earlier in Chapter Two. This might have been because CJs strongly wished to present themselves as competent co-workers, not as linguistically incompetent learners in the workplace, as substantiated by seven CJs' comments in the follow-up interviews and comments of all the Chinese and Japanese raters during the rating sessions. Both CJs and JJs displayed a high tendency to incorporate their

interlocutors' modified input regarding factual ambiguity, particularly in WRT, mainly because CJs and JJs in the study were found to have a high tendency to repeat and confirm important and urgent elements in each others' utterances during CN-PM/fact in WRT in order to avoid communication problems.

Table 6.4 Number of incorporated/unincorporated modified input in CN-PM/ling and CN-PM/fact

	CN-PM/ling (A)			CN-PM/fact (B)			Total cases of CN-PM (A) + (B)		
Type of talk →	WRT*	NWRT*	Total	WRT	NWRT*	Total	WRT	NWRT*	Total
Total number of sequences	431	[illegible]	553	176	[illegible]	288	607	[illegible]	841
Sequences of JJs' modified input incorporated in CJs' utterances (%)	99 (23.0%)	[illegible] (34.8%)	103 (18.6%)	89 (50.6%)	48 (42.9%)	137 (47.6%)	188 (31.0%)	93 (39.7%)	181 (21.5%)
Sequences of CJs' modified input incorporated in JJs' utterances (%)	17 (3.9%)	6 (4.9%)	23 (4.2%)	39 (22.2%)	28 (25%)	67 (23.3%)	56 (9.3%)	34 (14.5%)	90 (10.7%)

* <Type of talk> WRT: Work-related talk
NWRT: Non-work-related talk
** Figures in ( ) show percentages against the total number of each horizontal row.
** Figures in [ ] show percentages against the total number of each vertical column.

6.2 Negotiation triggered by linguistic ambiguity

As discussed in Chapter Three, the following seven explicit CN strategies were identified in the present study: expressions of non-understanding, interjections, partial repetition, complete repetition, minimum replay and correct information, paraphrasing, and elaborating. The sixth strategy of paraphrasing is further divided into the following seven sub-categories: synonyms and antonyms, intransitive and transitive verb (*jidooshi-tadooshi*) switching, switching of Chinese and Japanese reading of Chinese characters (*onyomi-kunyomi* switching), multilingual code switching, explaining the radicals of Chinese characters, showing visual documents, and writing Chinese characters (*hitsudan*). In the following sections, I shall present analysis of the data containing these explicit CN strategies.

6.2.1 Expressions of non-understanding

In Example 6-1, JJ14 issues an expression of non-understanding to negotiate the meaning of an ambiguous source, that is, CJ10's mispronounced word. The sequence of conversational negotiation in the example can be described as Trigger-Signal-Response/Trigger-Response. According to the repair typology of Schegloff *et al.* (1977), this can be categorized as "other-initiated self-completed" repair, followed by the interlocutor's additional remark to supply a correct word to replace the ambiguous source.

Example 6-1 [CJ10 -3]

1	→	CJ10:	畳のうえに座ってご飯食べるは、すごく『しぶる』
2	⇒	JJ14:	(1) ごめん、わからないけど。
3	☆→	CJ10:	あー (1) 足がすごく痛くなる。
4	☆	JJ14:	(1)『しびれる』?
5		CJ10:	そう、そう、そう、[@@@]
6		JJ14:	[@@@] あれ、痛いのよね@@

[English Translation]

1	→	CJ10:	When I ate sitting on the *tatami* mats, I become very numb.
2	⇒	JJ14:	(1) Sorry, I don't understand.
3	☆→	CJ10:	Ah- (1) one's legs become very painful.
4	☆	JJ14:	(1) [You mean] 'to become numb'?
5		CJ10:	Yeah, yeah, yeah[@@@]
6		JJ14:	[@@@] That's very painful

[Romanized Transcripts]

1	→	CJ10:	Tatami no ue ni swatte gohan taberu wa, sugoku shiburu.
2	⇒	JJ14:	(1) Gomen, wakaranai kedo.
3	☆→	CJ10:	Aa- (1) ashi ga sugoku itaku naru.
4	☆	JJ14:	(1) Shibireru?
5		CJ10:	Soo, soo, soo [@@@]
6		JJ14:	[@@@] Are itai no yo ne@@

CJ10's utterance (line 1) contains a phonological ambiguity, "*shiburu*", which functions as a Trigger to prompt JJ14 to issue a Signal (line 2) to request clarification as the first stage of CN. In line 2, prior to a rather direct expression of non-understanding, "*wakaranai kedo*" (I don't understand, but...), there is a one-second pause, and then JJ14 first apologizes with the word, "*gomen*" (I am sorry; excuse me)". JJ14 also uses a final particle "*kedo*" (but) as a hedging device after the non-understanding expression. All of these linguistic features indicate JJ14's hesitation to explicitly negotiate[1], which effectively function to mitigate any possible embarrassing impact to CJ10 of the direct

statement of non-understanding of CJ's utterance of line 1 (Brown and Levinson 1978, 1987; Gumperz 1982). On the other hand, CJ10, after hearing JJ14's Signal (line 3), attempts to adjust her mispronounced word (*shiburu*) of line 1, not by correcting her own pronunciation of the word, but by paraphrasing it. This utterance of CJ10's serves not only as a Response to the Trigger-Signal sequence (lines 1-2), but also as the second Trigger to invite JJ14's Response (line 4), in which JJ14 offers a candidate answer "*shibireru?*"([You mean] to become numb?) with rising intonation. JJ14's use of rising intonation here constitutes a yes-no question to check JJ14's comprehension and confirmation by urging CJ10 to simply affirm or negate the given candidate answer (Pomeranz 1988). This functions to complete a sequence of "self-initiated other completed" repair (Schegloff *et al.* 1977). In line 5, CJ10 simply affirms JJ14's candidate answer, laughingly saying "*soo, soo, soo*" (Yeah, yeah, yeah) in an exaggerated manner without incorporating the correct form in her utterance, which clearly indicates CJ10 is not in a serious frame but in a joking frame[2]. In line 6, JJ14 jointly laughs with CJ10, elaborating the ambiguous source (*shibireru*) with the remark of her own personal experience, "*Are itai no yo ne*" (That's very painful, as you know), in order to show her sympathy toward CJ10.

In this example, CJ10 and JJ14 jointly laugh, which suggests that the real trouble is not CJ10's phonological deviation, but their common experience of uncomfortable squatting on *tatami* mats. Moreover, the fact that CJ10 does not incorporate JJ14's modified output (*shibireru*) in her utterance in this example may be an indication that CJ10 wants to present herself as JJ14's co-worker rather than as a Japanese language learner[3].

Example 6-2 illustrates how JJ1 effectively negotiates the propositional meaning of an ambiguous source in the ongoing discourse, which is obviously caused by CJ1's phonological error of a ChB word. The CN-PM/ling sequence can be described as Trigger-Signal-Trigger-Signal/Trigger-Response. According to the repair typology of Schegloff *et al.* (1977), the sequence can be categorized as a kind of extended "other-initiated self-completed" repair.

Example 6-2 [CJ1-7]

1	→	CJ1:	えーと、来週の会議の<IC『しょうだん』IC>
2			今、いいですか？
3	⇒	JJ1:	(1)... <@ 今 @@@ A> なんて言ったの？
4	→	CJ1:	<@ IC『しょうだん』 IC @>
5	⇒→	JJ1:	<A @@まことにすみませんが、おっしゃることがぜんぜんわかりません@@ A>
6	☆	CJ1:	あ、『相談（そうだん）』[@@@]
7		JJ1:	[@@@]ほいほい、『相談（そうだん）』しましょう@@

[English Translation]

1	→	CJ1:	Ahh, [how about]_'negotiate' regarding next week's meeting.
2			Do you have time now?
3	⇒	JJ1:	(1)... <A @@@ right now @@@ A> what did you say？
4	→	CJ1:	<@IC 'negotiate' IC@>
5	⇒→	JJ1:	< A @@ I am terribly sorry, but I don't at all understand what you say@@ A>
6	☆	CJ1:	Ah, @@@ 'discuss'[@@@]
7		JJ1:	[@@@] Yep, yep, let's 'discuss'@@

[Romanized Transcript]

1	→	CJ1:	Eeto, raishuu no kaigi no <IC 'shoodan' IC>
2			Ima, ii desu ka?
3	⇒	JJ1:	(1)...<A @@@ Ima @@@ A> nan-te itta no?
4	→	CJ1:	<@ IC 'shoodan' IC @>
5	⇒→	JJ1:	<A @@ Makotoni sumimasen ga, ossharu koto ga zenzen wakarimasen@@ A>
6	☆	CJ1:	A,'soodan' [@@@]
7		JJ1:	[@@@] Hoi, hoi, 'soodan' shimashoo@@

In this example, when CJ1 confuses the pronunciation of two ChB compound words, "*soodan*" (discussion 相談) and "*shoodan*" (business negotiation 商談), JJ1 issues an explicit expression of non-understanding, "*Nan te itta no?*" (What did you say?), in a joking frame to redress the FTA of other correction. In order to indicate that JJ1 is in a joking frame rather than in a serious frame, he uses various subtle CN strategies very tactfully. For instance, JJ1's laughing and louder quality of voice (line 3) clearly indicate the change of frame from a serious to comical frame, with a strong intention of inducing CJ1 to self-correct her mispronounced word. After hearing CJ1 mispronounce the word again (line 4), JJ1 takes an even more drastic approach by switching his tone of speech from the usual informal speech style to a highly formal and polite style in line 5. He purposely uses the expression, "*Makoto ni sumimasen ga, ossharu koto ga wakarimasen ga*[4]...(I am terribly sorry, but I do not understand what you say)". JJ1 deliberately employs this style shift because he wants to signal to CJ1 that she should undertake self-correction.

Ikuta (1983) argues that a linguistic style shift from an informal and plain style to

a formal and polite style such as in this example indicates a change of distance and relationship of the participants. It is important to note that that in this case, JJ1's style shift (line 5) not only serves as a *contexualization cue* (Gumperz 1982) for CN, but also conveys his rapport and solidarity as CJ1's co-worker by hinting in a joking frame that there is some deviation for CJ1 to rectify by herself. JJ1's drastic style shift is noted by CJ1, who laughingly self-corrects her phonological deviation (line 6). Then JJ1 acknowledges CJ1's self-correction (line 7), by purposely modifying the standard pronunciation of his utterance, "*hai, hai*" (yeah, yeah), to the comical utterance of "*hoi, hoi*" (yep, yep). Both CJ1 and JJ1 thus collaboratively reinforce the joking frame, in order to soften the face-threatening effect involved in other-correction, and to strengthen their solidarity as co-workers (Schegloff *et al.* 1977; Brown and Levinson 1978, 1987; Gumperz 1982; Saville-Troike 1989). Other paralinguistic features such as the change of JJ1's tone of voice and loudness (line 3) function as contexualization cues to determine which frame the participants are in (Gumperz 1982; Saville-Troike 1989). The multiple functions of laughter here are also worth mentioning. JJ1's laughter (line 3) mitigates the rather direct effect of the expression of non-understanding, and in line 5 functions as a contexualization cue for JJ1 to signal to CJ1 the existence of a problem (Jefferson 1984). Joint laughter (line 7) indicates that both JJ1 and CJ1 have maintained rapport and solidarity as co-workers. Thus, JJ1 successfully avoids an instance of "other-initiated and other-corrected" repair, which is the most face threatening among the four types of repair proposed by Schegloff *et al.* (1977).

In the follow-up interviews, JJ1 stated that despite the fact that CJ1's Japanese proficiency was near native level, she sometimes mixed up the pronunciation of similar ChB words, such as "shoodan" (商談 business negotiation)and "*soodan*" (相談 consultation). Since CJ1 and JJ1 had already established their rapport and solidarity as co-workers for 5 years at the time of data collection, JJ1 stated that he was accustomed to this type of phonological deviation on the part of CJ1. Consequently, he could easily infer what she meant most of the time without negotiation. However, JJ1 said that he would sometimes jokingly correct CJ1's linguistic (mainly phonological) deviations resulting from ChB words, because CJ1 had asked JJ1 and other colleagues to correct her

Japanese. All JRs and CRs evaluated JJ1 positively as an effective communicator and friendly co-worker, further stating that he showed his enthusiasm in assisting CJ1's Japanese learning. All CRs and JRs felt that through the CN-PM/ling sequence, the participants mutually conveyed meta-messages such as friendliness and solidarity, in addition to the primary function of solving the communication problem.

When native speakers use direct expressions of non-understanding, as in Examples 6-1 and 6-2 to negotiate the propositional meaning of nonnative speakers' utterances, they may explicitly indicate nonnative speakers' incompetence in the target language, which is not favorable in the workplace (cf. Wagner 1996). The JJs in the present study generally showed their respect and politeness to the CJs, since they wished to maintain their status as co-workers. When they used explicit statements of non-understanding in the Signal turn, they often used implicit CN strategies to try their best to redress the face-threatening act. As illustrated in the two examples above, laughter, hesitation, pause, speech style shift, and shift of tone and loudness in voice, are such implicit strategies frequently used by the JJs. These subtle contexualization cues indicate frame changes, sometimes from serious to joking ones, through which more effective and appropriate negotiation seems to be being carried out by co-workers in the workplace.

6.2.2 Interjection type

Example 6-3 contains the following strategies in a Signal turn: interjection type (line 4), elaboration by giving a concrete example (line 5), and code-switching between English and Japanese pronunciations of the word, "allergy" (line 6). The CN-PM/ling sequence can be described as Trigger-Signal-Response/Trigger-Response. According to the repair typology of Schegloff *et al.* (1977), the sequence is categorized as "other-initiated self-completed" repair, which is further followed by the interlocutor's additional word to actually replace the ambiguous source.

Example 6-3 [CJ4-9]

1		JJ7:	オフィスも全部禁煙にしたほうがいいわよね。
2		CJ4:	ほんと、ほんと、わたし、煙に弱いね。
3	→		鼻はひどい <IE allergy IE> 。
4	⇒	JJ7:	え？
5	☆→	CJ4:	悪い空気に、鼻がとても敏感。
6	☆	JJ7:	(1)...アレルギー /arerugii/？
7		CJ4:	うん、そう。空気清浄器、使ってもだめ。
8		JJ7:	(1)...そーか、吸う人は喫煙室で吸ったらいいよね。
9		CJ4:	大賛成[@@@]。
10		JJ7:	[@@@]。

[English Translation]

1		JJ7:	It would be better to make our office completely non-smoking, don't you think?
2		CJ4:	Yeah, Yeah, smoke isn't good for me, you know.
3	→		My nose has terrible <IE allergy IE> 。
4	⇒	JJ7:	What？
5	☆→	CJ4:	My nose is very sensitive to such bad air.
6	☆	JJ7:	(1)...Oh, allergy?
7		CJ4:	Yeah that's right. It is no use using an air-purifying machine.
8		JJ7:	(1) ... I see. Smokers should smoke in the smoking room, don't you think?
9		CJ4:	I completely agree with you [@@@].
10		JJ7:	[@@@]

[Romanized Transcript]

1		JJ7:	Ofisu mo zenbu kin'en ni shita hoo ga ii wa yo ne.
2		CJ4:	Honto, honto, watashi, kemuri ni yowai ne.
3	→		Hana wa hidoi <IE allergy IE>.
4	⇒	JJ7:	E?
5	☆→	CJ4:	Warui kuuki ni hana ga totemo binkan.
6	☆	JJ7:	(1)... Arerugii?
7		CJ4:	Un, soo, kuuki-seijoo-ki, tsukattemo dame.
8		JJ7:	(1)... Soo ka, suu hito wa kitsuen-shitsu de suttara ii yo ne.
9		CJ4:	Dai-sansei [@@@].
10		JJ7:	[@@@]

In this example, CJ4's utterance (line 2) contains an English word, "allergy," which is pronounced in the English way, instead of its Japanese loan-word version of "*arerugii*". This English pronunciation of the word (line 3) serves as a first Trigger for JJ7 to issue a Signal (line 4), "*E?*" (What?) to clarify its propositional meaning. Instead of employing the Japanese pronunciation (*arerugii*), CJ4 elaborates her previous (Trigger) utterance by offering a concrete and descriptive example to illustrate what the ambiguous source means. The utterance, "W*arui kuuki ni, hana ga totemo binkan*" (My nose is very sensitive to such bad air) in line 5, functions as a Response to JJ7's Signal (line 4), as well as a second Trigger for JJ7's further negotiation of the propositional meaning in the following turn. In line 6, JJ7 infers what CJ4 intends to say in the ongoing discourse, and negotiates by offering a candidate answer, pronouncing the ambiguous source (allergy) in its Japanese loan-word version "*arerugii*" (allergy) with rising intonation. JJ7's

utterance (line 6) thus functions as a Response to the first Trigger of line 3 (allergy) as well as to the second Trigger of line 5 ("*Warui kuuki ni. hana ga totemo binkan*"). As discussed in the previous examples, one of the merits of offering a candidate answer in conversation is to lessen the burden of one's interlocutor to answer and to continue conversation, since the interlocutor can issue minimum responses such as "yes," "no," and/or non-verbal signs (Pomeranz 1988). In the meantime, JJ7's utterance (line 6) serves to complete a sequence of "self-initiated other-completed" repair (Shchegloff *et al.* 1977). In line 7, CJ4 briefly acknowledges the candidate answer offered by JJ7, and quickly moves on to the new topic of the air-purifier without incorporating the modified output (correct form) supplied by JJ7 into her own utterance.

CJ4's introduction of the new topic of the use of an air-purifier in line 7 prepares both participants to go back to the original suggestion brought up by JJ7 in line 1, that all offices should be non-smoking. In lines 8-10, both JJ7 and CJ4 are focused on the content of the ongoing discourse rather than on the phonologically deviant form of the loan-word, "*arerugii*" (allergy), uttered by CJ4 (line 3). They agree laughingly (lines 9 and 10) with JJ7's suggestion presented in line 1, by confirming that they share the same opinion about converting their entire office space to a non-smoking zone. The interaction of the participants between lines 2 and 8 thus forms *a side sequence* (Jefferson 1972), which drifts away from the main sequence introduced in line 1.

In the rating sessions, all the CRs stated that they had difficulty in correctly speaking English loanwords in Japanese in a Japanese way, since they had first learned them in English classes, and therefore remember their English pronunciations[5]. All the JRs and CRs pointed out that they often had experienced similar misunderstandings and comprehension problems regarding the pronunciation of English loanwords in Japanese both in intra-cultural and intercultural situations, because the pronunciation and intonation of loanwords were not standardized[6]. All five CRs stated that most Chinese speakers of Japanese, including themselves, often preferred to insert the original English words instead of using the Japanese pronunciation of the loanwords, if they were derived from English. Three CRs stated that it was because they foresaw that they might have production

problems in speaking loanwords in a Japanese way[7].

The CN sequence in Example 6-4 below is the same as that in Example 6-3: Trigger-Signal-Response/Trigger-Response.

Example 6- 4 [CJ3-4]

1		CJ3:	お正月、好きじゃない若者、多いけど、
2			(1)...子供は、結構楽しみにしててね。
3		JJ5:	うん。
4	→	CJ3:	えと、<IC おどーしたま IC> /odooshitama/、あるでしょう？
5	⇒	JJ5:	(1)...え、なに？
6	☆→	CJ3:	いろんな人が、お金くれるでしょう。
7	☆	JJ5:	(1)...あ、お年玉 /otoshidama/？
8		CJ3:	そう、(1)...日本の子供もそうだって聞いたね。
9		JJ5:	そうよ。

[English Translation]

1		CJ3:	Young people who do not like [customs of] New Year are many, but
2			(1)...Children quite like it, I think.
3		JJ5:	Huh.
4	→	CJ3:	Well, I guess it is because of lucky money(/odooshitama/)?
5	⇒	JJ5:	(1)...Uhh, what?
6	☆→	CJ3:	Many people give money [to them], you know.
7	☆	JJ5:	(1)... Oh, lucky money (/otoshidama/)?
8		CJ3:	Right, (1)... I hear that Japanese children also like [the New Year celebrations].
9		JJ5:	That's right.

[Romanized Transcript]

1		CJ3:	Oshoogatsu, suki ja nai wakamon ooi kedo.
2			(1)... kodomo wa, kekkoo tanoshimi ni shitete ne.
3		JJ5:	Un.
4	→	CJ3:	Eto. <IC odooshitama IC>, aru deshoo?
5	⇒	JJ5:	(1)... E, nani?
6	☆→	CJ3:	Iron'na hito ga, okane kureru deshoo.
7	☆	JJ5:	(1)... A, otoshidama?
8		CJ3:	Soo, (1)... Nihon no kodomo mo soo datte kiita ne.
9		JJ5:	Soo yo.

CJ3's phonological deviant word of "lucky money" (*odooshitama*) in line 4, serves as a first Trigger for JJ5's Signal in line 5, to which JJ5 issues "*E, nani*?" (Huhh, what?), after one second's pause. In line 6, which is CJ3's Response to JJ5's Signal, CJ3 elaborates her previous Trigger utterance[8] by saying "*iron'na hito ga okane kureru deshoo*" (many people give money [to them], you know), which functions as the second Trigger for JJ5 to issue a Response, offering a candidate answer "*otoshidama*" (lucky money) for the first Trigger of line 4 (the phonologically deviated word "*odooshidama*") as well as for the second Trigger of line 6 ("many people give money [to them], you know"), with rising intonation (Pomeranz 1988). Thus, JJ5's utterance (line 7) functions to complete a sequence of "self-initiated other-completed" repair (Shegloff *et al.* 1997).

In line 8, CJ3 briefly acknowledges the correct form supplied by JJ5, and quickly moves on to say, "*Nihon no kodomo mo soo datte kiita ne*" (I hear that Japanese children also like [the New Year], don't they?). This utterance of CJ3's returns to the original and main topic introduced by CJ3 in line 1, that children in Hong Kong like New Year celebrations. Thus, the sequence of conversational negotiation (lines 4-7) forms a *side sequence* (Jefferson 1972) to the main sequence of the conversation. It is worth noting that CJ3 does not incorporate the modified output (correct form) supplied by JJ5 into her utterance in this example.

In the follow-up interviews, JJ5 stated that she had got accustomed to the way CJ3 spoke in Japanese, including deviations in terms of phonology, semantics and syntax. Therefore, most of the time, she could infer correctly what CJ3 intended to say because of various pieces of contextual information.

6.2.3 Partial repetition

6.2.3.1 Question word replacement type

Example 6-5 illustrates how JJ5 negotiates lexical ambiguity in CJ3's utterance by using a question word to replace the word that JJ5 does not understand. This sequence of conversational negotiation can be described as Trigger-Signal-Response. According to the typology of repair of Schegloff *et al.* (1977), it is categorized as "other-initiated self-completed" repair.

Example 6-5 [CJ3-8]

1		CJ3:	あ、ベンツとか高級車を、
2	→		んと (1)...<IE rich IE>のシンボルとして買いますよね
3	⇒	JJ5:	何のシンボル？
4	☆	CJ3:	えー(1)...ステータス？
5			ステータスになるから
6		JJ5:	そうね。

[English Translation]

1		CJ3:	Ah, high class cars such as Mercedes-Benz,
2	→		Mhh (1)... people buy as a symbol of wealth, you know.
3	⇒	JJ5:	What symbol?
4	☆	CJ3:	Eh (1)... status?
5			Because it indicates their status.
6		JJ5:	Yeah.

[Romanized Transcript]

1		CJ3:	A, bentsu toka kookyuu-sha o,
2	→		Un'to (1)...<IE Rich IE > no shinboru to shite kaimasu yo ne.
3	⇒	JJ5:	Nan no shinboru?
4	☆	CJ3:	Ee, (1)... suteetasu?
5			Suteetasu ni naru kara...
6		JJ5:	Soo ne.

CJ3's utterance in line 2 contains the phrase "rich *no shinboru*" (symbol of richness/wealth), which is incomprehensible to JJ5. "*Suteetasu shinboru*" (status symbol)" is a set phrase commonly used in Japanese, but CJ3 omits a part of the compound. CJ3 uses an English word, "rich," to replace "*suteetasu* (status)," and combines it with the second part of the compound, "*shinboru*" (symbol). That is, CJ3 mixes English and Japanese norms in the compound word (line 2) by pronouncing the first word of the compound, "rich," in an English way, and the second word, "symbol," in the Japanese manner. JJ5 understands the second word (*shinboru*), but not the first word ("rich"), which triggers JJ5 to negotiate the meaning of the ongoing discourse, by partially repeating the ambiguous source. She replaces the ambiguous word ("rich") with a question word, "*nan*"(what), followed by the repetition of the second word (*shinboru*), which is comprehensible to her. In line 4, CJ3 tries to self-correct her previous utterance by supplying the word "*suteetasu*" (status), to paraphrase the ambiguous source clarified by JJ5. In line 4, the word "*suteetasu*" is offered as a candidate answer for confirmation by CJ3 with rising intonation in order to check whether it is correct. However, JJ5 neither verbally responds as to whether CJ3's candidate answer is correct, nor incorporates the modified output made by CJ3. CJ3 assumes that it is a correct form, and repeats it with normal intonation (line 5) to continue her utterance. In line 6, JJ5 issues a short response to imply that CJ3 's self-correction of the Trigger (ambiguous source: line 2) is correct, instead of supplying the correct complete phrase "*suteetasu shinboru*". This is probably because JJ5 wishes to minimize the face-threatening impact of other-correction on CJ3. The CN sequence thus illustrates how "other-initiated self-completed" repair (Schegloff *et al.* 1977) is carried out through explicit and implicit negotiation strategies.

During the follow-up interviews, CJ3 and JJ5 stated that Japanese loanwords and loanword-compounds often cause problems in office communication, as noted in Example 6-4. JJ5 stated that she frequently became confused when she heard loanwords

pronounced by Chinese co-workers because she could not tell instantly whether the CJs were speaking in Japanese, English or Cantonese. In other words, the Japanese participants were not always prepared for sudden language switching occurring in the middle of the ongoing discourse, unless some metalinguistic remarks were made to indicate subsequent switching. As discussed above, participants' language choice and norms of language switching seemed to be one of the important factors that would make communication in the multilingual workplace more complicated than that in the monolingual workplace.

It is worth noting that difficulties resulting from phonological variations of loanwords in Japanese, described above, were also pointed out by nearly all JRs and CRs in the rating sessions. All the raters stated that rules for abbreviating Japanese words[9], such as names of companies and loanwords, did not seem to be standardized. Consequently, not only nonnative speakers but also native speakers of Japanese often had comprehension problems when they heard abbreviated forms of Japanese words and/or loanwords. Another interesting points all CRs and JRs mentioned were about participants' non-standardization in use of place names in Hong Kong[10]in Japanese conversations. Since these place names were also ChB words, Japanese and Chinese co-workers may pronounce such words either in Japanese, Cantonese or Putonghua. Namely, there would be three or four ways of pronunciation per one place name, which would often become ambiguous sources in the ongoing discourse[11].

6.2.3.2 Partial repetition (polite) type

Example 6-6 illustrates how CJ1 uses partial repetition of JJ1's previous utterance, which is not comprehensible to CJ7, in order to negotiate lexical ambiguity. The CN-PM/ling sequence of the example can be described as Trigger-Signal-Response. According to the repair typology of Schegloff *et al.* (1977), this sequence is categorized as "other-initiated self-completed" repair.

Example 6-6 [CJ1-8]

1		CJ1:	昨日、あのテレビのドキュメント、みました？
2	→	JJ1:	あれって、多重音声放送？/tajuu-onsee hoosoo/
3	⇒	CJ1:	(1)...『たじゅう　おんせい...』/tajuu-onsee .../ですか？
4	☆	JJ1:	(1)...ええと、マルチチャンネル？
5		CJ1:	そうそう、多重音声放送　/tajuu-onsee hoosoo /、(1)...マルチチャンネル

[English Translation]

1		CJ1:	Did you watch the TV documentary yesterday?
2	→	JJ1:	Was that multi-sound broadcasting?
3	⇒	CJ1:	(1)... Did you say 'multi-sound ...'?
4	☆	JJ1:	(1)... Ahh, multi-channel?
5		CJ1:	Yeah, yeah, multi-lingual broadcasting, (1)... multi-channel

[Romanized Transcript]

1		CJ1:	Kinoo, ano terebi no dokyumento, mimashita?
2	→	JJ1:	Arette, tajuu-onsei hoosoo?
3	⇒	CJ1:	(1)... Tajuu-onsei ... desu ka?
4	☆	JJ1:	(1)... Eeto, maruchi chan'neru?
5		CJ1:	Soo, soo, tajuu-onsei hoosoo, (1)... maruchi chan'neru.

JJ1's utterance (line 2), which functions as a Trigger, contains a compound word, "*tajuu-onsei hoosoo*" (multi-sound broadcasting), which is not comprehensible to CJ1. Consequently, CJ1 negotiates the meaning by partially repeating the first part of the ambiguous source "*tajuu-onsei*" (multi-sound), with a polite form of the Japanese copula and a question final particle, "*desu ka*", in line 3, which functions as a Signal. During the follow-up interview, it was confirmed that CJ1 did not understand the meaning of the word "*tajuu-onsei*", but could repeat its sound, while she could not understand either the sound or the meaning of the next word "*hoosoo*". After CJ1's request for clarification in line 3, JJ1 paraphrases the compound word into its loanword version derived from English "*maruchi chan'neru*" (multi-channel), with rising intonation, in order to facilitate CJ1's understanding. Then, in line 4, which functions as a Response to CJ1's Signal (line 3), CJ1 understands what JJ1 said in line 2, and repeats the complete form of the compound, "*tajuu-onsei hoosoo*". She further repeats the loanword version of the compound, "*maruchi chan'neru,*" which was uttered by JJ1 in line 4. That is to say, CJ1 incorporates not only the ambiguous source (*tajuu-onsei*) in the Trigger turn, but also JJ1's modified output (*maruchi chan'neru*) in the following Response turn.

Example 6-7 illustrates how CN-PM/ling is carried out successfully when CJ5's phonological deviation is about to lead to a quite drastic misunderstanding on the part of

JJ8. The CN sequence is Trigger-Signal-Response/Trigger-Response. According to the repair typology of Schegloff *et al.* (1977), the sequence can be described as one in which a participant attempts "other-initiated self-completed" repair unsuccessfully, and quickly switches to finish with "other-completed" repair.

Example 6-7 [CJ5 -9]

1		JJ8:	さっきの電話、だれだった?
2	→	CJ5:	あ、あれね、部長の<IC オンナー IC>
3	⇒	JJ8:	<A えー A> (1) 女 /on'na/ だったの?
4	☆ →	CJ5:	いえ いえ, 女 /on'na/ /じゃなくて
5			[@@@] 部長の <IC アパット IC> の <IC オンナー IC>
6	☆	JJ8:	[@@@] あ--(1) びっくりした@@@
7			アパートのオーナーはね。大家っていうのよ。
8		CJ5:	@@@そうそう@@@
9			@@わすれてた[@@@]
10		JJ1:	[@@@]

[English Translation]

1		JJ8:	Whose phone call was it?
2	→	CJ5:	Ah, that one, the director's woman.
3	⇒	JJ8:	<A what A> (1) Did you say [the director's] 'woman' ?
4	☆ →	CJ5:	No, no, not 'woman', but
5			[@@@] 'the owner' of the apartment where the director lives
6	☆	JJ8:	[@@@] Ahh...(1) I was so surprised @@@
7			An owner of an apartment is called a 'landlord', you know
8		CJ5:	<@@ Yeah, yeah @@>
9			@@ I had forgotten [@@@]
10		JJ1:	[@@@]

[Romanized Transcript]

1		JJ8:	Sakki no denwa, dare datta?
2	→	CJ5:	A, are ne, buchoo no <IC on'naa IC>
3	⇒	JJ8:	<A Ee A> (1) <IC on'naa IC> datta no?
4	☆→	CJ5:	Ie, ie, on'na ja nakute
5			[@@@] buchoo no <IC abatto IC> no <IC on'naa IC>
6	☆	JJ8:	[@@@] Aa... (1) bikkuri shita@@@
7			Apaato no oonaa wa ne, ooya tte iu no yo.
8		CJ5:	<@@ soo, soo@@>
9			@@wasurete ta [@@@]
10		JJ1:	[@@@]

In line 1, JJ8 asks CJ5 who called their boss (the Japanese male director) a few minutes ago. CJ5 intends to tell JJ8 that it was the owner of the apartment where the director lives. However, her phonologically deviant noun phrase in line 2, "*buchoo no on'naa*" (the owner of the apartment where director lives), sounds like "the director's women (mistress)"to JJ8, since CJ5 does not clearly distinguish "*oonaa*" (owner) from "*on'na*" (women, mistress). As a result, CJ5's utterance of line 2 becomes a Trigger to prompt JJ8 to issue a Signal in which JJ8 cannot help but show her great surprise after hearing what CJ5 says, saying "*Ee*" (what?) in a loud voice with rising intonation. Then

she negotiates the meaning by partially repeating the ambiguous source, "*on'na datta no?*" (Did you say [the director's] woman?). This utterance functions as a Signal, which consists of a noun (*on'na*), plain form and past tense of the Japanese copula (*datta*) and a question final particle (*no*), with rising intonation to check JJ8's comprehension. In lines 4 and 5, CJ 5 uses the sentence pattern, "minimum reply and correct answer" (No, no, not A but B), in order to attempt to replace the ambiguous source (incorrect form) by its correct form. However, this utterance becomes another Trigger turn for JJ8 to negotiate in the following turn. CJ5 intends to say, "it was not a woman, but the owner of the apartment where the director lives", but CJ5 repeats her deviation, "owner" (*on'naa*), as in line 2. As soon as JJ8 hears the word again (line 5), she realizes that what CJ5 intended to say was "*oonaa*" (owner), but that she had mispronounced it as "*on'naa*", which JJ8 interpreted as "woman" (*on'na*) the first time. In line 6, which is the second Response, JJ8 expresses her great surprise and relief at the same time in a rather exaggerated way with laughter. She further supplies CJ5 with the modified output (correct form), "*oonaa*" (owner), and also adds a synonym, "*ooya*" (owner). CJ5 realizes that she has made a rather grave error in Japanese language in the workplace, confusing "owner of the apartment where her boss lives" and "her boss's woman". In lines 8 and 9, CJ5 laughingly admits her mistake, saying, "yeah, yeah, I had forgotten". In line 10, JJ8 also laughs happily together with CJ5. Their joint laughter here, as discussed above, seems to convey the participants' mutual meta-messages of rapport and solidarity as co-workers after solving a problem (Jefferson 1984).

In the follow-up interview, CJ5 laughingly mentioned that she was glad that JJ8 understood what she meant finally. Above all, both participants were both relieved that their boss was not present at the time of the conversation. The reason why JJ8 gave a traditional Japanese word "*ooya*" (owner) in line 7, a synonym of "*oonaa*" (owner), a loanword derived from English, was because she thought it might be easier for CJ5 to pronounce correctly[12], thus, avoiding a similar embarrassing moment in the future.

6.2.3.3 Partial repetition (plain) type

In Example 6-8, CJ4 and JJ6 are talking about Japanese television programs available in Hong Kong. Here JJ6 partially repeats CJ4's utterance (in correct form) without the Japanese copula to clarify the meaning of the ongoing discourse. This utterance of JJ6 can be also categorized as "minimum reply and correct form," since JJ6's repetition of CJ4's phonological deviation is modified into a correct form. The CN-PM/ling sequence is described as Signal-Response, which according to the repair typology of Schegloff *et al.* (1977), is categorized as "other-initiated other-completed" repair.

<u>Example 6-8 [CJ4 -1]</u>

1		JJ6:	テレビの番組なんか見ます？
2			＜P　日本語の番組　P＞
3		CJ4:	えーと、(1)...日曜日
4		JJ6:	あー１０時かなんかの
5	→	CJ4:	<IC『じゅう＝じゅうせき』IC> (/juu=juuseki/)という番組おもしろい。
6	☆	JJ6:	あー、『追跡（ついせき）』
7		CJ4:	あー、<NB :n NB>
8		JJ6:	その前のニュースも
9		CJ4:	えーそうですね。

[English Translation]

1		JJ6:	Do you watch any TV programs ?
2			< P　Japanese programs　P >
3		CJ4:	Let me see (1)... On Sunday
4		JJ6:	Yeah, some program starting at 10 o'clock.
5	→	CJ4:	The program called <IC　'Scientific Chase'　IC> (/Juu=Juuseki/) is interesting.
6	☆	JJ6:	Yeah, 'Scientific Chase' (/tsuiseki/).
7		CJ4:	Yeah,　<NB m NB>
8		JJ6:	TV News before that as well,
9		CJ4:	Yeah, that's right.

[Romanized Transcript]

1		JJ6:	Terebi no bangumi nanka mimasu?
2			< P　Nihongo no bangumi　P >
3		CJ4:	Eeto (1)... Nichiyoobi
4		JJ6:	Aa, 10-ji ka nanka no
5	→	CJ4:	<IC 'Juu=juuseki'　IC> to iu bangumi omoshiroi.
6	☆	JJ6:	Aa, 'Tsuiseki'
7		CJ4:	Aa, <NB m NB>
8		JJ6:	Sono mae no nyuusu mo
9		CJ4:	Ee, soo desu ne.

In line 5, which serves as a Signal, CJ4 incorrectly pronounces the title of the television program "*Juuseki*" which deviates from the native norm, "*Tsuiseki*" (追跡 [Scientific] Chase). This deviation is probably caused by interference[13] of CJ4's first language, Cantonese, since the written form can be read [jeuijik] in Cantonese, though the

compound does not exist in Cantonese[14]. As soon as JJ6 hears CJ4's utterance of line 5, JJ6 realizes CJ4's phonological deviation of the word. JJ6 partially repeats CJ4's previous utterance with a correct phonological form (*Tsuiseki*) in line 6, which serves as a Response in the sequence. JJ4's utterance consists of only a noun (the correct form of the ambiguous Trigger) with rising intonation, which functions as a *candidate answer* (Pomeranz 1988). CJ4's utterance in line 7 is a very short response to acknowledge JJ6's modified output (candidate answer). Interestingly, JJ6's modified output (correct form) is not incorporated at all in CJ4's utterances in their 2-minutes' conversation on the same topic. After finishing negotiating, JJ6 continues their conversation, asking CJ4 whether she sees the television news before the program called "*Tsuiseki*" in line 8. This utterance of JJ6 is a continuation of the question issued by her in line 6. In the sequence contained in Example 5-8, JJ6 asks CJ4 two yes-no questions in the example: whether CJ4 watches a Japanese program called "*Tsuiseki*" (lines 1 and 2), and whether she watches television news as well (line 8). Therefore, CJ4's reply in line 9 to both questions should be "yes, I do" or "no, I don't"; however, she replies, "*Ee, soo desu ne*" (Yeah, that's right), which constitutes a deviation from the expected native norm.

6.2.3.4 Incomplete repetition type

Example 6-9 illustrates that partial repetition, followed by paraphrase of the ambiguous source is not very effective for negotiation of meaning. The CN-PM/ling sequence is Trigger-Signal-Response/Trigger-Signal/Trigger-Response/Trigger-Response. According to the repair typology of Schegloff *et al.* (1977), this is categorized as "self-initiated self-completed" repair.

Example 6-9 [CJ4-7]

1	→	JJ6:	サラさんのおとうさんって、たのもしいおとうさん？
2	⇒	CJ4:	(1)... たの...？
3	☆→	JJ6:	そう、たのも...、えー、頼りになって...
4	⇒→	CJ4:	...
5	☆→	JJ6:	えっと、何ていうかな、たよりになって、力もらで...
6	☆	CJ4:	@@力はないけど、結構責任感あるよ。
7		JJ6:	@@

[English Translation]

1	→	JJ6:	Is your father, a reliable father?
2	⇒	CJ4:	(1)... re...?
3	☆→	JJ6:	Yes, reli... ehh, trustworthy...

4	⇒→	CJ4:	...
5	☆→	JJ6:	Ehh, how should I put it, someone who is dependable, and with great strength....
6	☆	CJ4:	@@(he has got) no strength, but he is quite responsible, I assure you.
7		JJ6:	@@

[Romanized Transcript]

1	→	JJ6:	Sara-san no otoosan tte, tanomoshii otoosan?
2	⇒	CJ4:	(1)... tano...?
3	☆→	JJ6:	Soo, tanomo..., ee.., tayori ni natte...
4	⇒→	CJ4:	...
5	☆→	JJ6:	Etto, nan te iu kana, tayori ni natte, chikara mochi de...
6	☆	CJ4:	@@ Chikara wa nai kedo, kekkoo sekini-kan aru yo.
7		JJ6:	@@

JJ6 and CJ4 are talking about their family members. When JJ6 asks CJ4 whether her father is "reliable", CJ4 did not understand what the word "*tanomoshii*" (reliable) means. After CJ4 first clarifies the propositional meaning of the ambiguous source (Trigger) by partially repeating it (line 2), JJ6 supplying partial repetition the Trigger utterance (line 1), followed by a synonym (trustworthy, "*tayori ni naru*") in the Response turn (line 3). Since JJ6's partial repetition and paraphrase do not help CJ4, the latter's turn (line 4) is filled with silence, which not only functions as a Signal for JJ6's repetition of the ambiguous source, but also serves as another Trigger to prompt JJ6 to paraphrase it with a synonym (line 5). JJ6's utterance serves as a Response as well as a Trigger, and at the end of the CN sequence (line 6), CJ4 not only understands the propositional meaning of the discourse, but also responds to JJ6's remark (line 5), by quickly switching from a usual frame to a joking frame. JJ6 paraphrases the ambiguous utterance "*tanomoshii*" (reliable) as "*tayori ni natte, chikara-mochi de*" (someone who is dependable, with great strength) in a normal (non-joking) frame. In the following turn (line 6), CJ4 partially negates and partially repeats the exact wording of JJ6's previous utterance with a paraphrase in a comical way with laughter, saying, "*chikara wa nai kedo, kekkoo sekinin-kan tsuyoi yo*" ([he has got] no strength, but he is quite responsible, I assure you). In line 7, JJ6 laughs together with CJ4, which is effective to redress the FTA involved in the process of other-correction.

6.2.4 Complete repetition

As stated in the previous sections of this Chapter, various comments of CJs, JJs, JRs and CRs in the follow-up interviews suggest that complete repetition of ambiguous

source (Trigger) does not seem to be as effective as other CN strategies, such as paraphrasing and elaborating. This is because mere repetition of the exact wording of the trouble source does not promote participants' mutual understanding of the ongoing discourse.

Example 6-10, however, shows how complete repetition of a Trigger issued by JJ9 serves as an effective Signal to prompt CJ6 to solve the production problem in her previous utterance. The CN sequence is Trigger-Signal-Response/Trigger-Response. According to the repair typology of Schegloff *et al.* (1977), this can be categorized as a variation of "self-initiated self-completed" repair, with the assistance of another participant to finally finish the CN-PM/ling sequence.

Example 6-10 [CJ6-7]

1		CJ6:	大事な会議で、
2			(1)... 日本人はたぶん＝あいまい？
3		JJ9:	うん、うん
4	→	CJ6:	日本語は、あいまいの言葉で＝
5			あまり、自分の感じ、あらわさないでしょう？
6		JJ9:	うん、うん。
7	⇒ →	CJ6:	相手の感じを考えて？
8	⇒	JJ9:	相手の感じを考えて？
9	☆→	CJ6:	感じ？ 気持ち？
10	☆	JJ9:	(1)... うんーと、相手の気持。
11			はっきりした言い方、しないよね。
12		CJ6:	ほんと困まっちゃう。
13		JJ9:	ほんと。

[English Translation]

1		CJ6:	At an important meeting,
2			(1)... Japanese are probably＝ambiguous？
3		JJ9:	Yeah, yeah.
4	→	CJ6:	Japanese language is, an ambiguous language so＝
5			people do not express their own, do they？
6		JJ9:	Yeah, yeah.
7	⇒ →	CJ6:	Considering the sense of others?
8	⇒	JJ9:	Considering the sense of others?
9	☆→	CJ6:	Sense? Feelings?
10	☆	JJ9:	(1)...Un--to, feelings of others.
11			[Japanese people] don't express themselves clearly, do they.
12		CJ6:	I really don't know what to do.
13		JJ9:	Really.

[Romanized Transcript]

1		CJ6:	Daiji-na kaigi de,
2			(1) ...Nihon-jin wa tabun＝aimai?
3		JJ9:	Un, un.
4	→	CJ6:	Nihongo wa, aimai no kotoba de＝
5			Amari, jibun no kanji, arawasanai deshoo?
6		JJ9:	Un, un.
7	⇒ →	CJ6:	Aite no kanji o kangaete?
8	⇒	JJ9:	Aite no kanji o kangaete?

9	☆→	CJ6:	Kanji? Kimochi?
10	☆	JJ9:	(1)...Un--to, aite no kimochi.
11			Hakkiri shita iikata, shinai yo ne.
12		CJ6:	Honto komatchau.
13		JJ9:	Honto.

This conversation takes place just after a meeting which CJ6 and JJ9 attended. CJ6 was a little upset about her Japanese co-workers' behavior at the meeting, and complained that her Japanese co-workers did not express their opinions and feelings clearly in public situations such as meetings, particularly in the presence of their seniors, though they revealed their true feelings openly with their peers in private situations, such as during lunch time and tea time.

In this example, CJ6 becomes aware of a production problem during her utterance (lines 4 and 5), since CJ6 often mixes the word "*kanji*" (sense) with the word "*kimochi*" (feeling). In line 7, she paraphrases her own Trigger utterance (lexical ambiguity) incorporating the word "*kanji*" (sense), saying "*Aite no kanji o kangaete?*" (Considering the sense of others?). This serves as a Signal to check her previous utterance, and also as a Trigger to urge JJ9 to issue a Signal in the following turn. JJ9 immediately repeats CJ6's paraphrase completely with a rising intonation (line 8). Prompted by JJ9's exact repetition of the ambiguous source, CJ6 is sure that the ambiguous source is caused by the two words. She supplies the two words that she frequently mixes up (line 9), in the form of a selective question for JJ9 to choose the correct form out of the two. This type of selective question can be considered as a variation of offering a *candidate answer* (Pomeranz 1988), in which a participant can choose the right answer among other offered choices. As soon as JJ9 chooses the correct form, "*kimochi*" (feeling), she quickly continues her conversation by elaborating on CJ6's comment (lines 4 and 5), which serves as a Trigger, saying "*Hakkiri shita iikata, shinai yo ne*" ([Japanese people] don't express themselves clearly, do they?). This utterance also functions to return to the original topic of the conversation after completing a *side-sequence* (Jefferson 1972) between line 6 and line 10. JJ9's prompt movement to continue talking on the topic implies that JJ9 puts emphasis on the content of the ongoing discourse rather than on its linguistic form.

6.2.5 Minimum reply followed by correct information

Example 6-11 illustrates how ambiguity resulting from CJ5's phonological deviation of ChB vocabulary is negotiated successfully by JJ8's minimum reply followed by correct information on the ambiguity source. The CN-PM/ling sequence of the example is Trigger-Response, which, according to the repair typology of Schegloff *et al.* (1977), is categorized as "other-initiated other-completed" repair. In other words, immediately after JJ8 notes a phonological ambiguity caused by CJ5's deviation, she supplies her interlocutor with modified output (the correct form) of the deviation.

Example 6-11 [CJ5 -5]

1		CJ5:	女性の＝
2	→		(1)... あの－<IC じゅめい IC>
3	☆	JJ8:	(2)... あっ、
4			(1)...寿命（じゅみょう）？
5		CJ5:	じゅーーじゅーーじゅみょう？
6		JJ8:	うん
7		CJ5:	もっと長いでしょう？
8		JJ8:	そうねえ。

[English Translation]

1		CJ5:	Women's=
2	→		(1)... Eh-_<IC life expectancy IC>(/jumei/)
3	☆	JJ8:	(2)... Oh,
4			(1)...life expectancy (/jumyoo/)?
5		CJ5:	ju-- ju--- jumyoo?
6		JJ8:	Yeah
7		CJ5:	Far longer (than men's)?
8		JJ8:	That's right.

[Romanized Transcript]

1		CJ5:	Josei no=
2	→		(1)... Anoo <IC Jumei IC>
3	☆	JJ8:	(2)... Aattsu,
4			(1)...Jumyoo?
5		CJ5:	Ju--ju-- jumyoo ?
6		JJ8:	Un
7		CJ5:	Motto nagai deshoo?
8		JJ8:	Soo nee.

CJ5 and JJ8 are discussing the topic of age differences between the sexes in Hong Kong and Japan. CJ5 wants to say "*jumyoo*" (life expectancy) in Japanese, but she mistakenly pronounces the word as "*jumei*" in line 2, which serves as a Trigger to urge JJ8 to issue a minimum reply, "*Aattsu*" (Oh), which is an interjection to indicate her surprise and perhaps recognition of the kind of linguistic problem found in CJ5's previous utterance. In line 4, after a one-second pause, JJ8 initiates conversational negotiation of

the propositional meaning of the phonologically deviant word by offering a candidate answer, "*jumyoo*", with rising intonation. This modified output provided by JJ8 is then incorporated in CJ5's utterance with rising intonation in line 5. After JJ8 issues a short response to confirm the correction in line 6, CJ5 returns to the original topic of the discourse on differences in life expectancy between the sexes in Hong Kong and Japan, which was introduced in line 1. Thus, exchanges between the two participants between lines 3 and 6 serve as a *side sequence* (Jefferson 1972) to negotiate the propositional meaning of the ambiguity caused by CJ5's phonological deviation of the ChB word.

6.2.6 Paraphrasing

6.2.6.1 Synonyms and antonyms

Example 6-12 is a conversation between JJ13, a male Managing Director of a department store, and CJ9, a female secretary for JJ13. Prior to the conversation presented, Mr. Suzuki (pseudonym), the sales promotion manager at another branch of the department store in Hong Kong, had phoned JJ13. Since JJ13 was out, Mr. Suzuki had left an urgent message with CJ9 regarding a sales promotion campaign which was to be launched shortly by their department store, asking JJ13 to call him back as soon as he returned. CJ9 understood that Mr. Suzuki had said that he and JJ13 should immediately discuss what to choose for the sales promotion campaign, since he did not like the handbags that they had previously agreed on for the purpose. CJ9's task here is three fold: to understand Mr. Suzuki's message correctly, to convey it to JJ13 correctly, and to urge JJ13 to immediately choose items other than the handbags for the sales promotion campaign.

Since CJ9's Japanese proficiency was categorized at intermediate level at the time of data collection, it was quite natural for her not to understand every word that Mr. Suzuki had said in his message. However, the example below illustrates how CJ9's telephone message is successfully conveyed to JJ13 through their mutual effort in the CN-PM/ling process, despite her limited Japanese proficiency. The CN-PM/ling sequence is Trigger-Signal-Response-Response/Trigger-Response, which can be

categorized as "other-initiated self-completed" repair with another follow-up Response from JJ13 to make sure that both participants understand the ongoing discourse correctly and appropriately:

Example 6-12 [CJ9-8]

1		CJ9:	あの、さっき、鈴木さんから電話ありましたね。
2		JJ13:	そう。
3		CJ9:	(2)...この前のハンドバッグの件について[はね]。
4		JJ13:	[うん]。
5	→	CJ9:	(1)...＜A　ちょっと気にならないからね　A＞
6	⇒	JJ13:	(1)...何にならないの？
7	☆	CJ9:	いえ、ハンドバッグ に関して[はね]。
8		JJ13:	[うん]うん。
9	☆→	CJ9:	(1)...興味ないって。
10	☆	JJ13:	あ、きらいだって。
11		CJ9	そう。

[English Translation]

1		CJ9:	Eh, Mr. Suzuki has just called.
2		JJ13:	Yeah.
3		CJ9:	(2)...concerning the handbags which we discussed the other [day].
4		JJ13:	[yeah].
5	→	CJ9:	(1)...＜A　he somehow did not mind　A>
6	⇒	JJ13:	(1)... what doesn't he become?
7	☆	CJ9:	No, about the [handbags].
8		JJ13:	[Yeah], yeah.
9	☆→	CJ9:	(1)... he said that he was not interested in them.
10	☆	JJ13:	Oh, you mean that he doesn't like them.
11		CJ9:	That's right.

[Romanized Transcript]

1		CJ9:	Ano, sakki, Suzuki-san kara denwa arimashita ne.
2		JJ13:	Soo.
3		CJ9:	(2)...Kono mae no handobaggu no ken ni tsuite [wa ne].
4		JJ13:	[Un].
5	→	CJ9:	(1)...＜A　Chotto ki ni naranai kara ne.　A＞
6	⇒	JJ13:	(1)... Nan ni nara nai no?
7	☆	CJ9:	Ie, handobaggu ni kanshite [wa ne].
8		JJ13:	[Un], un.
9	☆→	CJ9:	(1)...Kyoomi nai tte.
10	☆	JJ13:	A, kirai datte.
11		CJ9:	Soo.

This example shows that CJ9 is unable to quote Mr. Suzuki's message accurately to JJ13. She confuses the meaning and usage of two commonly used idioms in Japanese: "*ki ni iranai*" (not fond of, dislike), and "*ki ni nanarai*" (do not mind). When CJ9 starts quoting the message after a two-second pause (line 3), JJ13 notices that CJ9 is not fully confident of having understood Mr. Suzuki's telephone message. CJ9 was unable to recall the exact idiomatic phrase which Mr. Suzuki used on the phone, which was

probably "[*Handobaggu wa*] *ki ni iranai*" (I am not fond of the handbags). In line 5, she continues quoting the message, saying "*chotto ki ni naranai kara ne*" (because he somehow did not mind), very quickly. Thus, she appears to be aware that her utterance contains linguistic errors. Since CJ9's utterance "*Chotto ki ni naranai kara ne*" (because he somehow did not mind) is ungrammatical in this context, which functions as a Trigger to prompt JJ13 to issue a Signal to clarify CJ9's previous utterance. JJ13's clarification request, "*Nan ni naranai no?*" (What doesn't he become?), is issued after a one-second hesitation and is partial repetition of the Trigger with a question-word replacement. CJ9 immediately notices that JJ13 does not understand her utterance (line 5), which leads CJ9 to issue a Response to say something synonymous with what Mr. Suzuki said on the phone. CJ9 still cannot recall the exact idiom, but comes up with other expression. "*Kyoomi nai tte*" (He said that he was not interested in them) in line 9, which is not exactly the same meaning as "*ki ni iranai*" (not fond of, dislike); however, it is close enough to complete the task which CJ9 is expected to fulfill urgently, that is, to tell JJ13 to immediately look for other items for the sales campaign. Thus, CJ9 manages to convey the essence of Mr. Suzuki's message to JJ13. However, JJ13, who is in charge of the sales promotion campaign, wants to make sure that he understands the content of the message completely. So JJ13 issues a follow-up Response (line 10) to elaborate on the two Trigger utterances made by CJ9 (lines 5-9), by saying "*A, kirai date*" (Oh, you mean that he doesn't like them). In line 11, CJ9 confirms with a brief reply, which indicates that both participants are agreed on the message content.

6.2.6.2 Intransitive-transitive verbs (*jidooshi-tadooshi*) switching

The following example illustrates how an ambiguous source containing a transitive verb (*tadooshi* 他動詞) in CJ4's utterance is negotiated by JJ6 by switching it to its intransitive verb (*jidooshi* 自動詞) counterpart. The CN-PM/ling sequence in the example is Trigger-Response, which, according to the repair typology of Schegloff *et al.* (1977), is categorized as "other-initiated other-completed" repair:

Example 6-13 [CJ4-2]

1		JJ6:	最近ぜんぜん映画に行きませんね。
2		CJ4:	え-もういま、
3			(1)...あの-ビデオを
4		JJ6:	うん-うん-うん-
5	→	CJ4:	ビデオ店で貸して、
6			(1)...あの-家で...
7	☆	JJ6:	(1)...あ- 借りて家で見ます？
8		CJ4:	ええ。

[English Translation]

1		JJ6:	We don' t go to see movies nowadays, do we?
2		CJ4:	Yeah, these days.
3			(1)...Ehh, videos.
4		JJ6:	Yeah, yeah, yeah.
5	→	CJ4:	[We] lend [videos] at video shops,
6			(1)...Ehh.. at home...
7	☆	JJ6:	(1)...Oh, [you] borrow [videos] to watch them at home?
8		CJ4:	Yes.

[Romanized Transcript]

1		JJ6:	Saikin zenzen eiga ni ikimasen ne.
2		CJ4:	E, moo ima,
3			(1)... anoo....bideo o
4		JJ6:	Un, un, un,
5	→	CJ4:	Bideo-ten de kashite,
6			(1)... anoo.. uchi de....
7	☆	JJ6:	(1)...a... karite uchi de mimasu?
8		CJ4:	Ee.

In this example, JJ6 and CJ4 are talking about how they spend their leisure time. Following up on JJ6's remark that people these days do not go to see movies (line1), CJ4 wishes to say that people watch videos at home instead of going to cinemas (lines 2, 3, 5 and 6). But instead of using the correct intransitive verb "to borrow (*karite*)", CJ4 mistakenly uses its counterpart of the intransitive verb "to lend" (*kashite*) in line 7. After hearing CJ4 saying "*Bideo-ten de kashite, (1) ...anoo, uchi de...*"([We] lend [videos] at video shops, (1)...Ehh... at home...), JJ6 negotiates the propositional meaning of the ongoing discourse by replacing "*kashite*" (to lend) by "*karite*" (to borrow). "*Kashite*" is the gerund form (*te*-form) of the transitive verb "*kasu*" (to lend), whereas "*karite*" is the gerund form (*te*-form) of the intransitive verb "*kariru*" (to borrow). This negotiation strategy of JJ6 is "intransitive verb-transitive verb (*jidooshi-tadooshi*) switching", in which JJ6 switches between the two verbs in a intransitive and transitive pair in Japanese in order to supply the modified output (correct form) of the ambiguous utterance. In line 7, JJ6 after a one-second pause says, "(1)... Oh, [you] borrow [videos] to watch at home?", with rising intonation to request CJ4's confirmation of the modified form. JJ6 thus supplies the modified output (correct form) of the ambiguous source in CJ4's utterance by

offering a *candidate answer* (Pomeranz 1982) through intransitive verb-transitive verb switching.

The present data contained 76 cases of CJs' linguistic deviations related to word choice of intransitive verb-transitive verb pairs in Japanese, among which only 13 cases (17.1%) were negotiated by JJs through the strategy of intransitive verb-transitive verb switching[15]. Comments from raters and participants in the follow-up interviews suggest that the majority of deviations resulting from intransitive verb-transitive verb pairs in CJs' utterances did not need to be negotiated because the meaning of the ongoing discourse could be inferred by JJs, thanks to contextual information.

6.2.6.3 Switching of Chinese reading and Japanese reading of Chinese characters (*onyomi-kunyomi* switching)

Most Chinese characters used in Japanese have two readings: a Chinese reading (*onyomi* 音読み) and a Japanese reading (*kunyomi* 訓読み), and some Chinese characters have more than two readings. In contrast, with the exception of a few characters, Chinese characters in any regional variety of Chinese language normally have only one reading. This multiple way of reading Chinese characters in Japanese often creates comprehension and production problems in oral communication involving Chinese speakers of Japanese and Japanese native speakers, due to their unshared linguistic rules with regard to the usage of ChB vocabulary.

Example 6-14 illustrates how CJ1 gets confused when JJ1 suddenly switches from the Japanese reading (*kunyomi*) of the ChB compound to its Chinese reading (*onyomi*). It also shows how the propositional meaning of the ongoing discourse is negotiated by JJ1 by switching back to the Japanese reading (*kunyomi*) version of the compound from its Chinese reading (*onyomi*) version, in order to make it comprehensible to CJ1. The CN sequence of the example is Trigger-Signal-Response/Trigger-Signal-Response.

Example 6-14 [CJ1-8]

1		JJ1:	九州、昨日梅雨（つゆ）入りだってね。
2		CJ1:	うん。
3		JJ1:	うーんと、僕、来週、関西出張だけどさ、もう梅雨（つゆ）かな。
4		CJ1:	(1)...そうかもしれない、うっとしいよね。
5	→	JJ1:	梅雨前線（ばいう　ぜんせん）、北上するのって、そんなもんだよね。
6	⇒	CJ1:	(1)...バイオ？
7	☆→	JJ1:	そうそう、前線がさ・・・南から北に移動していくんだよね。
8	⇒	CJ1:	(2)...@@@ね、なんで、梅雨（つゆ）の話しに、突然バイオがでてくるの？
9	☆	JJ1:	え(1)...バイオじゃないよ。「ばいう」。
10			(1)...「ばいう」は、訓読みで「つゆ」@@@
11		CJ1:	@@あっ、なーんだ、「ばいう」ね [@@]
12		JJ1:	[@@]

[English Translation]

1		JJ1:	They said that the rainy season (*tsuyu*) has started in Kyuushuu, you know.
2		CJ1:	Yeah..
3		JJ1:	Hmmm, I will go to Kansai for a business trip next week, I wonder if the rainy season (*tsuyu*) will have started there.
4		CJ1:	(1)...Maybe, it will be unpleasant, as you know.
5	→	JJ1:	A rainy season front (*baiu-zensen*) will move toward north, don't you think.
6	⇒	CJ1:	(1)...Bio (*Baio*)?
7	☆→	JJ1:	Yeah, yeah, the front moves from the south to the north, you know.
8	⇒	CJ1:	(2)...@@@ hey, why does "*baio*" suddenly come into the topic of rainy season (*tsuyu*)?
9	☆	JJ1:	What (1)... it is not "*baio*", but "*baiu* (rainy season)".
10			(1)...[ChB compound] "rainy season (*baiu*)" can be read "*tsuyu*" in *kunyomi* @@@
11		CJ1:	@@ Oh, I see, "*baiu* (rainy season)", you mean [@@].
12		JJ1:	[@@]

[Romanized Transcript]

1		JJ1:	Kyuushuu, kinoo tsuyu-iri datte ne.
2		CJ1:	Un.
3		JJ1:	U--n'to, boku, raishuu, Kansai shutchoo da kedo sa, moo tsuyu kana.
4		CJ1:	(1)...Soo kamo shirenai, uttooshii yo ne.
5	→	JJ1:	Baiu-zensen, hokujoo suru no tte, son'na mon da yo ne.
6	⇒	CJ1:	(1)... Baio?
7	☆→	JJ1:	Soo soo, zensen ga sa...minami kara kita ni idoo shite ikun' da yo ne.
8	⇒	CJ1:	(2)...@@@ne, nande tsuyu no hanashi ni, totsuzen baio ga dete kuru no?
9	☆	JJ1:	E.(1)..."baio" ja nai yo, "baiu".
10			(1)..."Baiu" wa kunyomi de "tsuyu" @@@
11		CJ1:	@@ Aattsu, naan da, "baiu" ne [@@]
12		JJ1:	[@@]

In line 1, JJ1 mentions that he has heard that "the rainy season" (梅雨 *tsuyu*) has started in Kyushu, Japan. He says that he wonders if the rainy season will have started when he goes to the Kansai area of Japan for a business trip the following week (line3). CJ1 says that it will probably have started and the weather will be unpleasant (line 4). In line 5, JJ1 mentions that "the rainy season front" (梅雨前線 *baiu-zensen*) could be expected to move from Kyushu towards the north. Hearing JJ1's utterance, CJ1 is totally puzzled as to why JJ1 suddenly switches the topic of the conversation to biology or biotechnology. This is because she infers the sound of the first word ("*baiu*" 梅雨) of the compound " *baiu-zensen*" (the rainy season front 梅雨前線) - which is read as "*baiu*" in the Chinese reading (*onyomi*) instead of "*tsuyu*" in the Japanese reading

(*kunyomi*) by JJ1 - as an abbreviation for biology or biotechnology. Consequently, JJ1's utterance (line 5) is incomprehensible to CJ1, and this serves as a Trigger for CJ1 to issue a Signal (line 6). CJ1 starts negotiating the meaning of the ongoing discourse, by saying "*Baio*?" with rising intonation. Here, she intends to clarify the lexical ambiguity (*baiu-zensen*) in JJ1's utterance in line 5 by partially repeating its first part ("*baio*" instead of "*baiu*"), hoping that JJ1 will offer a relevant explanation in the following Response (line 7). Contrary to CJ1's expectation, JJ1 continues the conversation with the information that "the (rainy season) front" (*zensen* 前線) will move from the south to the north of Japan shortly (line 7). Being totally at a loss as to what is going on in JJ1's discussion, CJ1 laughingly seeks JJ1's clarification in a very explicit way. She asks why suddenly the topic of "bio" (*baio*) comes into JJ1's conversation when he is talking about "the rainy season" (*tsuyu* 梅雨) in line 8, which functions as a Signal to prompt JJ1's Response in line 9. Noticing that CJ1 has misunderstood the propositional meaning of his previous utterance, JJ1 issues a short reply with the correct information in the pattern "*Baio ja nai yo, baiu*" (not "*baio*" (bio) but "*baiu*" (rainy season). In the same turn, JJ1 continues his metalinguistic explanation in a laughing voice about the usage of the ChB expression "rainy season"(梅雨) being read as "*tsuyu*" in the Japanese reading (*kunyomi*), and also as "*baiu*" in the Chinese reading (*onyomi*). CJ1 finally understands what the ambiguous source in the discourse is (line 11), repeating the Chinese reading (*onyomi*) version of the ChB word "rainy season" (*baiu* 梅雨). JJ1 also laughs together with CJ1 (line 12) after completing the CN-PM/ling sequence successfully.

The most interesting point worth noting in the comments by JJ1 and CJ1 in the follow-up interviews and by all JRs and CRs in the rating sessions was that that they were constantly reminded of visual shapes and radicals of Chinese characters when they were orally negotiating ChB vocabulary. That is to say, they visualized the shapes of Chinese characters while speaking. This suggests that Chinese and Japanese participants in face-to-face interaction utilize both nonvocal (in the case of this example, "visual") and vocal channels while carrying out verbal communication to negotiate the propositional meaning of Chinese characters, as summarized in Table 3.7 (Saville-Troike 1989: 144-150). They activate both vocal and nonvocal channels to help solve oral

communication problems as most ChB vocabulary in Japanese and Chinese is visually shared as cognate, but it is almost never shared orally[16] (Chao 1970).

6.2.6.4 Multilingual code switching

Example 6-15 illustrates how CJ3 and JJ7 proceed to negotiate through multilingual code switching, utilizing four different codes to read a ChB name of a bank in mainland China. The CN process shows us clearly the fact that ChB vocabulary can be shared by JJs and CJs *visually*, but not necessarily *orally*. As shown in Table 3.7, this tendency in Japanese interaction involving JJs and CJs can be explained as JJs and CJs utilizing their shared linguistic knowledge of ChB vocabulary in *verbal/nonvocal* communication as well as in *verbal/vocal* communication (Saville-Troike 1989: 145). The CN sequence contains swift changes of turns in which a new clarification request (Signal) becomes another ambiguous source (Trigger) which, in turn, prompts a new clarification request recursively to finally complete the CN process, described as Trigger-Signal/Trigger-Signal/Trigger-Signal/Trigger-Signal-Response.

Example 6-15 [CJ3-8]

1	→	CJ3:	浙江（せっこう）第一の、李さん、電話ありましたよ。	＜日本語＞
2	⇒→	JJ7:	何 第一？	
3	⇒→	CJ3:	(1)... あ、チェキアン第一。	＜上海語＞
4	⇒→	JJ7:	あ、ジッゴン第一？	＜広東語＞
5	⇒	CJ3:	(1)...えーと、ジェージャン第一。	＜普通話＞
6	☆	JJ7:	ああ、ジェージャンね。	＜普通話＞
7		CJ3:	そう、そう、ジェージャン。	＜普通話＞

[English Translation]

1	→	CJ3:	Mr. Li from Sekko-Daiichi [Bank] phoned you.	<Japanese>
2	⇒→	JJ7:	Which Daiichi [Bank]?	
3	⇒→	CJ3:	(1)... [I mean] Chekiang Daiichi [bank].	<Shanghainese>
4	⇒→	JJ7:	[You mean] Jitgong Daiichi [Bank]?	<Cantonese>
5	⇒	CJ3:	(1) ... Let's me see, [what I mean is] Zhejiang Daiichi [Bank].	<Putonghua>
6	☆	JJ7:	Oh, [you mean] Zhejiang, isn't it?	<Putonghua>
7		CJ3:	That's right, that's right, Zhejiang.	<Putonghua>

[Romanized Transcript]

1	→	CJ3:	Sekko Daiichi no, Ri-san, denwa arimashita yo.	<Japanese>
2	⇒→	JJ7:	Nani Daiichi?	
3	⇒→	CJ3:	(1)... Ah, Chekiang Daiichi.	<Shanghainese>
4	⇒→	JJ7:	Ah, Jitgong Daiichi?	<Cantonese>
5	⇒	CJ3:	(1) ...Eeto, Zhejiang Daiichi.	<Putonghua>
6	☆	JJ7:	Aa, Zhejiang ne.	<Putonghua>
7		CJ3:	Soo, soo Zhejiang.	<Putonghua>

The ambiguous source in the ongoing discourse in the example is the first two

Chinese characters (浙江) of the name of the bank (浙江第一銀行), which is firstly read by CJ3 as "*Sekkoo*" in the Japanese way (line 1), then read by CJ3 as "*Chekiang*" in the Shanghainese way (line 3), then read by JJ7 as "*Jitgong*" in the Cantonese way (line 4) to clarify CJ3's previous utterance, and finally read by CJ3 as "*Zhejiang*" in the Putonghua way (line 5), which then becomes comprehensible to JJ7 (line 6). The registered English name for the bank is "Chekiang First Bank" based on the Shanghainese pronunciation[17] of the Chinese characters.

All CRs and JRs in the rating sessions pointed out that there seemed to be no standardized rules among Chinese and Japanese participants in Japanese interaction regarding whether they should read ChB proper nouns in Japanese, Putonghua, Cantonese, or other varieties of the Chinese language. As a result, a single proper noun such as "the Chekiang First Bank" (浙江第一銀行) in the example could have more than three or four possible readings, which often leads to communication problems in verbal Japanese interaction, as illustrated in this example. It is worth noting that three CRs and two JRs mentioned a useful and effective strategy for preparing and presenting visual/written documents during oral Japanese interaction involving Chinese and Japanese speakers in business and professional contexts. Before meetings or presentations actually took place, they would sometimes anticipate that their interlocutors/listeners would have some comprehension problems regarding ChB proper nouns (place names and personal names) in Chinese and Japanese. In such cases, they would often prepare visual/written documents, such as maps, brochures, and pamphlets containing ChB vocabulary, together with their English spellings according to the Pinyin system, which might be referred to by speakers orally. This strategy can be categorized as typical case of *pre-correction* according to Neustupny's theory of language management (Neustupny 1978), since participants choose a strategy to overcome anticipated difficulty in oral communication. Actual examples containing the negotiation strategy of "showing a visual documents" will be discussed in Section 6.2.6.6 in this chapter.

6.2.6.5 Explaining the radicals of Chinese characters

Example 6-16 illustrates how an ambiguous source in a written document prepared by CJ4 functions as a Trigger to prompt JJ6's Response. Here JJ6 starts CN-PM/ling involving the ChB personal name "*Nakamura*" by explaining a radical of the Chinese character used for the name (line 1). The CN sequence in the example is Trigger-Response/Trigger-Signal-Response, which, according to the repair typology of Schegloff *et al.* (1977), is categorized as an "other-initiated other-completed repair". The surname "*Nakamura*" can be written in two ways, as (1) 中村 or (2) 仲村. The first way of writing is far more common than the second. The difference between the two ways of writing is that the first character of the first version (中村) is "without a left-hand radical of person", while the first character of the second version (仲村) is "with a left-hand radical of person", the second character of both versions (村) is the same.

<u>**Example 6-16 [CJ4-9]**</u>

	→		((Both JJ6 and CJ4 are looking at the document prepared by CJ4))
1	☆→	JJ6:	ナカムラさんの「ナカ」」は、人偏（にんべん）があるよ。
2	⇒	CJ4:	(1)...ああ、人偏の「ナカ」
3	☆	JJ6:	浅草仲店の「ナカ」
4		CJ4:	すぐ直しますね。
5		JJ6:	はい、おねがい。

[English Translation]

	→		((Both JJ6 and CJ4 are looking at the document prepared by CJ4))
1	☆→	JJ6:	The character "*naka*" of the name Mr Nakamura has the left-hand radical of person.
2	⇒	CJ4:	(1)...Oh, "*naka*" with the left-hand radical of person.)
3	☆	JJ6:	"*Naka*" in Asakusa Nakamise"
4		CJ4:	I will correct it at once.
5		JJ6:	Yes, please.

[Romanized Transcript]

	→		((Both JJ6 and CJ4 are looking at the document prepared by CJ4))
1	☆→	JJ6:	Nakamura-san no "naka" wa ninben ga aru yo
2	⇒	CJ4:	(1)... Aa, ninben no "naka".
3	☆	JJ6:	Asakusa Nakamise no "naka"
4		CJ4:	Sugu naoshimasu ne.
5		JJ6:	Hai, onegai.

JJ6 notices that the name is incorrectly written in the first version. So JJ6 starts his negotiation, drawing CJ4's attention to the *visual* shape of the first character "*naka*" of the incorrectly written name of "*Nakamura*". JJ6 reminds CJ4 that the correct character contains "the left-hand radical of person" in her Response (line 1) to the ambiguous source in the document. JJ6's Response serves also as a Trigger to prompt CJ4's Signal (line 2),

in which she partially repeats the previous Trigger utterance to check her comprehension. Responding to CJ4's Signal, JJ6 further supplies another ChB compound (*Asakusa Nakamise* 浅草仲店) which includes the correct Chinese character "*naka* (仲) with the left hand radical of person". JJ6 is motivated to offer this compound to provide CJ4 with additional information on the Chinese character, which is to be used for the name in the document. She intends to make sure that CJ4 will successfully carry out the task of correcting the wrongly written name in the document she has prepared.

Example 6-17 below illustrates how JJ1 and CJ1 negotiate an ambiguous source in a written document also by explaining radicals of a Chinese character. The CN sequence is Trigger-Signal-Reponse/Trigger-Respose/Trigger-Response.

Example 6-17 [CJ1-6]

	→		((Both CJ1 and JJ1 are looking at a hand-written document produced by CJ1))
1		CJ1:	あーと、この企画書、ちょっと見てくれませんか。
2		JJ1:	はい、はい。
3		CJ1:	(1)...あとね、タイプ打ちますからね
4	⇒	JJ1:	(1)...どうでもいいことだけどさ、この決心の決っていう漢字、「三水（サンズイ）」じゃない？
5	☆→	CJ1:	あ、これ、(1)...@@ 「二水（ニスイ）」でも「三水（サンズイ）」でもいいの、 中国語では@@
6	☆→	JJ1:	<@@ あ、ほんとかな。ずいぶんフレキシブルねー中国語は @@>。
7	☆	CJ1:	<@@ 小学校でちゃんと教わったから、ほんとですよ @@@>。

[English Translation]

	→		((Both CJ1 and JJ1 are looking at a hand-written document produced by CJ1))
1		CJ1:	Ehh, can you take a look at this proposal?
2		JJ1:	Yes, yes.
3		CJ1:	(1)... Later, I shall type them, you know.
4	⇒	JJ1:	(1)... It is not very important, but the character '*ketsu*' of the compound '*kesshin* (decision/to decide)' has a radical of water, doesn't it.
5	☆→	CJ1:	Oh, this one (1)... @@can be a radical of ice or that of water, in Chinese@@
6	☆→	JJ1:	<@@ Oh., really, I wonder. Chinese is so flexible @@>.
7	☆	CJ1:	<@@ I was properly taught at elementary school, it's true@@@>.

[Romanized Transcript]

	→		((Both CJ1 and JJ1 are looking at a hand-written document produced by CJ1))
1		CJ1:	Aaro, kono kikakusho, chotto mite kuremasen ka.
2		JJ1:	hai, hai.
3		CJ1:	(1)... Ato ne, taipu uchimasu kara ne.
4	⇒	JJ1:	(1)... doo demo ii koto dakedo sa, kono 'kesshin' no 'ketsu' tte iu kanji, 'sanzui' ja nai?
5	☆→	CJ1:	A, kore, (1)... @@ 'nisui' demo 'sanzui' demo ii no, Chuugokugo dewa@@
6	☆→	JJ1:	<@@ A, honto kana. Zuibun furekishiburu nee Chuugokugo wa @@>.
7	☆	CJ1:	<@@ Shoogakkoo de chanto osowatta kara,honto desu yo @@@>.

In line 4, JJ1 finds an ambiguous source in the hand-written document prepared by CJ1. In order to draw CJ1's attention to it, JJ1 starts CN-PM/ling involving the ChB

word (decision/to decide, 決心, "*kesshin*") by clarifying with CJ1 whether the correct radical for the first Chinese character (決 "*ketsu*") of the word is "with a radical of water" (三水, *sanzui*) or "with a radical of ice" (二水, *nisui*)[18]. Responding to JJ1's Signal, CJ1 laughingly replies to his clarification request, saying that the character can be written "with the radical of water" or "with the radical of ice" in Chinese. The utterance functions as a Response to JJ1's Signal (line 4), but also as a Trigger to prompt JJ1's Response in the following turn. In line 6, JJ1 also comically expresses his doubt about whether CJ1's explanation in Response turn (line 5) is true, and laughingly comments that the orthographic rules of Chinese characters in Chinese are "flexible" in comparison to those in Japanese. Of course, the word "*furekishiburu*" (flexible) is used by JJ1 in a joking frame (Gumperz 1982; Tannen 1990), and is meant to indicate that Chinese orthographic rules are too "lenient". JJ1's utterance (line 6) functions as a Response to CJ1's utterance (line 5), and also serves as another Trigger to prompt CJ1's Response (line 7). In order to respond to JJ1's criticism on the leniency of Chinese orthographic rules, CJ1 also answers in a joking frame. She says that her previous explanation of the interchangeability of the two Chinese characters to write the first character of the word "decision/to decide" (line 5) is based on an official orthographic rule in the Chinese language, since she was formally taught that by her teachers when she was at primary school.

Through the CN process, JJ1 and CJ4 seemed to enjoy displaying their metalinguistic knowledge of orthographic rules of Chinese characters according to their own native languages. They were also able to share their linguistic knowledge to visually comprehend the two differently written Chinese character compounds (決心 and 決心 to mean "decision/to decide") as cognates. As Tannen (1990) points out, the example well illustrates how JJ1 and CJ1 negotiate their roles and relationship between themselves as co-workers in the multilingual workplace. At the same time, they negotiate their relationship as members of two speech communities. While the Chinese and Japanese speech communities are distinct, ChB vocabulary is mostly shared, at least visually, by members of these two speech communities (Chao 1970). Through the CN process, they seem to attempt to strike the balance between their power ("we are different") and their

solidarity ("we are the same") by displaying their unshared knowledge (difference and power) and shared knowledge (similarity and solidarity) regarding the orthographic rules of the Chinese character in the two languages (Tannen1990). Therefore, we can claim that the communicative outcomes of CN are multi-fold: the participants are engaged in the CN process not only for the purpose of solving a communication problem, but also as a ritualized interaction, in which they display their ChB linguistic knowledge in a joking frame. In so doing, they both confirm that they share the ChB cognate and enhance their rapport as co-workers by balancing their power and solidarity, as discussed above.

6.2.6.6 Showing visual documents

In the present study, twenty-four examples were categorized as belonging to the type of "showing visual documents". The main characteristics of the negotiation processes in all the examples using this strategy are as follows:

(1) Participants *orally* negotiate the propositional meaning of the ambiguous source, resulting from ChB vocabulary, while employing the CN strategy of presenting visual documents, such as maps, brochures, contracts, and business cards, in order to facilitate mutual understanding of the ongoing discourse. Participants negotiate by switching between verbal/vocal communication mode and verbal/nonvocal communication mode, as summarized in Table 3.7 (Saville-Troike 1989: 144-150).

(2) According to the repair typology (Schegloff *et al.* 1977), the CN sequence in all the examples using the verbal/nonvocal strategy can be categorized as "other-initiated self-completed" repair. The participants who experience oral production problems regarding ChB vocabulary employ this strategy, through which they are able to solve the problems themselves by switching to a verbal/nonvocal communication mode. Hence, they can avoid embarrassing and face-threatening situations resulting from other-correction.

(3) Through past experiences, both JJs and CJs have gained the metalinguistic knowledge that this is one of the most convenient and efficient CN strategies to solve communication problems regarding ChB vocabulary. Some participants anticipate oral production problems prior to actual verbal interaction and prepare visual documents. According to the theory of language management (cf. Neustupny 1978), such participants' behavior can be categorized as "*pre-correction*" or "*in-correction*", depending on when participants' adjustment/correction in communication actually occurs. Other CN strategies are categorized as "*post-correction*", since they are employed after problems occur in interaction.

In Example 6-18, JJ8 starts to talk about a province in China called Gansu

Province (甘粛省), where his company is going to launch a development project soon. The CN sequence in the example is Trigger-Signal/Trigger-Response, which, according to the repair typology of Schegloff *et al.* (1977), is categorized as "other-initiated self-completed" repair.

In line 1, JJ8 pronounces the name of the province as "*Kanshuku-shoo*" in the Japanese way, which becomes a Trigger (phonologically ambiguous source) to prompt CJ4's Signal. However, CJ4 does not say anything (line 2), and this silence functions as a Signal to indicate CJ4's incomprehension of JJ8's utterance (line 1). Responding to this, JJ8 shows CJ4 a map of China, which she has spread on her desk. All Chinese place names in the map are written in Chinese characters and English, based on the Pinying System. Pointing at the province on the map, JJ8 repeats the name in Japanese, "*Kanshuku-shoo*". Looking at the province name on the map (written as "甘粛省" in Chinese and as "Gansu Province" in English), CJ4 confirms her comprehension by pronouncing "Gansu Province" in Anglicized pronunciation.

Example 6-18 [CJ4-3]

1 → JJ8: かんしゅく しょう（甘粛省）なんですが。
2 ⇒ → CJ4: ....
((A and B are looking at the map of China))
3 ☆ JJ8: ((Pointing at Guansu Province in the map))
4 かんしゅく しょう（甘粛省）の北部なんですが...
5 CJ4: (1)...はあ、はあ、ガンスー・プロビンス（甘粛省）ね。

[English Translation]
1 → JJ8: It is in *Kanshuku-shoo* (Guansu Province), but...
2 ⇒ → CJ4: ....
((A and B are looking at the map of China))
3 ☆ JJ8: ((Pointing at Gansu Province on the map))
4 In the northern part of *Kanshuku-shooo* (Gansu Province)...
5 CJ4: (1)... Yeah, yeah, Gansu Province, isn't it?

[Romanized Transcript]
1 → JJ8: *Kanshuku- shoo nan desu ga..*
2 ⇒ → CJ4: ....
((A and B are looking at the map of China))
3 ☆ JJ8: ((Pointing at Guansu Province on the map))
4 *Kanshuku-shoo no hokubu nan desu ga....*
5 CJ4: (1)... *Haa, haa, Guansu Province ne.*

After experiencing CJ4's silence in line 2, JJ8 wishes to provide CJ4 with some explanation of the ambiguous source to solve the communication problem. She knows

that it is possible to present the Chinese characters of the province's name to make CJ4 understand, but impossible for her to do it verbally, since she does not know how to pronounce it either in Putonghua or Cantonese. She thus uses the map as visual information, thereby providing CJ4 with two *candidate answers* (Pomeranz 1988) of the ambiguous source in both Chinese and English. In other words, the map here functions as a "proxy" on behalf of JJ8 to offer *visual candidate answers* to CJ4. In line 4, CJ4 confirms her understanding by pronouncing its English version, which is one of the two candidate answers offered *visually* in the map. JJ8's behavior in showing the visual document can be categorized as "pre-correction" (Neustupny 1978). This is because in the follow-up interview, JJ8 stated that she spread the map on her desk before she started her conversation with CJ4 as she anticipated an oral communication problem regarding the Japanese pronunciation of the name of the province.

6.2.6.7 Writing Chinese characters: *Hitsudan*

Example 6-19 shows how JJ6 and CJ4 negotiate a ambiguous source by adopting the CN strategy of writing Chinese characters (*hitsudan* 筆談) :

Example 6-19 [CJ4-3]

(CJ4 and JJ6 are talking about Hong Kong's transportation system.)

1	→	JJ6:	タイポっていうとどうやって行くんですか？
2	☆⇒	CJ4:	あのー<IE light railway IE>。
3			(1)... あのー軽鉄、[けい]
4	⇒	JJ6:	[ケー]シーアール？
5	☆⇒	CJ4:	(1)....いえー
6	☆⇒	JJ6:	あっ、(1)... なんかあっちのほうは
7	☆⇒	CJ4:	そうそうそうそう、軽鉄(2)... という
8			((CJ4 writes the Chinese character of the word 'light railway'))
9	☆	JJ6:	(2)....あー軽鉄って言うんですか、あの電車。
10			(1)... 乗ってますね。
11		CJ4:	ええ、あとミニバスで。
12		JJ6:	[あー]そう。
13		CJ4:	[また]乗り換える。

[English Translation]

(CJ4 and JJ6 are talking about Hong Kong's transportation system.)

1	→	JJ6:	How can we get to the town called Tai Po?
2	☆⇒	CJ4:	Ehh, <IE light railway IE>.
3			(1)... That, light railway, [kee]
4	⇒	JJ6:	[K] C R (Kowloon-Canton Railway)?
5	☆⇒	CJ4:	(1)....No--.
6	☆⇒	JJ6:	Oh, (1)... some other transportaion system available around there.
7	☆⇒	CJ4:	Yes, yes, yes, yes, light railway (2)... we call.
8			((CJ4 writes the Chinese character of the word 'light railway'))
9	☆	JJ6:	(2)....Oh, is that system called light railway, those trains.

10			(1)...People ride on those, you know.
11		CJ4:	Yes, and then by minibus.
12		JJ6:	[Oh-], I see.
13		CJ4:	[Again] I change (to the minibus).

[Romanized Transcript]

(CJ4 and JJ6 are talking about Hong Kong's transportation system.)

1	→	JJ6:	Taipo tte iu to doo yatte iku n' desu ka?
2	☆⇒	CJ4:	Anoo--<IE light railway IE>.
3			(1)...Anoo- keitetsu, [kei]
4	⇒	JJ6:	[kei] shii aaru?
5	☆⇒	CJ4:	(1)....Iee--.
6	☆⇒	JJ6:	Aa, (1)...nan' ka atchi no hoo wa.
7	☆⇒	CJ4:	Soo soo soo soo, keitetsu (2)... to iu
8			((CJ4 writes the Chinese character of the word 'light railway'))
9	☆	JJ6:	(2)....Aa, keitetsu tte iu n' desu ka, ano densha.
10			(1)...Notte masu ne.
11		CJ4:	Ee, ato mini basu de.
12		JJ6:	[Aa--] soo.
13		CJ4:	[Mata] norikaeru.

CJ4's utterance (line 2) containing an English word "light railway" and the Japanese pronunciation (*keitetsu*) of a Chinese compound become Triggers to prompt JJ6 to issue a Response, in which she offers a candidate answer, "KCR (the Kowloon Canton Railway)", with rising intonation. CJ4 negates JJ6's candidate answer (line 5), but does not further explain her previous Trigger utterance. In line 5, JJ6 tells CJ4 that there is a unique transportation system in the Tai Po area, but does not know the exact name of the system. JJ6's utterance (line 6) functions as a Signal to urge CJ4 to issue a Response (line 7). In line 7, CJ4 orally repeats her Trigger turn (line3), while writing the ChB word "light railway". This is because CJ4 is afraid that JJ6 may not be able to comprehend the ChB word *orally*. However, since the ChB word is *visually* shared by CJ4 and JJ6, JJ6 finally comprehends the meaning (line 9). It is interesting to note that JJ6 incorporates the newly acquired ChB word, which she has learnt from CJ4 in her utterance (line 9). As explained in Chapter Three, the strategy of writing Chinese characters (*hitsudan* 筆談) forms the most conspicuous *side-sequence*, since oral communication completely stops, while participants engage in writing and reading Chinese characters.

6.2.7 Elaborating

Example 6-20 illustrates how JJ6 adopts the CN strategy of elaboration in the process of CN-PM/ling, resulting from CJ4's non-comprehension of the ambiguous source

"marriage certificate" (*kekkon-shoomeisho* 結婚証明書). The CN sequence of the example can be described as Trigger-Signal/Trigger-Response/Signal-Signal-Signal-Response/Trigger-Response. According to the repair typology of Schegloff *et al.* (1977), this example can be categorized as "other-initiated self-completed" repair; however, the final Response made by CJ4 is further improved phonologically by JJ6.

Example 6-20 [CJ4-5]

1	→	JJ6:	じゃあ、結婚したったっていう＝証明（しょうめい）ってゆうか
2			(2)... あれはーーー
3	⇒→	CJ4:	(2)... しゅう？
4	☆⇒	J16:	うん、
5			(2)... あのー、あまり、しません？
...			
6	⇒	JJ6:	(1)... たとえがわるいんですけどね、
7			ご主人がなくなるでしょう？
8		CJ4:	えー
9	⇒	JJ6:	そうしたら、財産は、
10			(3)... あのー日本だと、奥さんのほうにね。
11		CJ4:	(2)... でも、あの＝
12	☆→		結婚 証書＜ＩＣ　しょうしょう　ＩＣ＞？
13	☆	JJ6:	あーはい、証書（しょうしょ）ね
14		CJ4:	(1)... あります。
15		JJ6:	あーそれはシティー・ホールがくれるわけ？
16		CJ4:	えー
17		JJ6:	じゃあ、それを見せればいい
18		CJ4:	えー

[English Translation]

1	→	JJ6:	Then, in case you want to prove your marriage＝something like proof (*shoomei*),
2			(2)... that sort of thing－－－
3	⇒→	CJ4:	(2)... shoo？
4	☆⇒	J16:	Un,
5			(2)... Eh--, [you Hong Kong people] usually, don't obtain [such proofs]?
...			
6	⇒	JJ6:	(1)... I know this is not a good example, but,
7			Assuming one's husband dies?
8		CJ4:	Yeah.
9	⇒	JJ6:	In that case, [what would happen to] his property,
10			(3)... Eh-- in Japan, his wife has right to inherit it, you know.
11		CJ4:	(2)... but, eh＝
12	☆→		Marriage certificate ＜ＩＣ　/shooshoo/　ＩＣ＞？
13	☆	JJ6:	Oh- yes, certificate /shoosho/ ne.
14		CJ4:	(1)... [married couples] have [such certificates].
15		JJ6:	Oh- you mean that the City Hall issues [such certificates]?
16		CJ4:	Yeah--
17		JJ6:	In that case, they can show them.
18		CJ4:	Yeah--

[Romanized Transcript]

1	→	JJ6:	Jaa, kekkon shita tte iu＝shoomei tte iu ka
2			(2)... are wa - - -
3	⇒→	CJ4:	(2)... shuu？
4	☆⇒	J16:	Un,
5			(2)... anoo, amari, shimasen?
...			
6	⇒	JJ6:	(1)... tatoe ga warui n'desu kedo ne,
7			go-shujin ga nakunaru deshoo?

8		CJ4:	Ee
9	⇒	JJ6:	Soo shitara, zaisan wa,
10			(3)... Anoo, Nihon da to, okusan no hoo ni ne.
11		CJ4:	(2)... Demo, anoo=
12	☆→		Kekkon shooshoo < I C shooshoo I C >?
13	☆	JJ6:	Ah, hai,. shoosho ne.
14		CJ4:	(1)... Arimasu.
15		JJ6:	Ah, sore wa shitii-hooru ga kureru wake?
16		CJ4:	Ee
17		JJ6:	Jaa, sore o misereba ii.
18		CJ4:	Ee.

In order to appropriately understand the conversation illustrated in this example, it is important to know the fact that CJ4 had been married for 4 months at the time of recording, and that the conversation took place during lunchtime in their company's tea room. Before this example, JJ6 and CJ4 had been talking about customs and traditions relating to marriages in Hong Kong and Japan. After JJ6 checks CJ4's comprehension (line 5), "*anoo--, amari, shimasen?*" (Eh--, [you Hong Kong people] usually do not obtain [such proofs]?)", both participants continue a conversation on marriage systems in Hong Kong and Japan for 57 turns, without successfully negotiating the ambiguous utterance in line 1. JJ6 therefore finds it necessary to make the word comprehensible to CJ4 in order to carry on their conversation. She then starts to negotiate by elaborating with concrete examples using rising intonation (lines 6 and 7), which functions as another Signal in the sequence. After CJ4's affirmative answer (line 14), JJ6 issues a comprehension check to CJ4, "*Aa-- sore wa shitii-hooru ga kureru wake?*" (Oh, you mean that the City Hall issues [such certificates]?), to continue their conversation by returning to the original topic of their conversation, "marriage proof/certificate" (line 1). Thus, the interactional exchanges between line 3 and line 13 forms a *side-sequence* (Jefferson 1972).

This example shows that the strategy employed by JJ6 to elaborate the ambiguous expression is very clear and effective to facilitate CJ4's understanding, but their content may not be very appropriate for CJ4, who is a newly wed woman. Therefore, JJ6 uses various implicit CN strategies to show her hesitation. For example, insertion of a metalinguistic remark to say that this is not a good example (line 6), a one-second pause (line 6), a three-second pause (line 10), and the use of a filler (line 10) are effectively used by JJ6. These implicit CN strategies by JJ6 function to redress any affective impact of the example on CJ4.

6.3 CN-PM triggered by factual ambiguity [CN-PM/fact]

Example 6-21 shows how JJ7 and CJ5 negotiate a ambiguous source resulting from factual ambiguity. The communicative goal that JJ7 and CJ5 are collaboratively engaged in is the arrangement of an important business lunch meeting for their company president and other staff members, including JJ7 and Mr. Tanaka (pseudonym), with one of the most prominent businessmen in Hong Kong.

Example 6-21 [CJ5-9]

1	→	JJ7:	なんか、田中さんこのへんで中国に行くはずだってーー
2	⇒	CJ5:	(2)...あっ、７月の終りごろじゃないですか？
3	☆→	JJ7:	いや。
4	⇒	CJ5:	(1)...そのころじゃない？
5	☆→	JJ7:	いえ、いえ、たしか、８月に入ってーー
6	⇒	CJ5:	[そう]ですか？
7	☆	JJ7:	[そう]。
		・・・	
8		JJ7:	(CJ's first name), さっきの田中さん＝出張の件ねー
9		CJ5:	はい。
10	☆	JJ7:	７月の２２から２５だって、僕、勘違いしてた。
11		CJ5:	<@ でしょう@>。
12		JJ7:	<@ ごめん、ごめん @>。

[English Translation]

1	→	JJ7:	Mr Tanaka is going to China around that time --
2	⇒	CJ5:	(2)... Oh, that's around the end of July, isn't it?
3	☆→	JJ7:	No.
4	⇒	CJ5:	(1)... Not around the time (end of July)?
5	☆→	JJ7:	No, No, I am sure he is going in August.
6	⇒	CJ5:	[Is] that right?
7	☆	JJ7:	[Yes].
・・・			
8		JJ7:	(CJ's first name), regarding Mr Tanaka's business trip = that I just mentioned
9		CJ5:	Yes.
10	☆	JJ7:	It is from 22nd to 25th of July. I made a mistake.
11		CJ5:	<@ See, I told you @>.
12		JJ7:	<@ Sorry, sorry @>.

[Romanized Transcript]

1	→	JJ7:	Nanka, Tanaka-san kono hen de Chuugoku ni iku hazu datte--
2	⇒	CJ5:	(2)...Aa, hichigatsu no owarigoro ja nai desu ka?
3	☆→	JJ7:	Iya.
4	⇒	CJ5:	(1)...Sono koro ja nai?
5	☆→	JJ7:	Ie, ie, tashika, hachigatsu ni haitte--
6	⇒	CJ5:	[Soo] desu ka?
7	☆	JJ7:	[Soo].
・・・			
8		JJ7:	(CJ's first name), sakki no Tanaka-san = shutchoo no ken ne--
9		CJ5:	Hai.
10	☆	JJ7:	Hachigatsu no nijuuni kara nijuugo datte, boku, kanchigai shiteta.
11		CJ5:	<@ Deshoo@>
12		JJ7:	<@ Gomen, gomen @>.

When discussing the monthly schedule for August, JJ7 suddenly remembers that Mr. Tanaka is going to China at the beginning of the month, mentioning it in line 1, and this becomes a Trigger to prompt CJ5 to issue a Response. CJ5 knows exactly when Mr. Tanaka's trip to China is planned, so she provides clarification by supplying the correct dates (lines 2 and 4). However, JJ7 is not willing to accept her correction, so CJ5 gives up correcting JJ7. Instead, she waits for JJ7 to check Mr. Tanaka's schedule to realize his misunderstanding. In lines 8 and 10, JJ7 comes to CJ5's desk, and reports that his information about Mr. Tanaka's visit to China was incorrect, hence, he indirectly accepts CJ5's previous correction in lines 2 and 4 by incorporating the modified input made by CJ5 (line 10). Though JJ7 does not give an apology in line 10, he does admit his mistake. However, after CJ5 switches her tone from a serious to a joking frame, replying to JJ7's utterance (line10) by issuing a very short reply with laughter, "*deshoo*" (See, I told you), JJ7 joins in the joking frame, and offers an apology laughingly (line 12).

6.3 Summary

A summary of the finding regarding triggers, strategies, processes, functions and outcomes of CN-PM discussed in this chapter is as follows:

(1) Triggers and occurrence

As presented in this chapter, CN-PM involving CJs and JJs in the data fall into two sub-types: CN-PM/ling resulting from linguistic ambiguity, and CN-PM/fact resulting from factual ambiguity. The former type was triggered by unshared linguistic knowledge among the participants. Linguistic ambiguity in the ongoing discourse evaluated by either participant as crucial and/or urgent in order to understand the meaning of the ongoing discourse appropriately served as a trigger of CN. The latter type was triggered by unshared sociocultural knowledge among participants, such as factual information and background information relevant to understanding the meaning of the ongoing discourse.

(2) Negotiation strategies and processes

In terms of linguistic features, both sub-types of CN-PM consisted primarily of marked signals. Seven types of explicit CN strategies - expressions of non-understanding, interjection, partial repetition, complete repetition, minimum reply plus correct information, paraphrasing and elaboration - were adopted by CJs and JJs in CN-PM processes. The analysis revealed that linguistic and metalinguistic knowledge about shape, pronunciation and meaning of ChB vocabulary, partially shared by CJs and JJs, played an important part in their application of the five ChB strategies among the seven sub-categories of paraphrasing – switching of Chinese reading and Japanese reading of Chinese characters, multilingual code-switching, explaining the radicals of Chinese characters, showing visual documents and writing Chinese characters (*hitsudan*). Using the ChB strategies, the participants negotiated the propositional ambiguity resulting from ChB, not only through oral channel of communication but also through an oral/visual and/ or a visual channel only.

However, explicit CN-PM might create embarrassing situations among co-workers in the multilingual workplace, since it implies "other-correction". Therefore, it was observed that both JJs and CJs carefully and appropriately used implicit CN strategies and contexualization cues to mitigate negative (face-threatening) effects of other-correction of their interlocutors' utterances. Typical implicit CN strategies used in CN-PM are change in prosody (tone of voice, speech rate), change of frame from serious to joking mode, change of speech style and register, conversational routines, and discourse markers.

Appropriate use of such implicit CN strategies seemed to be crucial to redress any FTA involved in the process of negotiation. If the JJs had not known how to use such implicit strategies to negotiate CJs' utterances to solve problems resulting from linguistic and factual ambiguity, the CJs as co-workers might have felt offended or even insulted. In turn, if the CJs had not known how to use such strategies to negotiate JJs' utterances with regard to their factual ambiguity, the JJs, as co-workers, might also have felt offended.

In such cases, their relationship could deteriorate. However, according to my data and observations in the multilingual workplace, the JJs as linguistic hosts in the Japanese interaction were quite tactful in minimizing FTAs in relation to explicit CN-PM.

As mentioned in 6.1, almost all cases of CN-PM/ling were initiated by JJs, while those of CN-PM/fact were initiated both by JJs and CJs. Though the JJs tried to minimize explicit negotiation, it was also interesting to find that a few CJs (CJ1, CJ2, CJ4 & CJ5) did demonstrate their advanced level of Japanese proficiency by appropriately using both explicit and implicit strategies to negotiate prospositional meaning resulting from factual ambiguity in JJs' utterances.

Among negotiation resulting from linguistic ambiguity, various CN strategies considered to be quite characteristic of Japanese-Chinese interaction were identified. Such strategies were based on the fact that the Chinese and Japanese participants in the study shared linguistic and metalinguistic knowledge related to ChB cognates. The present study confirms that the Chinese and the Japanese participants make full use of their shared linguistic resources, namely ChB knowledge. The results of the analysis in this chapter support the findings in previous studies on Chinese-Japanese face-to-face verbal interaction (Fan 1992; Miyazoe-Wong 1995, 1996). Mainly because CJs and JJs do not share ChB vocabulary completely, unshared linguistic knowledge related to ChB vocabulary often creates linguistic ambiguity, some of which may trigger conversational negotiation.

(3) Functions and outcomes

The primary functions CN-PM/ling and CN-PM/fact were to mutually understand the meaning of the ongoing discourse by clarifying the linguistic and factual ambiguity. The CJs and JJs as co-workers also exchange meta-messages, such as solidarity and rapport through the processes of CN-PM.

According to my analysis of the follow-up interviews, the Japanese participants

(JJs) were able to interpret the ongoing discourse, despite the existence of ambiguity. As co-workers of CJs, JJs were accustomed to the ways CJs speak Japanese, including typical phonological deviations common to Hong Kong Chinese speakers of Japanese. The interviews also revealed that JJs put highest priority on prompt and successful completion of assigned tasks. Some JJs remarked that, since the workplace was not a language-learning classroom, they valued CJs' proficiency in communicating the message content efficiently but not necessarily through linguistically flawless Japanese utterances. All JJs had the view that CN interrupted the flow of communication, and felt that clarifying phonological ambiguity deriving from CJs' deviations from the Japanese norm was rather impolite. JJs and CJs were employed to work collaboratively as co-workers, so it was not appropriate for JJs to overemphasize their linguistic dominance. As a result, JJs tended to minimize and/or avoid chances of explicit CN-PM especially with regard to CJs' linguistic deviations, in order not to embarrass them. What matters in the workplace is one's professional competence rather than one's linguistic competence. The findings confirmed those reported in Wagner's study (1996) on the behavior of native-speaking participants in intercultural business communication.

Notes:

[1] In the follow-up interviews, all five Japanese raters (JRs) evaluated JJ14's issuing of the expression of non-understanding (*wakaranai kedo*) rather rude, since it sounded too blunt and direct. Two JRs said that they would prefer to use strategies such as interjection or partial repetition. However, all five Chinese raters (CRs) evaluated JJ14's negotiation behavior as very friendly and appropriate as a co-worker. Three CRs said that they would prefer to be corrected by their Japanese co-workers in an explicit but friendly manner as in this example when they made phonological mistakes in Japanese. Three CRs pointed out that JJ14's follow-up expression with laughter in line 6 to express her shared trouble about squatting on *tatami* mats was a very effective strategy, since this conveyed JJ14's friendly attitude toward CJ10.

[2] As illustrated in the example, a laughing and joking frame is one of the inexplicit CN strategies which serves as a *contextualization cue* frequently found in the present study, effectively serving to redress face-threatening acts (FTAs) of CN-PM/ling (Brown and Levinson 1978, 1987; Gumperz 1982). Jefferson (1984) also argues that laughter is frequently used in natural conversation in order to cover up one's embarrassment or uncomfortable feelings when revealing one's difficulties to others.

[3] As mentioned in 6.1, the CJs in this study seldom incorporate JJs' modified output (correct form) of their linguistic deviations, though some studies in the area of SLA research (cf. Gass and Varonis 1985a, 1985b; Swain 1985, 1993) report that SLA might be facilitated when a nonnative speaker incorporates the native speaker's modified output (correct form of nonnative speaker's deviation) in her/his own utterance.

[4] "*Makoto ni* (terribly)" is usually considered too formal to use among co-workers. "*Ossharu koto* (What you say)" is also considered too polite, since "*ossharu*" is the respect form of a verb "*iu* (say)". "*Wakarimasen ga* (I don't understand, but)" is also too formal, since "warkarimasen" is the polite form of the informal verb form "*wakaranai*".

[5] In the present study, cases of CN-PM/ling resulting from phonological ambiguity were triggered by CJs' production and reception problems of English loanwords in Japanese. CJs tend to pronounce them in an English way, even in primarily Japanese verbal interaction, which JJs are not often able to understand, because they usually expect CJs to stick to the Japanese norm of pronouncing them in a Japanese way.

[6] Sanada *et al.* (1992:74) report that, even in intra-cultural situations, the pronunciation of some loanwords in Japanese are not standardized, so that they fluctuate depending on variables in communication situations. The variables include personal factors of speakers such as age, sex and occupation, and situation factors such as formal/informal and private/public settings.

[7] However, loanwords such as "*enerugii*" ("energeia" in Greek), "*aban'gyarudo*" ("avant-garde" in French) and "*resse-feeru*" ("laisser-faire" in French), which were derived from languages other than English would sometimes create even greater production and reception problems for Chinese speakers of Japanese.

[8] In the follow up interviews, CJ3 stated that when CJ3 wanted to solve communication problems due to her phonological deficiency in Japanese, she would often use elaboration strategies to give some concrete examples of what she meant to say instead of just repeating her previous utterance. This is because CJ3's experiences have taught her that just repeating ambiguous sources in the discourse would not often lead to successful problem solving. All the JRs stated that they often ran across incorrect pronunciation of Japanese words by Chinese speakers such as the one illustrated in Example 6-4. CJs often confuse long vowel and short vowel, and voiced and non-voiced sounds in Japanese words, which sometimes results in non-comprehension and/or misunderstanding on the part of Japanese speakers.

[9] All CRs pointed out that they first had great difficulty in understanding many abbreviations and acronyms used by Japanese interactants. Examples cited include: "*Honshan banku*" (The Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation), "*Ichi-kan*" (Dai-ichi Kangyoo Bank), "*Ame-cham*" (The American Chamber of Commerce), "*Hon-cham*" (The Hong Kong Chamber of Commerce), "*pasokon*" (personal computer), "*apo*" (appointment), "*tsuakon*" (tour conductor) and "*prezen*" (presentation).

[10] Place names in Hong Kong are presented bilingually in Chinese (Chinese character compounds) and in English. English place names in Hong Kong are roughly categorized into three types: translation of their Chinese equivalent, their transliteration, or completely different names. Place names such as "*Bakgok*" (北角 North Point), "*Wohnggamhoingaan*" (黃金海岸 Gold Coast), and "Saandeng" (山頂 the Peak) belong to the first group, places such as "*Wohnggok*" (旺角 Mongkok) and "*Sheungwan*"(上環 Shongwan) belong to the second group, and those such as "*Tohnglohwaahn*" (銅鑼灣 Causeway Bay) and "*Gamjung*" (金鐘 Admiralty) belong to the third group. In addition, some Chinese place names are originally English; therefore, some Chinese place names are derived from translation and transliteration of English original place names. Place names such as "*Wohnghaudaaidouhjung*" (皇后大道中 Queen's Road Central) and "*Chingseuiwaan*" (清水灣 Clear Water Bay) belongs to the first group, while place names such as "*Waihdoleihnga gong*" (維多利亞港, Victoria Harbor) belong to the second group.

[11] When an original pronunciation of a Chinese company name in any regional variety is retained and transliterated in its English name, the number of possibilities of reading it in Chinese-Japanese interaction will be more that four or five. For instance, the Chinese bank named "浙江第一銀行" is registered as "Chekiang First Bank" as its English name in Hong Kong. "Chekiang" is a transliteration of the name of the province (浙江), based on its original Shanghainese pronunciation, not on its Putonghua counterpart. Thus, the province's name contained in the name of the bank can be possibly read by Chinese and Japanese participants in at least in the four ways in Putonghua, Cantonese, Shanghainese and Japanese, depending on the situations, as illustrated in Example 6-15.

[12] CJ5 was very much aware that her pronunciation and intonation in Japanese needed improvement in order not to create any communication problems, as illustrated in this example. JJ8 mentioned that CJ5 often has phonological problems, as in this example. She even noticed that in general Hong Kong Chinese speakers of Japanese often mix up long vowel and syllabic nasal consonant 'n', especially in pronouncing loanwords in Japanese. For instance, "on'naa" for "oonar" (owner) and "hon'mu-sutei" for Hoomu-sutei" (home-stay).

[13] According to the follow-up interviews, three JRs and two CRs stated that intermediate Chinese speakers of Japanese, such as CJ4, generally had strong Cantonese interference in pronunciation and intonation in their Japanese. Especially when they pronounce ChB vocabulary in Japanese as in this example, which also shares a cognate in Chinese, the phonological interference from the native language seems to be more prominent.

[14] In Cantonese, Chinese-character compounds, such as "追逐" [jeuijuhk] and "追擊" [jeuigik], both of which mean "chase/chasing", are used, instead of the Japanese compound, "追跡"(*tsuiseki*).

[15] The following intransitive verb-transitive verb pairs were negotiated in the data: *kariru* (to borrow)-*kasu* (to lend), *kowareru* (to be damaged, out of order)-*kowasu* (to destroy), *hajimaru* (to begin)-*hajimeru* (to begin), *hairu* (to enter)-*ireru* (to put in), and *aku* (to open)-*hiraku* (to open). The following two cases of ambiguous sources resulting from CJs' errors in usage of idiomatic phrases involving jidooshi-tadooshi pairs are identified in the data: *kii ni iru* (be fond of/like) - *ki ni hairu* (grammatical error), and *kokoro o hiraku* (to be open minded/to be frank)-*kokoro ga aku* (grammatical error).

[16] In the follow-up interviews, JJ1 and all JRs commented that they often felt frustrated in having comprehension and production problems relating to ChB vocabulary in oral interaction with their Chinese co-workers. This is mainly because CJs often do not seem to know the basic rules as to when to read them in the Chinese way (*onyomi*) or in the Japanese way (*kunyomi*). All the CRs suggested that Chinese advanced speakers of Japanese, such as CJ1, should acquire such rules more systematically, in order to facilitate their oral communication with Japanese native speakers.

Chao (1970) points out that Chinese learners of Japanese had a tendency to practise "the lazy method" of learning usage rules of ChB vocabulary in Japanese, with the wrong assumption that usage rules of Chinese

characters in Chinese can be simply transferred when using ChB vocabulary in Japanese. Both the JJs and CJs in the study tended to assume rather naively that the majority of usage rules regarding ChB vocabulary in their native language were shared by the native speakers of the other language.

[17] The first two characters of the bank's name (浙江) is one of the provinces in China, where Shanghainese is widely spoken as local spoken dialect (variety) of the Chinese language. Though the official English name (spelling) of the province is "*Zhejiang*" based on Putonghua pronunciation, the bank's official English name retains its original Shanghainese pronunciation.

[18] The Chinese-character based word (decision/to decide, 決心, "*kesshin*") is visually shared as a cognate in Chinese and Japanese. However, according to Japanese orthographic rules, the first Chinese character (決) of the word (決心) should be written "with the radical of water" (三水, *sanzui*), not "with the radical of ice" (二水, *nisui*). However, in Chinese texts, including newspapers and textbooks for elementary and secondary students, as CJ1 says in Example 6-17, the two types of characters are interchangeably used for the word in Chinese. Moreover, many Chinese dictionaries also list the two characters as different versions of the same character, which can be interchangeably used (Chinese University Press 1986; Shogakkan 1999).

CHAPTER 7

CONVERSATIONAL NEGOTIATION OF EXPERTISE

This chapter will present an analysis of the processes of conversational negotiation of expertise (CN-EX) in the data, and a discussion of its communicative functions and outcomes in the multilingual workplace. As reviewed in 2.5.2, results of previous research on expertise and authority in native-nonnative interaction suggest that participants' expert knowledge of the ongoing topic, participants' role relations and task type seem to play an important part in characterizing the discourse (Gais 1982; Brown 1989; Woken and Swales 1989; Zuengler 1989a, 1989b, 1993a, 1993b; Baldovi-Harlig and Hartford 1990; Zuengler and Bent 1991; Tyler 1995). In order to investigate and analyze the data, I shall first present tables summarizing the CN-EX in the data, focusing on the frequency of CN-EX, use of CN strategies, and topics that triggered CN-EX. Then I shall analyze CN-EX sequences in terms of participants' expertise and roles, and task types of the ongoing discourse, categorized into the following six types:

1) CN-EX in which the native speaker acts as an expert in work-related talk;
2) CN-EX in which the nonnative speaker acts as an expert in work-related talk;
3) CN-EX in which role rotation of an expert and a non-expert occur in work-related talk;
4) CN-EX in which the native speaker acts as an expert in non-work-related talk;
5) CN-EX in which the nonnative speaker acts as an expert in non-work-related talk; and
6) CN-EX in which role rotation of an expert and a non-expert occur in non-work-related talk.

7.1 Use and frequency of strategies for negotiating expertise

As shown in Table 7.1 below, the total number of occurrences of CN-EX in the study was 570, which accounted for 31.4% of the total occurrence of all types of CN (1819)[1]. Out of 570 sequences, 94 sequences (16.5%) occurred in work-related talk (WRT), while 476 sequences (83.5%) occurred in non-work-related talk (NWRT). As discussed in 5.2, CN-EX was the most favored CN type in NWRT, and the least favored in WRT by participants among all the types of CN. The average duration per sequence of CN-EX both in WRT (1' 02") and NWRT (2' 23") were longest among all the types of CN (see Table 5.2). Five sequences in WRT and 46 in NWRT were identified as extended sequences and lasted longer than 3 minutes, and one of CN-EX in NWRT lasted 11' 54", which was the longest of all type of CN sequences.

Table 7.1 Number, average frequency, number of turns and duration of CN-EX in WRT and NWRT

Type of talk →	WRT*	NWRT*	Total
Number of CN-EX sequences	94 (16.5%)	476 (83.5%)	570 (100%)
Average frequency per minute	0.10	0.41	
Average number of turns per sequence	40.2	94.6	
Average duration per sequence (minutes & seconds)	1' 02"	2' 23"	
Number of sequences longer than 3 mins. and shorter than 5 mins.	5	18	
Number of sequences longer than 5 mins.	0	28	
Longest sequence (minutes & seconds)	4' 22"	11' 54"	

***<Type of talk>** **WRT**: work-related talk, **NWRT**: non-work-related talk

Table 7.2 below summarizes the topics that triggered CN-EX in WRT and NWRT. The overall results shows that 43.6% of the total CN-EX sequences in WRT were triggered by topics relating to participants' professional knowledge and specialties, followed by work-related experience (23.4%), and non-work-related experience (21.3%). In NWRT, however, the highest percentage 23.5%, of the total sequences were triggered by topics relating to CJs' knowledge of Hong Kong culture, followed by their hobbies and interests (14.9%), then by personal topics such as families and friends (13.4%), then by other non-work-related experiences (12.4%), and then by CJs' knowledge of Japanese

culture (12.2%). Group differences in participation are evident among the three proficiency levels of the CJs with regard to the topics. For instance, topics relating to professional knowledge and specialties were favored by the three advanced CJs and the four upper intermediate CJs. However, no intermediate CJs were involved in CN-EX sequences in WRT at all, regardless of topic. The results above suggest that the three intermediate CJs had not acquired the Japanese linguistic competence to talk about technical content related to work, while the advanced and upper intermediate CJs had generally acquired a sufficiently high level of Japanese competence to tackle topics of a technical and professional nature.

Table 7.3 below summarizes CN-EX sequences initiated by CJs as non-experts in WRT and NWRT. As mentioned in Chapters One and Two, in CN-EX sequences in the study, the non-expert participants who possessed less content knowledge on the ongoing topic(s) acted as interviewers/questioners to issue expert participants questions for information and clarification, while the expert participants did most of the talking. Table 7.4 illustrates that the overall proportion of CJs' participation as non-experts was 57% in WRT and 32.6% in NWRT, and that of CJs' participation as expert was 43% in WRT and 67.4% in NWRT. As presented in Table 7.4 below, the highest participation of CJs as experts by topic in NWRT was in knowledge of Hong Kong culture (91.1%), followed by personal topics (79.7%), hobbies and interests (74.6%), and knowledge of current issues (72.7%). The CJs' more active participation as experts in NWRT (67.4%) than in WRT (43%) appeared to result partly from JJs' willingness and effort to take up the role of non-experts in the process of CN-EX in order to facilitate conversation in Japanese on topics familiar to the CJs.

Table 7.2 Topics that triggered CN-EX

Chinese participants	CJ1		CJ2		CJ3		CJ4		CJ5		CJ6		CJ7		CJ8		CJ9		CJ10		Total	
Japanese proficiency*	Adv.		Adv.		Adv.		Upper Inter.		Upper Inter.		Upper Inter.		Upper Inter.		Inter.		Inter.		Inter			
Type of talk** → Topics ↓	W	NW	W	NW	W	NW	W	NW	W	NW	W	NW	W	NW	W	NW	W	NW	W	NW	W	NW
Professional knowledge & specialties [%]*** (%)****	14 [34.1] (58.3)	31 [30.0] (9.7)	7 [17.1] (41.2)	5 [50.0] (15.2)	5 [12.2] (22.7)		3 [7.3] (27.3)	2 [20.0] (3.6)	5 [12.2] (62.5)		3 [14.6] (37.5)		4 [9.8] (57.1)								41 [100] (43.6)	10 [100] (2.1)
Experience (work-related)	6 [27.3] (25.0)	6 [13.0] (19.4)	3 [13.6] (21.4)	4 [8.7] (12.1)	7 [31.8] (31.8)	1 [2.2] (2.2)	2 [9.1] (18.2)	7 [15.2] (12.7)	3 [13.6] (37.5)	4 [8.7] (9.1)	1 [4.5] (12.5)	7 [15.2] (17.1)		4 [8.7] (6.9)		6 [13.0] (9.1)		4 [8.7] (6.9)		3 [6.5] (6.1)	22 [100] (23.4)	46 [100] (9.7)
Experience (non-work-related)	2 [10.0] (8.3)	7 [11.9] (22.6)	2 [10.0] (14.3)	7 [11.9] (21.2)	3 [15.0] (13.6)	2 [3.4] (4.3)	6 [5.0] (54.5)	5 [8.5] (9.1)		7 [11.9] (15.9)	4 [20.0] (50.0)	4 [6.8] (9.8)	3 [15.0] (37.5)	9 [15.3] (15.5)		3 [5.1] (4.9)		9 [15.3] (15.5)		6 [10.2] (12.2)	20 [100] (21.3)	59 [100] (12.4)
Personal (family, friends, etc.)				2 [3.2] (6.1)		2 [3.2] (4.3)		8 [12.5] (14.5)		2 [3.2] (4.5)		13 [20.3] (31.7)		6 [9.4] (1.3)		8 [12.5] (13.1)		10 [15.6] (17.2)		13 [20.3] (26.5)		64 [100] (13.4)
Hobbies & interests		7 [15.5] (22.6)		4 [5.6] (12.1)		6 [8.5] (13.0)		4 [5.6] (7.3)		6 [8.5] (13.6)		9 [12.7] (22.0)		7 [15.5] (12.1)		9 [12.7] (14.8)		8 [11.3] (13.8)		11 [15.5] (22.4)		71 [100] (14.9)
Knowledge of Hong Kong culture		5 [4.5] (16.2)	1 [33.3] (7.1)	4 [3.4] (12.1)	2 [33.7] (9.1)	19 [8.0] (41.3)		21 [18.8] (38.2)		8 [7.1] (18.2)		6 [5.4] (14.6)		13 [11.6] (22.4)		16 [14.3] (26.2)		11 [9.8] (19.0)		9 [8.9] (18.4)	3 [100] (3.2)	112 [100] (23.5)
Knowledge of Japanese culture	2 [33.3] (8.3)		1 [16.7] (7.1)	3 [5.2] (9.1)	3 [50.0] (13.6)	11 [19.0] (23.9)		3 [5.2] (5.5)		9 [15.5] (20.5)		2 [3.4] (4.9)		8 [13.8] (13.8)		11 [19.0] (18.0)		9 [15.5] (15.5)		2 [3.4] (4.1)	6 [100] (6.4)	58 [100] (12.2)
Knowledge of current world issues		2 [5.9] (6.5)		2 [5.9] (6.1)	2 [100] (9.1)	5 [14.7] (10.9)		3 [8.2] (5.5)		4 [11.8] (9.1)				7 [20.6] (12.1)		4 [11.8] (6.6)		3 [8.2] (5.1)		4 [11.8] (8.2)	2 [100] (2.1)	34 [100] (7.1)
Others		1 [4.5] (3.2)		2 [9.1] (6.1)				2 [9.1] (3.6)		4 [18.2] (9.1)				4 [18.2] (6.9)		4 [18.2] (6.6)		4 [18.2] (6.9)		1 [4.5] (2.0)		22 [100] (4.6)
Total [%]*** (%)****	24 [25.5] (100)	31 [6.5] (100)	14 [14.9] (100)	33 [6.9] (100)	22 [23.4] (100)	46 [9.7] (100)	11 [11.7] (100)	55 [11.6] (100)	8 [8.5] (100)	44 [9.2] (100)	8 [8.5] (100)	41 [8.6] (100)	7 [7.4] (100)	58 [12.2] (100)		61 [12.8] (100)		58 [12.2] (100)		49 [10.3] (100)	94 [100] (100)	476 [100] (100)

Notes:
* <Japanese Proficiency> Adv.: advanced level of proficiency, Upper Inter.: upper intermediate level of proficiency, Inter: intermediate level of proficiency
** <Type of talk> W: work-related talk, NW: non-work-related talk
*** Figures shown in [ ] indicate the percentage of CN-EX sequences in work-related (W) and non-work (NW) related talk, against the total number in each horizontal row.
**** Figures shown in ( ) indicate the percentage of CN-EX sequences in work-related (W) and non-work-related (NW) talk against the total number in each vertical column (by each Chinese participant).

Table 7.3 CN-EX sequences initiated by CJs as non-experts

Chinese participants	CJ1		CJ2		CJ3		CJ4		CJ5		CJ6		CJ7		CJ8		CJ9		CJ10		Total	
*Japanese proficiency**	*Adv.*		*Adv.*		*Adv.*		*Upper Inter.*		*Upper Inter.*		*Upper Inter.*		*Upper Inter.*		*Inter.*		*Inter.*		*Inter*			
Type of talk**	W	NW	W	NW	W	NW	W	NW	W	NW	W	NW	W	NW	W	NW	W	NW	W	NW	W	NW
[TOPICS]																						
Professional knowledge & specialties (number of sequences initiated by CJs)*** [% of CN-EX sequences initiated by CJs]****	14 (10) [71.4]	3 (1) [33.1]	7 (5) [71.4]	5 (3) [60.0]	5 (3) [60.0]		3 (3) [100]	2 (2) [100]	5 (1) [20.0]		3 (2) [66.7]		4 (3) [75.0]								41 (27) [58.5]	10 (6) [60.0]
Experience (work-related)	6 (4) [66.7]	6 (3) [50.0]	3 (1) [33.3]	4 (2) [50.0]	7 (5) [71.4]	1 (1) [100]	2 (1) [50.0]	7 (5) [71.4]	3 (1) [33.3]	4 (2) [50.0]	1 (0) [0]	7 (4) [57.1]		4 (2) [50.0]		6 (2) [33.3]		4 (3) [75.0]		3 (2) [66.7]	22 (12) [54.5]	46 (26) [56.]
Experience (non-work-relate)	2 (1) [50.0]	7 (4) [57.1]	2 (2) [100]	7 (3) [42.9]	3 (2) [66.7]	2 (1) [50.0]	6 (3) [50.0]	5 (4) [80.0]		7 (5) [71.4]	4 (2) [50.0]	4 (2) [50.0]	3 (1) [33.3]	9 (3) [33.3]		3 (1) [33.3]		9 (7) [77.8]		6 (4) [66.7]	20 (11) [55.0]	59 (34) [57.6]
Personal (family, friends etc.)				2 (1) [50.0]		2 (0) [0]		8 (2) [25.0]		2 (1) [50.0]		13 (2) [15.4]		6 (2) [33.3]		8 (2) [25.0]		10 (2) [20.0]		13 (1) [7.7]	-	64 (13) [20.3]
Hobbies & interests		7 (3) [42.9]		4 (2) [50.0]		6 (2) [33.3]		4 (1) [25.0]		6 (2) [33.3]		9 (3) [33.3]		7 (2) [28.6]		9 (1) [11.1]		8 (1) [12.5]		11 (1) [9.1]		71 (18) [25.4]
Knowledge of Hong Kong culture		5 (2) [40.0]	1 (1) [100]	4 (1) [25.0]	2 (2) [100]	19 (4) [20.1]		21 (1) [4.8]		8 (0) [0]		6 (1) [16.7]		13 (0) [23.1]		16 (1) [6.3]		11 (0) [0]		9 (0) [0]	3 (3) [100]	112 (10) [8.9]
Knowledge of Japanese culture	2 (1) [50.0]		1 (1) [100]	3 (1) [33.3]	3 (0) [0]	11 (7) [63.6]		3 (2) [66.7]		9 (4) [44.4]		2 (1) [50.0]		8 (3) [37.5]		11 (7) [63.6]		9 (6) [66.7]		2 (1) [50.0]	6 (2) [33.3]	58 (32) [55.2]
Knowledge of current world issues		2 (1) [50.0]		2 (1) [50.0]	2 (2) [100]	5 (4) [80.0]		3 (1) [33.3]		4 (0) [0]				7 (2) [28.6]		4 (1) [25.0]		3 (0) [0]		4 (0) [0]	2 (2) [100]	34 (10) [29.4]
Others		1 (1) [100]		2 (0) [0]				2 (1) [50.0]		4 (0) [0]				4 (2) [50.0]		4 (2) [50.0]		4 (0) [0]		1 (0) [0]		22 (6) [27.3]
Total ( )*** [ ]****	24 (16) [66.7]	31 (15) [48.3]	14 (10) [71.4]	33 (14) [42.4]	22 (14) [63.6]	46 (19) [41.3]	11 (7) [63.6]	55 (19) [34.5]	8 (2) [25.0]	44 (14) [31.8]	8 (4) [50.0]	41 (14) [34.1]	7 (4) [57.1]	58 (16) [27.6]		61 (17) [27.9]		58 (19) [32.8]		49 (9) [18.4]	94 (57) [60.6]	476 (155) [32.6]

Notes: * <Japanese Proficiency> Adv.: advanced level of proficiency, Upper Inter.: upper intermediate level of proficiency, Inter: intermediate level of proficiency

** <Type of talk> W: work-related talk, NW: non-work-related talk

*** Figures shown in ( ) indicate the number of CN-EX sequences that were initiated by CJs in work-related (W) and non-work-related (NW) talk.

**** Figures shown in [ ] indicate the propostion of CN-EX sequences that were initiated by CJs in work-related (W) and non-work (NW) related talk.

Table 7.4 Ratio of expert/non-expert roles among CJs and JJs in CN-EX

	Topic	Work-related talk		Non-work-related talk	
		CJ as a non-expert JJ as an expert	CJ as an expert JJ as a non-expert	CJ as a non-expert JJ as an expert	CJ as an expert JJ as a non-expert
1	Professional knowledge & specialties	58.5%	41.5%	60%	40%
2	Experience (work-related)	54.5%	45.5%	56.5%	43.5%
3	Experience (non-work-related)	55.5%	44..5%	57.6%	42.4%
4	Personal (family, friends, etc)	-		20.3%	79.7%
5	Hobbies & interests	-		25.4%	74.6%
6	Knowledge of Hong Kong culture	100%		8.9 %	91.1%
7	Knowledge of Japanese culture	33.3%	66.7%	55.2%	44.8%
8	Knowledge of current world issues	100%		29.4%	70.1%
9	Others	-		27.3%	72.7%
	Total (topics 1-9)	5' ⅔	43%	32.6%	67.4%

In order to attain their communicative goals in CN-EX, participants adopted various types of explicit as well as implicit CN strategies. The processes of CN-EX in both WRT and NWRT formed formulaic patterns (Coulmas 1981), where an expert talked more dominantly, while his/her interlocutor (a non-expert) issued various explicit CN strategies, as summarized in Chapter Three. Implicit CN strategies used in CN-EX, such as changes in prosody, shifts in speech level and variety, sentence final particles, laughter, conversational routines and discourse markers, were often adopted by participants in order to supplement the effect of the explicit CN strategies to facilitate the processes of CN-EX.

7.2 CN-EX in work-related talk (WRT)

7.2.1 The native speaker as an expert

In Example 7-1 below, CJ2 was given an urgent task by her boss to write up a comparative report on foreign tourists' preferences and consumer behavior in several countries in Asia. In the example, CJ2 interacts with JJ4 for the clear purpose of gathering information on foreign visitors to Japan. Through her previous work at a tourist office attached to a municipal government in Japan, JJ4 had gained substantial knowledge of the Japanese tourism industry. CJ2, therefore, taking the role of non-expert, effectively uses various explicit as well as implicit CN strategies in order to create a situation in which JJ4 can take the role of an expert to talk about the ongoing topic in order to eventually attain her communicative goal.

According to Framework 1 (Neustupny's framework of communication summarized in 3.1), the process of CN-EX in Example 6-1 can be analyzed as follows: CJ2 (26 years old, female) and JJ4 (in her 40s, female) are co-workers in a tourist organization. The process of CN-EX is switched on with a question issued by CJ2 (a non-expert), who wishes to seek information on Japanese tourism from JJ4, an expert on the ongoing topic. CJ2 has to write a report on the topic. The interaction occurs during working-hours in the workplace, and the time constraint here is a very important factor to understanding the discourse. CJ2 must fulfill her communicative goal of collecting

relevant information from JJ4 as efficiently and as quickly as possible, since she must finish writing the report before her deadline. In the meantime, CJ2 must be considerate as a co-worker and not occupy too much of JJ4's time, since JJ4 must also return to her own work as soon as possible. The Japanese speech style adopted by the participants - who are co-workers of equal rank and both female - is the informal style[2]. Since CJ2 possesses advanced Japanese proficiency, the discourse in the example is more similar to that of native-native interaction in Japanese, rather than that of native-nonnative interaction. Also both participants seem to exchange meta-messages such as rapport and friendship. The type of the content here, according to Neustupny (1987: 109), can be categorized as *factual* and *appellative*, as well as *presentational*, since CJ2 and JJ4 exchange factual information, request information, and negotiate their expertise as well as their attitudes. In the process of CN-EX, CJ2, as non-expert, continuously issues explicit CN strategies, such as questions (lines 1, 9, 14, 22, 29, 31), confirmation/comprehension checks (lines 3, 19), and paraphrase and elaboration (lines 33, 35-36), in order to attain her communicative goal.

Example 7-1 [CJ2-4]

1 →	CJ2:	ね、最近、日本の観光業界調査、読んだ？
2 ⇒→	JJ4:	(1)...えっと、振興会の年次報告のこと？
3 ☆⇒	CJ2:	(1)...んーと、いや、そういう公的じゃないの。
4		なんていうか、(1)...観光 (1)...市場学？ マーケティング的？
5 ☆	JJ4:	ふん、ふん。
6 →	CJ2	(1)...たとえば (2)...観光客の好みと (1)...観光収入の関係、
7		(1)...客の観光行動、買い物、食事の経済、消費行動、なんか
8 ☆→	JJ4:	あ、(1)...業界のニュースレターのコラムにあるよ、そういうの。
...		
9 ⇒	CJ2:	(1)...んーと (1)... 外国人に人気の日本の観光地、どこ？
10	JJ4:	(2)...うーん、一概に言えないけどね=
11	CJ2:	うん、うん。
12	JJ4:	そういうのって、文化とか、年齢とか、好みとかでねー
13 →		(1)...かなり違うんじゃない。
14 ⇒	CJ2:	どういうふうに？
15 ☆→	JJ4:	たとえば、京都のお寺、奈良の大仏とかねー
16		欧米人には人気らしい[けど]&
17	CJ2:	[うん]
18 ☆→	JJ4:	& 中国人や韓国人にはあまり受けないって報告、出てた。
19 ⇒→	CJ2	えーと (1)...清水寺、二条城、法隆寺とか？
20 ☆⇒	JJ4:	うわー、(CJ2 の名前) 詳しいね、(1)...行ったことあるんだ。
21 ☆	CJ2:	うん、ある。
22 ⇒		(1)...でも、どうして人気ないかな？
23 ☆→	JJ4:	ああいうとこに連れていくとね@
24		中国や台湾の人は<A@ 日本のは、なんて地味なんだ、って@A>。
25 ☆	CJ2:	<@中国の寺とか廟とか、すごく派手よね@>。
26 →	JJ4:	それに、全然古くないじゃないか、我が国のがずっと古いぞって@@
27 ☆⇒	CJ2:	(1)...あ (1)...競争に勝って自慢？@@

28	☆→	JJ4:	@@そう。そんで、韓国人もあんまし興味ないって@
29	⇒	CJ2:	あ、どして？
30	☆→	JJ4:	(1)...日本独自のものを見物させてくれって。
31	⇒	CJ2:	独自？
32	☆→	JJ4:	日本の寺院建築とか大仏とか、韓国から習ったんだ、って。
33	☆⇒	CJ2:	似すぎてる。(1)...おもしろくないってこと？
34	☆→	JJ4:	うん、そう。
35	⇒	CJ2:	つまり、せっかく、お金出して外国にきたのに、
36			あーあ (1)...その価値[ないよってこと？@@]
37	☆	JJ4:	[そうそうそう@@]
38		CJ2:	えっと、ほかのグループは？
39	→	JJ4:	うーん、香港人はねー(1)...お寺見たら[ねー]@
40	⇒	CJ2:	[どう]するの？
41	☆	JJ4:	はやく買い物か、刺激的な遊園地に行こうって、あせるって[@@@]
42		CJ2:	[@@@]

<English translation >

1	→	CJ2:	Did you read the surveys on Japan's tourism recently?
2	⇒→	JJ4:	(1)...What, you mean the annual reports of the Japan Tourist Organization?
3	☆⇒	CJ2:	(1)...Not quite, not those official surveys,
4			What shall I say, (1)...something like tourism marketing? Relating to marketing?
5	☆	JJ4:	Yeah, yeah.
6.			For instance, (2)...relationship between tourists' preferences and revenue in the tourism industry.
7			(1)...Tourist behavior, economic activities such as shopping, dining, consumer behavior.
8	☆→	JJ4:	Oh, (1)...I have seen such columns in newsletters published in the tourism industry.
...			
9	⇒	CJ2:	(1)...let me see (1)...Where are the popular tourist spots in Japan?
10		JJ4:	(2)...let me think, I can't just generalize them, but=
11		CJ2:	Yeah, yeah.
12		JJ4:	Such places, depending on tourist's native cultures, age, tastes --
13	→		(1)...may differ a lot, I think.
14	⇒	CJ2:	How?
15	☆→	JJ4:	For example, places such as temples in Kyoto, the Great Buddha in Nara--
16			They are popular among people from the West [but] &
17		CJ2:	[Yeah]
18	☆→	JJ4:	& it was reported that they are not so popular among Chinese and Koreans.
19	⇒→	CJ2	Let me see (1)...You mean Kiyomizu Temple, Nijo Castle, Horyuji Temple?
20	☆⇒	JJ4:	Wow, (CJ2's name)you know a lot. (1)...You've been there, haven't you?
21	☆	CJ2:	Yeah, I have.
22	⇒		(1)...But, why aren't they popular?
23	☆→	JJ4:	If you take them to such places@
24			Tourists from China and Taiwan would say <A@ How subdued Japanese temples are@A >.
25	☆	CJ2:	<@ Chinese temples and Confucian shrines are very showy, aren't they@>.
26	→	JJ4:	Besides, they aren't old at all. They say that temples in their countries are much older. @@
27	☆⇒	CJ2:	(1)...Oh (1)... you mean that they boast because their temples are older?@@
28	☆→	JJ4:	@@Yeah, besides, Koreans are not interested in them either, it is reported @
29	⇒	CJ2:	Oh, why?
30	☆→	JJ4:	(1)...They say that they wish to see things which are Japanese originals.
31	⇒	CJ2:	Originals ?
32	☆→	JJ4:	They say that the Japanese learned the artistic styles of temples and buddhas from Korea.
33	☆⇒	CJ2:	Too similar. (1)...Do you mean that they aren't interested in them?
34	☆→	JJ4:	Yeah, that's right.
35	⇒	CJ2:	In other words, " we spend money to come to a foreign country, but
36			Alas (1)...it is [not worth it," do you mean ? @@]
37	☆	JJ4:	[yeah, yeah, yeah@@].
38		CJ2:	Oh, how about other groups of people?
39	→	JJ4:	Let me see, Hong Kong people, you know (1)...when they see temples [you know]@
40	⇒	CJ2:	[What do they]do?
41	☆	JJ4:	They start to feel very uneasy, wanting to go to exciting shopping malls or amusement parks instead. [@@@]
42		CJ2:	[@@@]

<Romanized transcription>

1	→	CJ2:	Ne, saikin, Nihon no kankoo-gyookai choosa, yonda?
2	⇒→	JJ4:	(1)...etto, Shinkookai no nenji-hookoku no koto?
3	☆⇒	CJ2:	(1)..Un--to, iya, soo iu kooteki ja nai no.
4			nante iuka, (1)...kankoo (1)... shijoogaku? Maakettingu-teki ?
5	☆	JJ4:	Fun, fun.
6	→	CJ2	(1)... Tatoeba,(2)...kankookyaku no konomi to (1)... kankoo shuunyuu no kankei,
7			(1)... kyaku no kankoo koodoo, kaimono, shokuji no keizai shoohi koodoo, nanka
8	☆→	JJ4:	A, (1)...gyookai no nyuusu-retaa no koramu ni aru yo, soo iuu no.
...			
9	⇒	CJ2:	(1)...U--n to (1) ... Gaikokujin ni nin'ki no Nihon no kankoochi, doko?
10		JJ4:	(2)...U--n, ichigai ni ienai kedo ne=
11		CJ2:	Un, un.
12		JJ4:	Soo iu no tte, bunka toka, nenrei toka, konomi toka de ne-
13	→		(1)...kanari chigau n' ja nai
14	⇒	CJ2:	Doo iu fuu ni?
15	☆→	JJ4:	Tatoeba, Kyooto no otera, Nara no daibutsu toka ne-
16			Oobeijin niwa nin'ki rashi i[kedo] &
17		CJ2:	[Un]
18	☆→	JJ4:	& Chuugokujin ya Kankokujin ni wa amari ukenai tte hookoku, deteta.
19	⇒→	CJ2	E--to (1)...Kiyomizudera, Nijoojoo, Hooryuuji toka ?
20	☆⇒	JJ4:	Waa, (CJ2' name) kuwashii ne, (1)...itta koto aru n' da..
21	☆	CJ2:	Un, aru.
22	⇒		(1)...demo, dooshite nin'ki nai kana?
23	☆→	JJ4:	Aa iu toko ni tsurete iku to ne@
24			Chuugoku ya Taiwan no hito wa<A @ Nihon no wa, nan' tte jimi nan datte @A>.
25	☆	CJ2:	<@Chuugoku no tera mo byoo mo, sugoku hade yo ne@>.
26	→	JJ4:	Sore ni, zenzen furuku nai ja nai ka, waga kuni no ga zutto furui zo tte@@
27	☆⇒	CJ2:	A, kyoosoo ni katte jiman?@@
28	☆→	JJ4:	@@ Soo, sonde, Kankokujin mo an'mashi kyoomi nai tte@
29	⇒	CJ2:	A, doshite?
30	☆→	JJ4:	(1)...Nihon dokuji no mono o kenbutu sasete kure tte.
31	⇒	CJ2:	Dokuji?
32	☆→	JJ4:	Nihon no jiin kenchiku toka daibutsu toka, Kankoku kara naratta n'da tte.
33	☆⇒	CJ2:	Nisugiteru (1)...omoshiroku nai tte koto?
34	☆	JJ4:	Un, soo.
35	⇒	CJ2:	Tsumari, sekkaku okane dashite gaikoku ni kita no ni,
36			Aaa, (1)...sono kachi [nai yo tte koto?@@]
37	☆	JJ4:	[soo soo soo@@]
38		CJ2:	Etto, hoka no guruupu wa?
39	→	JJ4:	U-n, Honkonjin wa ne- (1)...otera mitara [ne-]@
40	⇒	CJ2:	[doo] suru no?
41	☆	JJ4:	Hayaku kaimono ka, shigekiteki na yuuenchi ni ikoo tte, aserutte [@@@]
42		CJ2:	[@@@]

An analysis based on the framework for explicit CN presented in Chapter Three (hereafter, Framework 2) reveals that CJ2 and JJ4 in Example 7-1 adopt various explicit CN strategies, which are summarized in 3.2.4 above. As coded in the data, the process of CN-EX forms a cyclical series of turns consisting of Trigger (→), Signal (⇒) and Response (☆). For instance, CJ2's utterance (line 1) becomes a Trigger for JJ4 to issue a request for clarification (line 2), which also becomes a Signal for CJ2 to respond. CJ2's utterance (lines 3 - 4) is a Response [(5) Minimum reply + correct information]. The

utterance (lines 3-4), being said with a rising intonation, also functions as a Signal to clarify CJ2's understanding. In lines 12-13, JJ4's utterance functions as a Trigger for CJ2 to issue a Signal (line 14) and for JJ4 to issue a Response (lines 15-16, 18). JJ4's Response (lines 15-16, 18) becomes a Trigger for CJ2 to issue a Signal (line 19) consisting of an elaboration of JJ4's previous utterance. The first part of CJ2's utterance (line 19), being said with a rising intonation, functions as a Trigger to prompt JJ4 to issue a Response, "*Waa, kuwashii ne*" (Oh, you know a lot about it). In contrast, its latter part, "*Itta koto aru n' da*" (you've been there, haven't you?), becomes a Signal to clarify whether or not CJ2 has been to the temples in Kyoto and Nara (line 20). After giving an affirmative answer (line 21), CJ2 issues a Signal, "*Dooshite ninki nai kana*" (Why aren't they popular, I wonder) in line 22. JJ4 explains why Japanese temples and shrines in Kyoto and Nara are not popular with Chinese tourists, quoting their comments in a laughing tone (lines 23-24). JJ4's utterance (lines 23-24) functions as a Signal for CJ2 to issue a Response [(6) Paraphrasing: synonyms and antonyms], by paraphrasing a word "*jimi*" (subdued) in JJ4's utterance (line 24) by its antonym "*hade*" (colorful, showy, gaudy) to confirm her understanding of the meaning of the discourse, also in a laughing tone (line 25). JJ4's utterance in line 26 is also a quotation of Chinese tourists' comments, which becomes a Signal for CJ2 to issue a Response [(7) Elaboration], elaborating the content of JJ4's previous utterance. After giving a minimum reply to CJ2's Response/Signal turn (line 27), JJ4 quotes Korean tourists' comments on Japanese temples in a laughing tone (line 28), which functions as a Trigger for CJ2 to issue a Signal [(2) Interjection] in line 29. JJ4's utterance (line 30) functions as a Response [(7) Elaboration], which also becomes a Signal for CJ2 to clarify the meaning [(3) Partial repetition: Partial repetition (plain) type] in line 31. In line 32, JJ4 issues a Response [(7) Elaboration], which becomes a Signal for CJ2 to issue a Response [(6) Paraphrase: synonyms and antonyms], "*Nisugite ru*" (Too similar). After a second's pause, CJ2 continues by issuing a Signal [(7) Elaboration] to check her understanding, "*Omoshiroku nai tte koto?*" (You mean that they are not interested in them?). After JJ4's short Response (line 34), CJ2 issues a Signal [(7) Elaboration] in a laughing tone to check her comprehension (line 35). After CJ2 asks JJ4 another question to seek more information,

JJ4 starts to talk about the behavior of Hong Kong Chinese tourists in Japan in a laughing tone, which functions as a Signal for CJ2 to immediately issue a Response [(2) Interjection], "*Doo suru no?*" (What do they do?). In line 41, JJ4 issues a Response to continue her explanation in a laughing tone, and CJ2 also laughs jointly with JJ4.

In addition to the explicit CN strategies mentioned above, CJ2 and JJ4 use various implicit CN strategies (cf. Table 3.9) based on Framework 3 (cf. 3. 3). When JJ4 introduces somewhat negative comments by Chinese and Korean tourists on temples in Kyoto and Nara, she uses a sentence pattern of indirect quotations "...*tte*" (they say that ...) in lines 24, 26, 28, 30, 32, and 41. CJ2 also responds to JJ4, using the same sentence pattern of indirect quotation in lines 27 and 35-36. Indirect quotations imply that the quoted comments do not belong to "the speaker's territory of information" (Kamio 1979, 1990) and consequently function to soften the effect of FTAs in the quoted content (Brown and Levinson 1978, 1987; McGloin 1991). The participants' use of laughter (lines 23-28, 35-42) also enhances the softening effect of the possible face-threatening impact of the otherwise critical comments on Japanese culture (Jefferson 1979, 1984; Jefferson, Sacks and Schegloff 1987), since both participants jointly use it with the sentence pattern of indirect quotation. Comments from CJ2, JJ4, four Chinese raters (CRs) and all Japanese raters (JRs) confirmed that the indirect quotation pattern and laughter functioned effectively as contexualization cues, placing both JJ4 and CJ2 were in a joking/comical mode, rather than in a serious mode.

As discussed above, unshared content knowledge between CJ2 and JJ4 on foreign tourists' behavior in Japan triggered the sequence of CN-EX in the example. Through the process of CN-EX, CJ2 and JJ4 negotiated explicitly and implicitly who would play an expert role and a non-expert role respectively. CJ2, making full use of her role as a non-expert, used explicit CN strategies such as successive interjections and comical elaboration on JJ4's previous utterance in order to facilitate JJ4's talk on the ongoing topic. In the rating sessions, all JRs and CRs stated that CJ2, as an advanced speaker of Japanese, was able to adopt the implicit CN strategies described above to attain her communicative

goal effectively. JJ4 commented in the follow-up interview that she, as an expert on the topic, was quite comfortable in giving CJ2 as much information as she could. As can be predicted on the basis of previous studies (Zuengler 1989a, 1989b), the expert participant (JJ4) talks much more than the non-expert participant (CJ2) in the above example. The participants' comments in the follow-up interviews revealed that CJ2's questioning behavior in the example was positively evaluated by JJ4 as well as by CJ2 herself as constituting an "involvement strategy", to establish rapport and friendship as co-workers, rather than being seen as an instance of interruption (Tannen 1981, 1982, 1984, 1985b, 1994; Chafe 1982).

7.2.2 The nonnative speaker as an expert

The nonnative speaker can also play the role of an expert. For instance in Example 7-2, CJ5, who is a female management trainee aged 28 years, and JJ7, who is a male managing director aged 40 years, are discussing when JJ7 will meet a Chinese businessman named Mr Lam (pseudonym) for lunch. CN-EX is initiated by JJ7 in the workplace, just before the Easter holidays. Since JJ7, who is CJ5's boss, had previously requested CJ5 to confirm his lunch appointment with Mr Lam, he is anxious to know whether a date has been confirmed. Being rather new to Hong Kong, JJ7 is not familiar with social and business customs applying during the Easter holidays, because in Japan, people do not normally celebrate Easter. Consequently, the participants' unshared knowledge about such customs in Hong Kong triggers CN-EX. JJ7 usually speaks to CJ5 in informal style, while CJ5 usually speaks to JJ7 in formal style. JJ7 continuously issues CJ5 with a series of questions to request information and clarification on the ongoing topic. Especially in the latter half of the example (lines 20-36), CJ5 is the dominant speaker, while JJ7 only issues short questions to facilitate their interaction[3]. JJ7 often adopts strategies of laughter and exaggeration when he asks questions.

Example 7-2 [CJ5-7]

1	JJ7:	ねー（CJ5の名前）、ミスターラムのランチアポ、かたまった？
2	CJ5:	えー、ミスター[ラム]。
3	JJ7:	[うん]。
4 →	CJ5:	えー、(1)...先方は、来週金曜のお昼が第一希望、

5			(1)...今週木曜のお昼が[第二希望]。
6	⇒	JJ7:	<F[えーっ] 来週の金曜 F>?
7	⇒		<F(1)...どしてそんなに遅いの F>?
8	☆→	CJ5:	あー(1)... 今週の金曜から、1週間不在です。
9	☆→	JJ7:	どっちもこまるんだよなー、社内会議と来客でさ。
10	⇒	CJ5:	それじゃ、会議を変更[しましょうか]?
11	☆→	JJ7:	[えーっ、 むりだよ]。
12	⇒	CJ5:	じゃあ、来週の金曜に、かためましょうか?
13	☆	JJ7:	だめ、だめ。
14			(1)...で、ラムさん、一週間もどこ行くの?
15	→	CJ5:	あ、家族でマレーシアだって。
16	⇒	JJ7:	<FA えー遊びなの? FA>
17	⇒		仕事じゃないの? いいなあ[@@]
18		CJ5:	[@@]
19	⇒→	JJ7:	(1)...こっちの希望、先方に伝えてくれた?
20			(1)...今週の土曜か、来週の火曜日って。
21	⇒→	CJ5:	(2)...<A @ (JJ7の名前) 部長、まえ、私言いましたよ @ A>。
22	⇒→	JJ7:	<A@ なんて? @A>
23	⇒→	CJ5:	<@ 今週の金曜から来週の月曜日まで、復活節、連休ですよね @>。
24	☆⇒	JJ7:	うん。そうだよ。それで?
25	☆→	CJ5:	<@休みを加えて、家族といっしょ、海外旅行をする人多いですよ@>。
26	⇒→	JJ7:	<@あ、そう?@>
27	☆→	CJ5:	<A@ そう @A>みんな安いツアー、10ヶ月ぐらい前、もう申し込みますよ。
28	⇒	JJ7:	<F A@ えー、ほんと@ FA>?
29	☆→	CJ5:	<A @ ほんと @ A>。
30	☆→	JJ7:	<F @ しらなかった @ F>。
31	☆→	CJ5:	<@ オフィスはだれもいない、つまり、仕事は、ぜんぜんできない @>。
32	☆→	JJ7:	うーん、そうか。
33	☆→	CJ5:	<@ だから、ビジネスランチは、連休開けがいいよって@>。
34			私、部長に何度も、何度も、 説明しましたよね。
35	☆	JJ7:	うーん (1)...<F @ こんどこそ、香港の事情がよーくわかりました @ F>。 じゃ、来週の金曜で、よろしくお願いします、ね。
36		CJ5:	はーい。

<English translation>

1		JJ7:	Well, (CJ5's name), have you finalized the lunch appointment with Mr. Lam?
2		CJ5:	Eh, Mr. [Lam].
3		JJ7:	[Yeah].
4		CJ5:	Eh, his first choice is lunch, Friday next week.
5			(1)...Lunch this Thursday is his [second choice].
6	⇒	JJ7:	<F [What!] Friday next week F>?
7	⇒		<F (1)...Why is it that late F>?
8	☆→	CJ5:	Oh (1)... Starting from this Friday, he is not in for a week.
9	☆→	JJ7:	Neither date is good, you know, because of internal meetings and visitors.
10	⇒	CJ5:	Well, then, shall we change [the date of the meetings]?
11	☆→	JJ7:	[What ! It's impossible].
12	⇒	CJ5:	Then, shall I finalize it on Friday next week?
13	☆	JJ7:	No, No.
14			(1)...So, where is Mr. Lam going for a week?
15	→	CJ5:	Oh, He is going to Malaysia with his family, I hear.
16	⇒	JJ7:	<FA A pleasure trip? FA>
17	⇒		Not a business trip? I envy him [@@]
18		CJ5:	[@@]
19	⇒→	JJ7:	(1)...Did you tell him about our choices?
20			(1)...Saturday this week, or Tuesday next week, did you say?
21	⇒→	CJ5:	(2)...<A @ (JJ7's name) Director, I told you, before @ A>.
22	⇒→	JJ7:	<A@ What did you say ? @A>
23	⇒→	CJ5:	<@ From Friday this week to next Monday are Easter holidays, as you know@>.
24	☆⇒	JJ7:	Yeah. That's right. So?
25	☆→	CJ5:	<@ Many people take their leave, travel overseas with their families @>.
26	⇒→	JJ7:	<@Oh, is that right?@>
27	☆→	CJ5:	<A@ That's right @A>Everyone booked cheap package tours, nearly ten months ago.

28	⇒	JJ7:	<FA @ What, really? @ FA>
29	☆→	CJ5:	<F @ Really @ F>.
30	☆→	JJ7:	<A @ I didn't know @ A>.
31	☆→	CJ5:	<@ Nobody's in the office. That means we can't arrange anything @>.
32	☆→	JJ7:	Mh, I see.
33	☆→	CJ5:	<@ That's why the business lunch should be arranged after the holiday, I told you@>
34			I explained it to you,many, many times, you know.
35	☆	JJ7:	Mh (1)...<F@ Now I understand the business customs in Hong Kong very well.@F>
			Then will you please finalize the appointment for Friday, next week, OK?
36		CJ5:	OK.

<Romanized transcription>

1		JJ7:	Nee (CJ5's name) , misutaa Ramu no ranchi apo, katamatta?
2		CJ5:	Ee, misutaa [Ramu].
3		JJ7:	[Un].
4	→	CJ5:	Ee, (1)... Sen'poo wa, raishuu kin'yoo no ohiru ga daiichi kiboo,
5			(1)...Kon'shuu mokuyoo no ohiru ga [daini kiboo].
6	⇒	JJ7:	<F [Ee--ttsu] raishuu no kin'yoo F>?
7	⇒		<F (1)...Doshite son'na ni osoi no F>?
8	☆→	CJ5:	A-. (1)... Kon'shuu no kinyoo kara, isshuukan fuzai desu.
9	☆→	JJ7:	Dotchi mo komaru n' da yo naa. Shanai kaigi to raikyaku de sa.
10	⇒	CJ5:	Sore ja, kaigi o henkoo [shimashoo ka]?
11	☆→	JJ7:	[Ee--, muri da yo].
12	⇒	CJ5:	Jaa, raishuu no kin'yoo ni, katamemashoo ka?
13	☆	JJ7:	Dame, dame.
14			(1)...de, Ramu-san, isshuukan mo doko iku no?
15	→	CJ5:	A, kazoku de Mareishia datte.
16	⇒	JJ7:	<FA Ee--asobi nano FA>?
17	⇒		Shigoto ja nai no? Ii naa[@@]
18		CJ5:	[@@]
19	⇒→	JJ7:	(1)...Kotchi no kiboo, sen'poo ni tsutaete kureta?
20			(1)...Kon'shuu no doyoo ka, raishuu no kayoo tte.
21	⇒→	CJ5:	(2)...<A @ (JJ7's name) buchoo, mae, watashi iimashita yo @ A>.
22	⇒→	JJ7:	<A@ Nan te? @A>
23	⇒→	CJ5:	<@Kon'shuu no kin'yoo kara raishuu no getsuyoo made,
			fukkatsusai, ren'kyuu desu yo ne @>.
24	☆⇒	JJ7:	Un, soo da yo. Sore de?
25	☆→	CJ5:	<@Yasumi o kuwaete, kazoku to issho, kaigai ryokoo o suru hito ooi desu yo@>.
26	⇒→	JJ7:	<@ A, soo? @>
27	☆→	CJ5:	<A @ Soo @A>Min'na yasui tsuaa, jukkagetsu-gurai-mae, moo mooshikomimasu yo.
28	⇒	JJ7:	<FA @ Ee--, honto? @ FA>
29	☆→	CJ5:	<A @ Honto @ A>.
30	☆→	JJ7:	<F @ Shiranakatta @ F>.
31	☆→	CJ5:	<@ Ofisu wa dare mo inai, tsumari, shigoto wa zenzen dekinai@>.
32	☆→	JJ7:	U---n, soo ka.
33	☆→	CJ5:	<@ Dakara, bijinesu ranchi wa, renkyuu-ake ga ii yo tte @>.
34			Watashi, buchoo ni nan'domo, nan'domo, setsumei shimashita yo ne.
35	☆	JJ7:	U---n (1)...<F@ Kon'do koso, Honkon no jijoo ga yooku wakarimashita @ F>.
			Jaa, raishuu no kin'yoo de, yoroshiku onegai shimasu, ne.
36		CJ5:	Haai.

Example 7-2 contains various explicit CN strategies during the continuous series of the participants' exchanges of Trigger (→), Signal (⇒) and Response (☆). JJ7's successive questions to seek information and to clarify CJ5's utterances (lines 6, 7, 14, 16, 17, 19, 26, 28) in a rushed and comical manner characterize the discourse, while CJ5 calmly issues clarification requests (lines 10, 12) and provides all the information and

answers requested by JJ7 (lines 8, 15, 21, 23, 25, 27, 29, 31, 33-34). For example, CJ5's utterance (lines 4-5) functions as a Trigger for JJ7 to issue a Signal in line 6 and another Signal in line 7. In line 8, CJ5 issues a Response, which becomes a Trigger for JJ7, while in line 9, JJ7 gives a Response, which becomes a Trigger for CJ5 to issue a Signal to ask whether JJ7 wants CJ5 to reschedule the date of the internal meetings (line 10). In line 11, JJ7 issues a Response, negating CJ5's suggestion, which becomes a Trigger for CJ5 to give another Signal by making a further suggestion to confirm the appointment on Friday of the following week (line 12). In line 13, JJ7 gives a Response, negating CJ5's suggestion.

Various implicit CN strategies characterize the process of CN-EX in Example 7-2 above. First of all, JJ7's exaggerated questioning behavior in a laughing tone (Jefferson 1979, 1984; Jefferson, Sacks and Schegloff 1987), together with his changes in prosody such as loudness and pitch (Gumperz 1982), function as *contextualization cues* to create a comical atmosphere (lines 6, 7, 11, 13, 16, 17, 22, 26, 28, 30). Such cues effectively redress the possible face-threatening effect of JJ7's ignorance of social customs among Hong Kong businesspersons during the Easter holidays (Brown and Levinson 1978, 1987). This is because in such a joking frame JJ7 is quite safe in effectively placing himself privately as an ignorant newcomer (cultural guest) in front of CJ5 (cultural host), despite the fact that he has a public role as CJ5's boss.

Secondly, CJ5 also uses various implicit CN strategies to indicate that she is taking the role of an expert on the ongoing topic. In lines 10 and 12, CJ5 offers suggestions in the form of clarification requests in the well-controlled manner expected of a professional at the workplace, which make a striking contrast with JJ7's behavior. The two conjunctions, "*sorejaa*" (then) and "*jaa*" (then) used by CJ5 to introduce her suggestions in lines 10 and 12 respectively function as discourse markers to highlight a change in the ongoing discourse (Maynard 1990), and consequently prompt JJ7 to either affirm or negate her suggestions. In other words, CJ5 is indicating implicitly that she is to take an active part as an expert in managing the progress of the discourse. After JJ7

finds out that Mr. Lam will be away from Hong Kong not on a business trip, but on a pleasure trip with his family (lines 14-17), JJ7 presents himself as a private person by expressing his *personal* feeling, "*E, asobi na no? Shigoto ja nai no, Ii naa*" (A pleasure trip? Not a business trip. I envy him), rather than as *a public person* as CJ5's boss and a director of the company (Barnlund 1975). The change of the frame is realized through CJ5's suggestions (lines 10 and 12) and JJ7's personal remark with a laughing tone (lines 16-17), with both participants implicitly accepting their roles as an expert and a nonexpert respectively. JJ7 further clarifies whether CJ5 has told Mr Lam about JJ7's suggested dates for the appointment (lines 19-20). Through their interaction between lines 1 and 20, CJ5 infers that JJ7 urgently needs her expert help to finalize the appointment date, so she starts to remind JJ7 of what CJ5 had told him many times before. Her advice to JJ7 has been, and still is, that it is wise to make the lunch appointment after the holidays. CJ5's utterances (lines 21, 23, 25, 27, 31, 33) all end with sentence-final particles "*yo*"or "*yo ne*". Previous studies report that sentence-final particles have a pragmatic function to indicate speakers' attitudes towards hearers, and to adjust the psychological distance between the participants (Ueno 1971; Kamio 1979, 1990; Oishi 1985; Cook 1990; McGloin 1991). The particle "*yo*" is used to give information belonging to the speaker's territory to a hearer (cf. Kamio 1979). Using Kamio's conceptual framework of "the speaker's territory of information", McGloin (1991) categorizes the use of sentence-final particles into three types: particles of insistence (*zo*, *ze*, *sa* and *yo*), particles of confirmation (*na* and *ne*), and particles of rapport (*na* and *ne*). Speakers' use of particles of insistence indicates that the speakers are distancing themselves from the hearers, while their use of particles of confirmation/rapport implies that their distance from the hearers is close or closer than before. Therefore, CJ5's utterances ending with the particle "*yo*" (lines 21, 25, 27) emphasize CJ5's authoritative statement on general customs among Hong Kong people during the holidays, which belong to her territory of information[4]. CJ5's utterances ending with the particles "*yo ne*" (lines 23 and 34) indicate two types of attitude on the part of CJ5. One is an attitude of self-defense, having previously told JJ7 about the custom many times, through use of the particle "*yo*", which indicates "the speaker's territory of information". The other is her wish to urge JJ7 to agree with what she says

and simultaneously to establish rapport with JJ7 as a co-worker, through the particle "*ne,*" which indicates that information is shared by JJ7 and CJ5 (McGloin 1991: 26). During the process of CN-EX, CJ5 thus tactfully uses the sentence-final particles to balance her psychological distance and her relationship with JJ7, and to shift between her dual roles as an expert and a junior co-worker of JJ7[5].

Thirdly, JJ7 and CJ5 shift their speech styles between the formal and the informal. CJ5 shifts to informal style from her usual formal style by quoting her own previous advice to JJ7 (lines 31, 33), "*Ofisu wa dare mo inai, tsumari shigoto wa zenzen dekinai....Dakara, bijinesu ranchi wa renkyuu ake ga ii yo tte*" (Nobody's in the office. That means, we can't arrange anything...That's why, the business lunch should be arranged after the holiday). This shift of CJ5 has an indexical function aiming at shortening the distance between CJ5 and JJ7, and she urges him to make a decision as an expert (Ikuta 1983; Neustupny 1983; Cook 1996; Okamoto 1997). In line 34, CJ5 shifts back to the formal style, "*Watashi, buchoo ni nando mo, nando mo, setsumei shimashita yo ne*" (I explained to you many, many times, you know), which indicates that she is adjusting her distance to regain the role of a junior co-worker of JJ7. After being prompted by CJ5, JJ7 shifts to the formal style from his usual informal style in lines 35 and 36, "*Konnen koso, Honkon no jijoo ga yooku wakarimashita...Jaa, raishuu no kinyoo de, yoroshiku onegai shimasu, ne*" (Now, I understand the business customs in Hong Kong very well. Then, will you please finalize the appointment for Friday, next week, OK?). This shift indicates that JJ7 is adjusting his distance from CJ5, behaving as a non-expert on social customs of Hong Kong (cultural guest) and thus temporarily halting his official role as CJ5's boss in the workplace. JJ7 effectively uses other implicit CN strategies to attain his communicative goal, such as change of prosody (a louder and laughing tone in line 35) and the use of the sentence-final particle of rapport, "*ne,*" in line 36 to urge CJ5's cooperation and assistance in the matter.

In the rating sessions, all CRs and three of the JRs highly evaluated CJ5's use of strategies to get things done efficiently, rating her as an advanced communicator in

Japanese. In contrast, two of the JRs commented that CJ5 needed to acquire more implicit expressions to talk to JJ7, who was her boss. However, JJ7 positively evaluated CJ5's behavior in taking the lead in making an important decision and felt that the effective problem-solving skills that CJ5 had demonstrated were required for all businesspersons in the workplace. JJ7 recommended that nonnative speakers should first acquire explicit and direct expressions useful for office communication. This is because their inadequate mastery of polite and indirect expressions in Japanese might cause communication problems in the workplace. It is worth noting that CJ5 evaluated her behavior rather negatively, showing her concern that JJ7 might not have considered her direct way of talking to her superior appropriate and polite.

7.2.3 Rotation of roles as expert and non-expert

Example 7-3 below illustrates how Chinese and Japanese participants rotate their roles as expert and non-expert in the process of CN-EX. CJ5, who is a female management trainee, aged 28 years, and JJ7, who is a male managing director aged 40 years, are discussing the topic of the contract renewal of a Filipino driver whom their company has hired. As mentioned in the discussion on Example 7-2, JJ7 was relatively new to Hong Kong at the time of the recording of the conversation. He is not therefore aware of some issues regarding the renewal of the contract of an overseas worker, as stipulated by the Hong Kong Labour Law. CN-EX is initiated by CJ5, who formally seeks JJ7's advice on the contract renewal of the Filipino driver, though she is aware that JJ7 does not have much knowledge about the contract of an overseas worker in Hong Kong. While JJ7 usually speaks to CJ5 in informal style, and CJ5 usually speaks to JJ7 in formal style, in Example 7-3 below, JJ7 shifts his usual speech style to the formal style. In the process of CN-EX, JJ7 issues many confirmation checks and clarification requests for CJ5 to explain the topic and encodes his speech in a louder tone (lines 10 and 12).

Example 7-3 [CJ5-4]

1 →	CJ5:	えー(1)...(運転手の名前)さんですけど、雇用契約、すぐ切れます。
2 ⇒☆→		(1)...どうしますか？ (2)...本人、更新したいそうです。
3 ☆⇒	JJ7:	いいんじゃないの。まじめだし (1)...ね。
4 ☆	CJ5:	ええ。
5 ⇒	JJ7:	新しい契約は、たしか(1)...3月はじめから2年だったよね。

6	☆	CJ5:	はい。
7	⇒	JJ7:	(1)...そうか、すると、あのころ子供の春休みだから、
8			(1)...日本からのビジター多いよね。
9	☆	CJ5:	ええ。
10	⇒	JJ7:	<F えー (1)...年度末から4月の復活祭にかけてさー F>。
11	☆	CJ5::	ええ。
12	⇒→	JJ7:	<FA 本社からの来客、ほんと多くて困っちゃうんだよね FA>、
13			(1)...そのとき、んー(1)....都合が、いいんですよ。
14			だから 更新しましょう。
15			(1)...そういう具合に、すぐ手配してください。
16	☆→	CJ5:	はい。でも (1)...そのころは、
17			(1)...彼はフィリピンに一度帰るんですよ。
18	⇒	JJ7:	<A え、どうして? A>
19	☆ (⇒)	CJ5:	えーと、海外労働者について(1)...香港の (1)... <NB Labour Law NB>?
20	(⇒)		(1)...えー労働法ですか?
21	(☆)→	JJ7:	はい、労働法です。
22	☆ →	CJ5:	それによって(1)...外国人労働者は契約更新のあと、
23			(1)...全員すぐ (1)...一度国に[帰るんですよ]。
24	⇒	JJ7:	[どうにかでき]ないの?
25	☆	CJ5:	(2)...でも、これ、労働者の権利。
26	→		帰国させるは、[雇用者の義務 (1)...ですよ]。
27	⇒	JJ7:	[本人に エキストラペイ] あげたら?
28	☆→	CJ5:	あ、あぶない、[違法ですよ、それ]。
29	⇒	JJ7:	[あぶないって]?
30	☆→	CJ5:	まえに、その違法で、外国会社の社長は、
31			(1)...ジェイル 行きましたよ。
32	⇒	JJ7:	え、きびしいな。
33	☆	CJ5:	ええ。

<English Translation>

1	→	CJ5:	Eh (1)...regarding Mr (driver's name), his employment contract will soon expire.
2	⇒☆→		(1)...What shall we do? (2)...He said that he wants to renew it.
3	☆⇒	JJ7:	I think it's all right to renew it, don't you think? He is honest (1)... Don't you think?
4	☆	CJ5:	Yes,
5	⇒	JJ7:	His new contract, I think, (1)...is for two years starting from March. Right?
6	☆	CJ5:	Yes.
7	⇒	JJ7:	(1)...I see, in that case, due to children's spring holidays, you know,
8			(1)...there are lots of visitors from Japan around that time. Right?
9	☆	CJ5:	Yes.
10	⇒	JJ7:	<F Eh-- (1)...from the end of the fiscal year to the Easter holidays in April, you know F>.
11	☆	CJ5::	Yes.
12	⇒→	JJ7:	<FA So many visitors from the headquarters, and we don't know what to do. Right? FA>.
13			(1)...During that time, mh--(1)....it is convenient, I think.
14			Therefore, let's renew it.
15			(1)...Please arrange to do so immediately.
16	☆→	CJ5:	Yes. But (1)...around that time,
17			(1)...He (the driver) must return to the Philippines once, I think.
18	⇒	JJ7:	<A Huh ! why? A >
19	☆(⇒)	CJ5:	Well, regarding overseas employees (1)...in Hong Kong (1)... "Labour Law (in English)"?
20	(⇒)		(1)...Eh, is it "Labor Law (in Japanese)"?
21	(☆)→	JJ7:	Yes, it is "Labor Law (in Japanese)".
22	☆→	CJ5:	Based on that, (1)...overseas employees immediately after the renewal of their contracts,
23			(1)...all of them should (1)...[return to their countries].
24	⇒	JJ7:	[Can we do anything] about this?
25	☆	CJ5:	(2)...But, this is employees' rights,
26	→		And to let them go home once is, [employers' duties (1)...I think]
27	⇒	JJ7:	[what about giving extra pay] to him?
28	☆→	CJ5:	Oh, risky, [that's illegal].
29	⇒	JJ7:	[What do you mean by risky]?
30	☆→	CJ5:	A president of an overseas firm committed this illegal act, and
31			(1)...went to jail, I think.
32	⇒	JJ7:	Huh, that's strict, don't you think?

33	☆	CJ5:	Yes.

<Romanized transcription>

1	→	CJ5:	Ee (1)...(Driver's name) san desu kedo, koyoo-keiyaku, sugu kiremasu.
2	⇒☆→		(1)...Doo shimasu ka? (2)...Hon'nin, kooshin shitai soo desu.
3	☆⇒	JJ7:	Ii n' janai no. Majime dashi (1)...ne.
4	☆	CJ5:	Ee.
5	⇒	JJ7:	Atarashii keiyaku wa, tashika (1)...san'gatsu hajime kara ni-nen datta yo ne.
6	☆	CJ5:	Hai.
7	⇒	JJ7:	(1)...Soo ka, suru to, ano koro, kodomo no haru-yasumi dakara,
8			(1)...Nihon kara no bijitaa ooi yo ne.
9	☆	CJ5:	Ee.
10	⇒	JJ7:	<F Ee (1)...Nen'do matsu kara shigatsu no fukkatsusai ni kakete saa- F>.
11	☆	CJ5::	Ee.
12	⇒→	JJ7:	<FA Hon'sha kara no raikyaku, hon'to ookute komatchau n' da yo ne FA>.
13			(1)...Sono toki, mh–(1)....tsugoo ga ii n' desu yo.
14			Dakara, kooshin shimashyoo.
15			(1)...Sooiu guai ni, sugu tehai shite kudasai.
16	☆→	CJ5:	Hai. Demo (1)...Sono koro wa,
17			(1)...Kare wa Firipin ni ichido kaeru n' desu yo.
18	⇒	JJ7:	<A E, dooshite? A>
19	☆(⇒)	CJ5:	Ee to, kaigai roodoosha ni tsuite (1)...Honkon no (1)...<NB Labour Law NB> ?
20	(⇒)		(1)...Ee, roodoohoo desu ka?
21	(☆)→	JJ7:	Hai, roodoohoo desu.
22	☆→	CJ5:	Sore ni yotte (1)...gaikokujin roodoosha wa keiyaku kooshin no ato
23			(1)...zen'in sugu (1)...ichido kuni ni [kaeru n' desu yo].
24	⇒	JJ7:	[Doo ni ka deki] nai no?
25	☆	CJ5:	(2)...Demo, kore, roodoosha no kenri.
26	→		Kikoku saseru wa, [koyoosha no gimu (1)...desu yo].
27	⇒	JJ7:	[Hon'nin ni ekisutora pei] age tara?
28	☆→	CJ5:	A, abunai, [ihoo desu yo, sore].
29	⇒	JJ7:	[Abunai tte] ?
30	☆→	CJ5:	Mae ni, sono ihoo de, gaikoku gaisha no shachoo wa,
31			(1)...jeiru ikimashita yo.
32	⇒	JJ7:	E, kibishii na.
33	☆	CJ5:	Ee.

The process of CN-EX displays a series of the participants' exchanges of turns, which function as Trigger (→), Signal (⇒), and/or Response (☆). It is worth noting that CN-EX in the example starts with CJ5's presentation of the topic of the contract renewal of the Philippino driver (line 1), which functions as a Trigger for CJ5 herself to issue a Signal [(2) Interjection], "*Doo shimashoo ka?*" (What shall we do?), in order to solicit JJ7's opinion on the issue promptly. Subsequently in the same turn, she also provides JJ7 with a piece of useful information on the driver's intention, "*Hon'nin, kooshin shitai soo desu*" (He said that he wants to renew it), which functions as a Trigger to urge JJ7 to issue a Response (line 3). Between lines 3-15, JJ7 issues five Signals, all of which are confirmation checks (lines 3, 5, 7-8, 10, 12-15), and are categorized as the same explicit CN strategy as elaboration type. Between lines 16-33, JJ7 also issues five Signals, all of

which are clarification requests (lines 18, 24, 27, 29, 32) on CJ's utterance of lines 1-2. These Signals can be categorized as interjection type (lines 18, 24), partial repetition (plain) type (line 29), and elaborating type (line 27, 32). CJ5 also issues two Signals; however, they are not intended for the process of CN-EX. They occur as *a side-sequence* (Jefferson 1972) between lines 19-21, during which CJ5 is in the process of conversational negotiation for propositional meaning (CN-PM/ling) searching for the right Japanese word for the English expression, "labor law". As soon as the word search is completed in line 21, and JJ7 confirms "*roodoohoo*" (labor law), which CJ5 had herself supplied as a *candidate answer* (Pomeranz 1988), CJ5 returns to the main topic of the contract renewal in line 22. As discussed above, we can see some change in participants' roles in the discourse between lines 15 and 16.

In order to understand how the roles of expert and non-expert among the participants are rotated in the example, Framework 3 provides us with useful interpretations of the various implicit CN strategies adopted by CJ5 and JJ7. The process can be divided into three stages, based on the participants' roles. In the first stage (lines 1-6), CJ5 takes the role of an expert by introducing the topic of the contract renewal (line1), and initiates CN-EX by clarifying her own previous utterance in line 2. JJ7 issues two confirmation checks, one on the driver's reliable personality (line 3) and the other on the starting date of the new contract (line 5), both of which prompt CJ5 to issue short replies, "*ee*" (yes) and "*hai*" (yes). Here JJ7 indicates that, though he is new to Hong Kong, he is in charge of making the decision and that he is knowledgeable enough to discuss the issue, thereby displaying his social power as a director of the company. In the meantime, he implicitly indicates his willingness to establish rapport with CJ5 on the matter with which he needs to seek her assistance by ending his checks with sentence-final particles "*ne*" and "*yo ne*". As discussed above, these particles are categorized as ones of confirmation and rapport, and convey the speakers' desire to establish closer and more friendly relations with the hearers (Kamio 1979, 1990; McGloin 1991). In other words, JJ7 is not quite sure whether he should take the full role of an expert on the issue.

In the second stage (lines 7-15), JJ7 is the main talker, behaving as an expert by listing his justifications for the renewal of the contract. For instance, he draws on his expert knowledge about financial and educational matters in Japan. He also refers to some inevitable external force, the possible sudden influx of Japanese visitors from Tokyo headquarters at around the end of March and April, in a louder tone and faster rate of speech (lines 10 and 12). JJ7's speech styles shift rapidly from his usual informal, but not colloquial, style (lines 7-8) to a very colloquial verb ending, "*komatchau n' da yo ne*" (I don't know what to do)(line 12), and then to a highly formal style (lines 13-15). Moreover, some of his utterances end with particles of insistence, such as, "*yo*" (line 13) and "*sa*" (line 10), both of which emphasize "the speaker's territory of information" (c.f. Kamio 1979) to demonstrate his power. In contrast, his other utterances end with the double particle, "*yo ne*" (lines 8 and 12), through which he urges CJ5 to confirm what he says (pragmatic function of "*yo*"), and simultaneously wishing to establish his rapport with CJ5 (pragmatic function of "*ne*") (McGloin 1991). JJ7 adopts such implicit CN strategies as change of prosody, speech style shift, and the sentence-final particles, and these function as *contexualization cues* to show his power by distancing himself from CJ5 as her boss, while at the same time seeking CJ5's expert help and implying rapport as a non-expert. In contrast, CJ5 pretends to be a non-expert and quiet listener, and rather passively issues short replies to indicate that she is listening, but does not necessarily agree with what he is saying.

The third stage (lines 16-33) starts with CJ5's utterance to respond to JJ7's request uttered at the end of the second stage, "*Soo iu guai ni, sugu tehai shite kudasai*" (Please arrange to do so immediately) in line 15. In lines 16-17, CJ5 first issues a short Response, and provides JJ7 with vital information on the conditions regarding the renewal of the contract, "*Demo... Sono koro wa... Kare wa Firippin ni ichido kaeru'n desu yo*" (But... Around that time... He must return to the Philippines once, I think). Here she shows her intention to take over the role of an expert on the issue, since "*demo*" (but, however) functions as a discourse marker to comment on JJ7's justifications for renewing the driver's contract (Iwasaki 1985; Kawaguchi 1992; Nishino 1993), and the particle "*yo*"

indicates "the speaker's territory of information" (c.f. Kamio 1979), suggesting that this information is not yet shared with JJ7. In line 18, JJ7 verbally shows his surprise at CJ5's comment, which indicates implicitly his lack of knowledge about the issue. CJ5 calmly explains to JJ7 the conditions, duties of employers and rights of employees stipulated in Hong Kong's labor law (lines 19, 22-23, 25-26). She demonstrates her professional as well as linguistic competence to effectively search for the right word in "a side-sequence" (lines19-21). JJ7, now playing the role of a non-expert, issues a clarification request (line 24). He further suggests to CJ5 giving the driver extra pay in lieu of letting him return home in March and April (line 27). This prompts CJ5 to use the rather forceful words, "illegal" and "risky", through which she invokes the official stipulation of the Hong Kong legal system to indicate that violating the law is a serious offence (line 28). Alarmed by the words, JJ7 clarifies what CJ5 means by "risky" (line 29), and CJ5 tells JJ7 about the past incident of a president of a overseas company in Hong Kong being placed in jail, because she/he did not observe the employers' duties stipulated in the employment contract (line 30-31). In order to further secure her expert's role in the third stage (lines 17, 23, 26, 28, 31), CJ5 tactfully adopts the particle "*yo*" as an implicit CN strategy at the end of all her utterances which, as discussed above, indicates "the speaker's territory of information" (Kamio 1979, 1990). In contrast, the fact that all JJ7's utterances in this stage are questions to seek information/clarification from CJ5 (lines 24, 27, 29) indicates his total lack of content knowledge of Hong Kong labor law and of the ongoing topic. In his comment on CJ5's explanation, "*E, kibishii na*" (Huh, that's strict, don't you think?), JJ7 uses the particle "*na*". Both "*ne*" and "*na*" are categorized as particles of confirmation/rapport (McGloin 1991: 26), through which the speaker anticipates obtaining "the addressee's response agreeing with the speaker's supposition as the given statement" (Ueno 1971: 117). At the end of the example, JJ7 thus wishes to confirm what both participants have discussed and to establish rapport with CJ5, the expert on the issue, in order to finalize the contract. Here, he regains his dual roles, that is, *an official role* as a director of the company and CJ5's boss, and *a private role* as a non-expert on the topic (cf. Barnlund 1975).

7.3 CN-EX in non-work-related talk (NWRT)

7.3.1 The native speaker as an expert

Example 7-4 illustrates how the Chinese and Japanese participants negotiate their expertise on physical exercises and hobbies. JJ11, who is a female manager in her 40s, and CJ7, who is a female research assistant aged 26 years, are co-workers at an office of a trade organization. Their relation is senior-junior in terms of rank and age, though JJ11 is not CJ7's direct supervisor. JJ1 usually speaks to CJ7 in Japanese in an informal style, while CJ7 usually speaks to JJ11 in Japanese in a formal style, but in the example below CJ7's usual formal style frequently shifts to the informal style. Their conversation takes place in the tearoom at their office while they are eating during their one-hour lunch break. They talk about the exercises, which JJ11 currently practices, and the CN-EX is initiated by CJ7. The process of CN-EX is managed and maintained by CJ7 and JJ11, who collaboratively play the distinctive roles of questioner and answerer. CJ7 is the one who asks questions successively to seek information and to clarify JJ11's utterances about her favorite exercises - *taichi* and flamenco dancing, while JJ11 is the one who devotes herself to giving information on those exercises. CJ7 shows her surprise and involvement when she finds out that JJ11 currently practices flamenco dancing through nonverbal cues such as laughter, and the louder and faster quality of her voice.

Example 7-4 [CJ7-9]

1	CJ7:	(JJ11の名前) さん、よく運動しますか?
2 →	JJ11:	うん、すきよ。
3 ⇒	CJ7:	たとえば (1)... どんな運動ですか?
4 ☆→	JJ11:	毎週水曜はね、太極拳の[練習]。
5 ⇒	CJ7:	[あれ] 健康になりますか?
6 ☆→	JJ11:	そうねー (1)...やった後、やっぱりすっきりする[けどね]。
7 ⇒	CJ7:	[すっきり]?
8 ☆→	JJ11:	うん、気持ちがよくなるの。
9 ⇒	CJ7:	ふーん、(1)...でも、おもしろい?
10 ☆→	JJ11:	うん。友達もいっしょ[だからね]。
11 ⇒	CJ7:	[クラス] 何人ぐらい?
12 ☆→	JJ11:	ええと、7、8人ぐらいね。
13 ⇒	CJ7:	全部日本人?
14 ☆→	JJ11:	ううん、いろんな人。
15 ⇒	CJ7:	いろんな?
16	JJ11:	先生は中国人だけど、英語で教えるからね。
...		
17 →	JJ11:	毎週金曜は、フラメンコのレッスンにも行ってるのよ。
18 ⇒	CJ7:	えっ? (1)...フラメンコ (1)...ですか?
19 ☆→	JJ11:	<@ そう @>。

20	☆	CJ7:	<@FA　すごい (1)...信じられない　FA　@>。
21	⇒		(1)...いつから？
22	☆→	JJ11:	もう１０年まえかな。
23			(1)...日本で始めたん[だけど]。
24	⇒→	CJ7:	[１０年]？すごい。
25	☆	JJ11:	<@　そうでもないけど　@>
26	→		(2)... 香港に来てから先生がいなくてずっとやめてたけどね。
27			(1)...去年かな、フラメンコ教室っていう新聞広告、見つけたのよ。
28			(1)...で、また始めたの。
29	⇒	CJ7:	どこで？
30	☆→	JJ11:	九龍公園の体育館のなかにね、
31			(1)...ダンススタジオがあるんだけど、そこ。
32	⇒	CJ7:	(1)...<@NB　Dress　NB@>も　着ますか？
33	☆→	JJ11:	<@　練習のときは着ないけど、リサイタルの[ときは着るわよ]@>
34	⇒	CJ7:	<@FA [え、リサイタル]　FA@>？
35	⇒		<@F　もうそんな(1)...上手ですか　F@>？

<English Translation>

1		CJ7:	(JJ11's name), do you often play sports?
2	→	JJ11:	Yeah, I like sports.
3	⇒	CJ7:	For example (1)...what kinds of sports?
4	☆→	JJ11:	Every Wednesday, I practise [*taichi*].
5	⇒	CJ7:	[Does that] make you healthy?
6	☆→	JJ11:	Let me think (1)...After practising, you feel refreshed, [I think].
7	⇒	CJ7:	[Refreshed]?
8	☆→	JJ11:	Yeah, you feel great
9	⇒	CJ7:	Huh, (1)...but, is it interesting?
10	☆→	JJ11:	Yeah, because I practise it with [my friends].
11	⇒	CJ7:	[How many] are there in the class?
12	☆→	JJ11:	Let me see, seven, eight people.
13	⇒	CJ7:	All of them Japanese?
14	☆→	JJ11:	No, all kinds of people.
15	⇒	CJ7:	All kinds?
16		JJ11:	Our instructor is Chinese, but he teaches it in English.
...			
17	→	JJ11:	Every Friday, I am also attending flamenco lessons, you know.
18	⇒	CJ7:	What? (1)...Flamenco　(1)...you mean?
19	☆→	JJ11:	<@ Right @>
20	☆	CJ7:	<@FA　Terrific (1)...unbelievable　FA　@>.
21	⇒		(1)...Since when?
22	☆→	JJ11:	I started 10 years ago, I think.
23			(1)...I started it in [Japan].
24	⇒→	CJ7:	[10 years]? Terrific.
25	☆	JJ11:	<@　Not that terrific　@>
26	→		(2)... I couldn't find teachers, so I had stopped practising it ever since I came to Hong Kong.
27			(1)...Last year, I think, I found a newspaper ad for flamenco lessons.
28			(1)...So I started again.
29	⇒	CJ7:	Where?
30	☆→	JJ11:	In the gym in Kowloon Park, you know,
31			(1)...there is a dance studio, there.
32	⇒	CJ7:	(1)...Do you wear <@NB　dresses　NB@>?
33	☆→	JJ11:	<@　We don't wear them during practice, for recitals, [we wear them]@>
34	⇒	CJ7:	<@FA [What, recitals]　FA@>?
35	⇒		<@F　You are already (1)... that good F@>?

<Romanized transcription>

1		CJ7:	(JJ11's name) san, yoku un'doo shimasu ka?
2	→	JJ11:	Un, suki yo.
3	⇒	CJ7:	Tatoeba　(1)...　don'na un'doo desu ka?
4	☆→	JJ11:	Maishuu suiyoo wa ne, taikyokuken no [renshuu].
5	⇒	CJ7:	[Are　] ken'koo ni narimasu ka?
6	☆→	JJ11:	Soo nee (1)...yatta ato, yappari sukkiri suru [kedo ne].
7	⇒	CJ7:	[Sukkiri]?

8	☆→	JJ11:	Un, kimochi ga yoku naru no.
9	⇒	CJ7:	Fuun, (1)...demo, omoshiroi?
10	☆→	JJ11:	Un. Tomodachi mo issho [dakara ne].
11	⇒	CJ7:	[Kurasu] nan'nin gurai?
12	☆→	JJ11:	Eeto, hichi, hachi nin gurai ne.
13	⇒	CJ7:	Zen'bu Nihonjin?
14	☆→	JJ11:	Uun, iron'na hito.
15	⇒	CJ7:	Iron'na?
16		JJ11:	Sensei wa Chuugokujin da kedo, Eigo de oshieru kara ne.
...			
17	→	JJ11:	Maishuu kin'yoo wa, furamenko no ressun ni mo itteru no yo.
18	⇒	CJ7:	Ee? (1)...Furamenko(1)...desu ka?
19	☆→	JJ11:	<@ Soo @>.
20	☆	CJ7:	<@FA Sugoi (1)...shin'jirarenai FA @>.
21	⇒		(1)...Itsu kara?
22	☆→	JJ11:	Moo juunen mae kana.
23			(1)...Nihon de hajimeta n'[da kedo].
24	⇒→	CJ7:	[Juunen]? Sugoi.
25	☆	JJ11:	<@ Soo demo nai kedo @>.
26	→		(2)... Honkon ni kite kara sensei ga inakute zutto yameteta kedo ne.
27			(1)...Kyonen kana, furamenko kyooshitu tte iu shinbun kookoku, mitsuketa no yo.
28			(1)...De, mata hajimeta no.
29	⇒	CJ7:	Doko de?
30	☆→	JJ11:	Kyuuryuu Kooen no taiikukan no naka ni ne,
31			(1)...dan'su sutajio ga aru'n da kedo, soko.
32	⇒	CJ7:	(1)...<@NB Dress NB@>mo kimasu ka?
33	☆→	JJ11:	<@ Ren'shuu no toki wa kinai kedo, risaitaru no [toki wa kiru wa yo]@>
34	⇒	CJ7:	<@FA [E, risaitaru] FA@>?
35	⇒		<@F Moo son'na (1)...joozu desu ka F@>?

Like the other examples discussed above, this example also contains a continuous exchange of turns, which functions as Trigger (→), Signal (⇒), and/or Response (☆), according to Framework 2. CJ7's question in line 1 functions to provide a new topic on the physical exercises which JJ11 currently practises. Between lines 2 and 35, CJ7 has 13 turns and issues nothing but Signals, which total fourteen. Nine of her Signals are questions to seek information (lines 3, 5, 9, 11, 13, 21, 29, 32, 35), and five are requests for clarification on the ongoing topic (lines 7, 15, 18, 24, 34). These explicit CN strategies are categorized as interjection, partial repetition, paraphrase and elaboration, as listed in 3.2.4. In contrast, all JJ11's utterances are Responses, which also function as Triggers to induce CJ7's Signals. Nearly all Responses made by JJ11 are elaboration, except for one case of paraphrase in line 7. That is to say, all JJ11's utterances become Triggers for CJ7 to issue Sigr , all of which prompt JJ11 to give CJ7 Responses. JJ11's Responses then become Triggers to continue the cyclical process of CN-EX. Thus, both participants adopt these explicit CN strategies to maintain their roles as an expert and a non-expert.

In addition to the explicit CN strategies discussed above, CJ7 and JJ11 adopt various implicit CN strategies. CJ7's speech style can be categorized as "machine-gun questioning" (Tannen 1981, 1984), through which she firmly establishes her role as a non-expert to enable JJ11 to talk about the topic as an expert, and also indicates her involvement and interest in JJ11's talk. She shifts her speech styles between her usual formal speech style and the informal style. Such speech style shifts implicitly convey a change of frame in the discourse (cf. Selting 1985, 1987; Cook 1996; Okamoto 1997). Her shift from formal to informal style hints at her closer and more friendly attitude toward JJ11 and/or the ongoing topic, and her shift from informal to formal style suggests that she is regaining her usual psychological distance toward JJ11 as JJ11's junior co-worker. In addition, to convey her involvement and rapport toward JJ11 and the ongoing topic, CJ7 adopts various other implicit CN strategies. For instance, her overlapping speech with JJ11 (lines 5, 7, 11, 24, 34), laughter (lines 20, 32, 34-35), code-switching to an English word, "dress" (line 32), and change of prosody to a louder voice and faster speech rate (lines 20, 34-35), all function as *contexualization cues* to effectively imply CJ7's comical and surprised reaction to the news that JJ11 practises flamenco dancing. Such implicit strategies all contribute to indicate that both participants are in a joking rather than a serious mode.

In contrast, JJ11 not only maintains her role as an expert on the topic to answer every question asked by CJ7, as discussed above, but also skillfully uses implicit CN strategies. For example, her frequent use of the particles "*ne*" (lines 6, 10, 12, 16, 26, 30) and "*yo*" (lines 17, 27, 33) indicates that she is negotiating her power and distance toward CJ7 in order not to impose her expertise too much on CJ7, as well as not to offend her by showing off her rather unusual hobby[6] (Oishi 1985). Here, as McGloin (1991) argues, JJ11 tries to indicate her humility and friendly consideration toward CJ7 through "*ne*" (the particle of rapport/confirmation), while indicating her expertise by giving information totally new to CJ7 through the use of "*yo*" (the particle of insistence). Her use of the particles "*kana*" (line 22) and "*kedo*"(lines 23, 26, 31), which are hedging devices to

indicate a speaker's uncertainty and indirectness (Makino and Tsutsui 1986, 1995), also imply her intention to maintain rapport with CJ7.

In the rating sessions, all JRs and CRs considered CJ7 lively and sociable, and possessed of a very high interactive competence in Japanese. Though CJ7's Japanese proficiency level was categorized as upper-intermediate and her work experience was less than two years, she was capable of participating in the interaction as a non-expert. CJ7 admitted that she was outgoing and that she really enjoyed talking with her Japanese co-workers in Japanese. She evaluated her Japanese proficiency as insufficient, and was strongly determined to improve it by interacting with Japanese-speaking co-workers as often as possible at the workplace. All five JRs and three out of five CRs noticed various implicit CN strategies used by JJ11 as discussed above, evaluating her positively as a friendly senior co-worker and an effective communicator in interacting with nonnative co-workers in intercultural situations. JJ11 said that she was known as "an exercise freak" among her Japanese and Chinese co-workers, and many of them purposely chose topics related to exercises when talking to her. She was therefore accustomed to conversations on such topics, and could easily guess what would be asked. This was because her interlocutors' questions and her answers were almost "patterned." It was not surprising to hear from the participant that NWRT, as illustrated in this example, is based on conversation routines and formulaic patterns (Coulmas 1981; Kawasaki 1989). Based on this evidence, it seems vital to teach Japanese language learners basic types of conversation routines and patterns frequently used in NWRT in the workplace in order to facilitate their full participation in Japanese interaction in the workplace.

7.3.2 The nonnative speaker as an expert

The following example[7] contains two processes of conversational negotiation: a main sequence which is that of CN-EX in Japanese involving CJ1 and her two Japanese co-workers, JJ2 and JJ3, and *a side-sequence* which is that of CN-PM/fact in Cantonese, involving CJ1 and a Cantonese speaking co-worker, CC1. In the latter process, CJ1 and

CC1 negotiate the propositional meaning resulting from factual ambiguity which occurred in the main sequence, and CJ1 returns to the main sequence to interact with JJ2 and JJ3 (Jefferson 1972). In order to distinguish the two sequences, the functions of turns in the side-sequence are presented in the data with codes according to Framework 2 shown in brackets. Cantonese conversations between CJ1 and CC1 are translated into Japanese in the Japanese and Romanized transcriptions, and into English in the English version.

As mentioned above, the participants in Example 7-5, CJ1, JJ2, JJ3, and CC1, are co-workers and the interaction takes place in the workplace during lunchtime. CJ1, JJ2 and JJ3 usually communicate in Japanese, CJ1 and CC1 in Cantonese, and JJ2, JJ3 and CC1 communicate in English. When talking in Japanese, CJ1 normally uses the formal style with JJ2 and JJ3, while JJ2 and JJ3 speak to CJ1 in the informal style. CJ1 first introduces the topic of a recent accident in a studio in a Tokyo broadcasting station involving a member of a Hong Kong rock band called "The Beyond". CJ1 is the talker who provides information on the accident as an expert, while JJ2 and JJ3, as non-experts, ask CJ1 short questions to seek information and clarification. The process is "switched-off" (terminated) not by any of the participants changing topic, but by a telephone call.

Example 7-5 [CJ1-12]

1		CJ1:	あのホンコンのね、
2			(1)... あのひとつの
3			(1)...バーン＜N B band NB>
4			(1)... あの、その中の一人の歌手が日本で、
5			(1)... あのテレビ出た時、
6	→		(1)... 三階ぐらいの高さの台から落ちたんですよ。
7	⇒	JJ3:	あっ、あのビヨンドでしょう？
8	☆→	CJ1:	そうそうそうそうそう。
9	⇒	JJ3:	どうなったの？
10	☆→	CJ1:	まだ＝あのー
11			(2)... まだ意識不明。
12	⇒	JJ3:	＜X [女っぽい人]でしょう? X＞
13	⇒	JJ2:	[男の子 ?]
14	☆	CJ1:	男の子。
15		JJ2:	ああそう。
16	→	CJ1:	まだ若いよ。
17	⇒→		あの人２０ちょっと？
18	☆	JJ3:	かわいそう。
19	→	CJ1:	あのーもう一人日本人のスタッフも、
20			(1)... あの一落ちた —— 怪我したけど、
21			(1)... あの人だいじょうぶだったんですよ。
22			(1)... あの (3)... あの一病院であのちょっと治療受けてから、
23			(1)... もうかい —— かえったんですよ。

24	⇒	JJ2:	運が悪かったんじゃない？
25	☆	CJ1:	そうそうそう。
26	→		(1)...なんかね、
27			あのゲームやってるみたいですね。
28			ちょっと水あるからすべっちゃったんですよ。
29		JJ2:	(2)... ＜X あーあ、水ぐらいで X＞
30		CJ1:	[@@@@@]
31		JJ3:	[@@@@@]
32		CJ1:	(2)...しかし、
33			(1)...いちばんひどいなのは日本のテレビとか放送局、
34	→		(1)...みんなこのニュースを隠したんですよ。
35			(2)....あの外に漏らさないように。
36	⇒	JJ3:	(1)... 隠した？
37	☆→	CJ1:	隠したんですよ。
38	☆	JJ3:	(4)....へぇー。
39	⇒		(2)....どして隠したのかな？
40	☆	CJ1:	わかんない。
41	→		(3)....あの脳はねー出血、
42			(1)...ぜったい——
43	⇒	JJ3:	(2)....治るかな？
44	☆→	CJ1:	(2)....治ってもね &
45		JJ3:	＜X うーん X＞
46	☆	CJ1:	& 動けない。
47	(⇒)	JJ3:	いくつぐらいの人？
48	(☆→)	CJ1:	２０ちょっと？
49	(⇒)		((Speaking to a Chinese speaking co-worker, CC1, in Cantonese. The Japanese translations are presented in italics in the brackets.)) *(Ｂｅｙｏｎｄの黄家駒って何歳ぐらい？)*
50	(☆→)	CC1:	*(31歳ぐらいじゃない)*
51	(☆)	CJ1:	*(えっ、そんな年だった？)*
52			@@@@
53	(☆→)		((Speaking to JJ2 & JJ3 in Japanese.)) ＜FA さんじゅう＝いち、＝ FA＞@@@
54	(⇒)		((Speaking to CC1 in Cantonese. The Japanese translations are presented in italics in the brackets.)) *(２４歳ぐらいじゃなかった？)*
55	(☆⇒)	CC1:	*(ちがうよ。死んだの？)*
56	(☆→)	CJ1:	*(まだ)*
57	(⇒)	CC1:	*(死んだほうがましだよ。)*
58	☆	CJ1:	((Speaking to JJ2 & JJ3 in Japanese.)) 治ってもなんかあるかわかんないって

[Telephone starts ringing]

<English translation>

1		CJ1:	(1)...Eh, a Hong Kong's...
2			(1)...Eh, one of ...
3			(1)...Bam ＜NB band NB>
4			(1)...Eh, one of the singers,
5			(1)...When the band appeared on a TV program in Japan,
6	→		(1)...Fell from the stage which was as high as the third floor.
7	⇒	JJ3:	Oh, that was Beyond, wasn't it?
8	☆→	CJ1:	Right, right, right, right, right.
9	⇒	JJ3:	What happened to him?
10	☆→	CJ1:	Still = eh
11			(2)... unconscious.
12	⇒	JJ3:	＜X [somewhat feminine] isn't he? X＞
13	⇒	JJ2:	[Is he a boy ?]
14	☆	CJ1:	A boy.
15		JJ2:	I see.
16	→	CJ1:	He is still young, I think.
17	⇒→		Just over 20 years old?
18	☆	JJ3:	Poor man.

19	→	CJ1:	Eh, one Japanese staff member also,
20			(1)... Eh, fell– and injured but,
21			(1)... That person was all right.
22			(1)... Eh—(3)... eh- after he was treated briefly at the hospital,
23			(1)... He soon wa -- went home.
24	⇒	JJ2:	(That singer was) unlucky, wasn't he?
25	☆	CJ1:	Right, right, right.
26	→		(1)...It seemed like, you know.
27			They seemed to be playing a kind of game.
28			Because of a little water (on the stage), they slipped, I heard.
29		JJ2:	(2)... < X Oh, no, only a little water (caused such a terrible accident) X >
30		CJ1:	[@@@@@]
31		JJ3:	[@@@@@]
32		CJ1:	(2)...However,
33			(1)... The most terrible thing is that Japanese TV broadcasting stations,
34	→		(1)... all hid this news.
35			(2)....Eh, in order not to leak it outside.
36	⇒	JJ3:	(1)... Hid (the news)?
37	☆→	CJ1:	They hid the news, I heard.
38	☆	JJ3:	(4)....Huh.
39	⇒		(2)....Why did they hide the news?
40	☆	CJ1:	I don't know.
41	→		(3)....Eh, his brain is, you know—bleeding
42			(1)... (So he will) never---
43	⇒	JJ3:	(2)....Can he recover, I wonder?
44	☆→	CJ1:	(2)....Even if he recovered &
45		JJ3:	< X Mhh X >
46	☆	CJ1:	& (He) would not be able to move.
47	(⇒)	JJ3:	How old is he?
48	(☆→)	CJ1:	Little over 20?
49	(⇒)		((Speaking to a Chinese speaking co-worker, CC1, in Cantonese. The English translations are presented in italics in the brackets.)) *(How old is Wong Ka Keui in the Beyond?)*
50	(☆→)	CC1:	*(Around 31 years old, I guess.)*
51	(☆)	CJ1:	*(What! Is he that old?)*
52			@@@@
53	(☆→)		((Speaking to JJ2 & JJ3 in Japanese.)) < FA Thirty= one = FA > @@@
54	(⇒)		((Speaking to CC1 in Cantonese. The English translations are presented in italics in the brackets.)) *(Isn't he around 24 years old?)*
55	(☆⇒)	CC1:	*(Nope. Did he die?)*
56	(☆→)	CJ1:	*(No, he is still fighting for his life.)*
57	(⇒)	CC1:	*(It would be better to die than to live, I think.)*
58	☆	CJ1:	((speaking to JJ2 & JJ3 in Japanese) He might possibly have some complications, even if he can recover, they say.

[Telephone starts ringing]

<Romanized transcript>

1		CJ1	Ano Honkon no ne,
2			(1)... Ano hitotsu no,
3			(1)...Baan <NB band NB>,
4			(1)... Ano, sono naka no hitori no kashu de,
5			(1)... Ano terebi deta toki,
6	→		(1)... Sangai-gurai no takasa no dai kara ochita'n desu yo.
7	⇒	JJ3:	A, ano, Biyondo deshoo?
8	☆→	CJ1:	Soo, soo, soo, soo, soo.
9	⇒	JJ3:	Doo [illegible]tta no?
10	☆→	CJ1:	Mada=Anoo,
11			(2)... Mada ishiki fumei.
12	⇒	JJ3:	< X [On'nappoi hito] deshoo? X >
13	⇒	JJ2:	[Otoko no ko?]

14	☆	CJ1:	Otoko no ko.
15		JJ2:	Aa soo.
16	→	CJ1:	Mada wakai yo.
17	⇒→		Ano hito nijuu chotto?
18	☆	JJ3:	Kawaisoo.
19	→	CJ1:	Anoo— moo hitori Nihonjin no sutaffu mo,
20			(1)... Anoo— ochita — kega shita kedo,
21			(1)... Ano hito daijoobu datta'n desu yo.
22			(1)... Ano (3)...anoo, byooin de ano, chotto chiryoo ukete kara,
23			(1)... Moo kai — kaetta'n desu yo.
24	⇒	JJ2:	Un ga warukatta 'n ja nai?
25	☆	CJ1:	Soo, soo, soo.
26	→		(1)...Nanka ne.
27			Ano, geimu yatteru mitai desu ne.
28			Chotto mizu aru kara subetchatta'n desu yo.
29		JJ2:	(2)... < X Aaa, mizu-gurai de X >
30		CJ1:	[@@@@@]
31		JJ3:	[@@@@@]
32		CJ1:	(2)...Shikashi,
33			(1)... Ichiban hidoi na no wa Nihon no terebi toka hoosookyoku,
34	→		(1)... Minna kono nyuusu wo kakushita'n desu yo.
35			(2)....Ano soto ni morasanai yoo ni.
36	⇒	JJ3:	(1)... Kakushita?
37	☆→	CJ1:	Kakushita'n desu yo.
38	☆	JJ3:	(4)....Hee.
39	⇒		(2)....Doshite kakushita no kana?
40	☆	CJ1:	Waka'n nai.
41	→		(3)....Ano noo wa ne — shukketstu,
42			(1)... Zettai —
43	⇒	JJ3:	(2)....Naoru kana?
44	☆→	CJ1:	(2)....Naottemo ne &
45		JJ3:	< X Uun X >
46	☆	CJ1:	& Ugokenai.
47	(⇒)	JJ3:	Ikutsu gurai no hito?
48	(☆→)	CJ1:	Nijuu chottoo?
49	(⇒)		((Speaking to a Chinese speaking co-worker, CC1, in Cantonese. The Japanese translations are presented in italics in the brackets.)) *(Biyondo no Wong Ka Kuei tte nansai gurai?)*
50	(☆→)	CC1:	*(Sanjuuissai gurai ja nai)*
51	(☆)	CJ1:	*(E, son'na toshi datta?)*
52			@@@@
53	(☆→)		((Speaking to JJ2 & JJ3 in Japanese.)) < FA Sanjuu = ichi = FA > @@@
54	(⇒)		((Speaking to CC1 in Cantonese. The Japanese translations are presented in italics in the brackets.)) *(Nijuuyonsai gurai ja nakatta?)*
55	(☆⇒)	CC1:	*(Chigau yo. Shinda no?)*
56	(☆→)	CJ1:	*(Mada.)*
57	(⇒)	CC1:	*(Shinda hoo ga mashi da yo.)*
58	☆	CJ1:	((Speaking to JJ2 & JJ3 in Japanese)) Naotte mo nan'ka aru ka wakan'nai tte.

[Telephone starts ringing]

The process of CN-EX in the above example forms a series of exchanges of turns, which function as Trigger (→), Signal (⇒), and/or Response (☆). CJ1 introduces the topic in lines 1-6, which becomes a Trigger for JJ3 to immediately issue the first of her seven Signals to check her comprehension regarding the meaning of the ongoing discourse

and supply a candidate answer, "*A, ano Biyondo deshoo?*" (Oh, that was Beyond, wasn't it?) in line 7. Between line 1 and line 46, CJ1's utterances gradually reveal information on the critical condition of the musician of the band, all of which function as Triggers for JJ3 or JJ2 to issue nine Signals. In contrast, JJ3 and JJ2 remain as listeners. JJ3 issues seven Signals in order to check her comprehension (lines 7), to request information (lines 9, 47), or to request clarification (lines 12, 36, 39, 43) of the ongoing topic. JJ2 issues two Signals: the first one (line 13) is to clarify JJ3's previous utterance (line 12), and the second one (line 24) to clarify CJ1's utterance (lines 19-23). Interaction between line 47 and line 57 forms *a side sequence* (Jefferson 1977), which is initiated by JJ3 asking CJ1 a question to seek information on the age of the musician. Since CJ1's knowledge of the musician is limited, she only knows that he is just over 20 (as she mentioned in lines 16-17), she switches to Cantonese to ask CC1 the question. This starts the process of CN-PM/fact as a side-sequence, which ends in line 57. In line 58, CJ1 returns to the main sequence, by switching back to Japanese and saying to JJ2 and JJ3, "*Naottemo nan' ka aru ka wakan'nai tte*" (Even if he recovered, he might possibly have some complications, they say), which is the partial repetition and continuing remark of her own previous utterance, "*Naottemo ne, ugokenai*" (Even if he recovered, he would not be able to move) in lines 44 and 46 of the main sequence.

In order to understand the process of CN-EX in the example, we must pay attention to various implicit CN strategies adopted by the participants. Firstly, the unbalanced contribution of talk among the participants is striking. Out of 58 turns, 41 turns (71%) are held by CJ1, while four turns, 10 turns, and three turns are held by JJ2, JJ3, and CC1 respectively. This clearly shows CJ1's dominance in the process of CN-EX. Secondly, between lines 1 and 46, CJ1's utterances gradually reveal more the hidden aspects of the accident, rather than the critical condition of the musician. After mentioning that the musician is still unconscious (line 11), how the accident happened (lines 6, 19-23, 26-28), and the fact that an injured Japanese member of staff was released from the hospital (lines 19-23), she starts to criticize the fact that the Japanese broadcasting stations tried to first cover up the accident (lines 32-35). CJ1's use of a

conjunction of opposition (Maynard 1990), "*shikashi*" (however, but) in line 32, functions as a discourse marker to effectively indicate a change in the discourse. It clarifies the roles CJ1 and JJ2/JJ3 play, and, more importantly, indicates a possible conflict between the participants (Jones 1990). CJ1 continues to express her discontent regarding how the Japanese media handled the case wrongly, protesting rather emotionally, saying that the musician would not be able to move again, even if he recovered (lines 41-42, 44, 46, 58).

Thirdly, CJ1 adopts various implicit CN strategies, such as use of a pause, a filler, "*ano*", and the sentence-final particles, "*yo*" and "*ne*", in order to redress the negative effect of the FTA resulting from her utterances (Brown and Levinson 1978, 1987), and in order not to damage her friendly relations with her Japanese co-workers. In the seemingly objective account of the accident in her utterances, CJ1 tries to implicitly convey her uncomfortable and angry feelings toward the Japanese media, trying her best not to offend her Japanese co-workers. CJ1 uses the filler, "*ano*", 11 times. Together with a pause, the filler "*ano*" is used here as a hesitation marker at the beginning of her utterances, to align the speaker with the addressees, JJ2 and JJ3, and involve them in the topic (Cook 1994). Furthermore, CJ1 effectively uses the final particles, "*yo*" and "*ne*", to balance her dominance/power as the expert and rapport/solidarity as the co-worker by adjusting her psychological distance from the Japanese participants in order not to offend them (cf. Kamio 1979; Oishi 1985; Cook 1990). Comments from JRs and CJs in the follow-up interviews confirmed that CJ1 effectively used pauses, the filler "*ano*", and the sentence-final particles in her utterances, through which she indicated her hesitation in criticizing the Japanese media too harshly in front of her Japanese co-workers. In the process, she tactfully succeeded in transmitting her *personal* sympathy toward the dying musician and her *public* dissatisfaction and anger as a Hong Kong citizen toward the way the accident was handled by the Japanese media, without offending her Japanese co-workers. Thus, CJ1 is balancing her two roles, that is, the expert role when giving a factual account of the accident to JJ2 and JJ3, and another role as a co-worker who is willing to maintain rapport and a friendly relationship with her Japanese co-workers.

Fourthly, JJ2 and JJ3 tactfully keep non-expert roles to show their involvement in the topic at a minimum level, by issuing only information questions and clarification requests. For instance, JJ3's question in line 47 is not categorized as a genuine referential question to seek information, since JJ3 vaguely knows about the musician's age based on CJ1's utterance in lines 16-17. JJ3 issues this question, not because she wishes to seek information, but because she wants to avoid any further conflict among CJ1, JJ3 and herself regarding the ongoing topic[8]. Comments from the follow-up interviews confirmed that JJ2 and JJ3 were well aware of the possibility of such a conflict during their interaction, so they tried their best to "exit" from the topic, which may have damaged their friendly relations with CJ1. All raters in the rating sessions stated that they were a bit concerned when they heard CJ1 talking about the topic again at the end of the interaction and not dropping it.

Lastly, it is worth investigating the function of the side-sequence in the above example. As previously mentioned, the side-sequence here is not for the purpose of error-correction in the discourse (Jefferson 1972), but is created by JJ3, intending to avoid an imminent conflict among CJ1 and the Japanese co-workers, and to quickly return to the usual friendly atmosphere of lunchtime. When CJ1 is told by CC1 that the musician is almost 10 years older than the age she had told JJ2 and JJ3 (lines 16-17), CJ1 laughs lightheartedly to reveal her mistake openly and reduce the stress of losing face[9] (Brown and Levinson 1978, 1987; Jefferson 1979, 1984; Jefferson, Sacks and Schegloff 1987). Then, switching to Japanese, she laughingly reports to JJ2 and JJ3 that he is 31 instead of just over 20, in a louder voice and faster speech rate. In the follow-up interviews, JJ2 and JJ3 thought that CJ1 would drop the topic, when they heard her laughing so hard. However, JJ3's effort towards managing (avoiding) the conflict, by creating the side-sequence, is not entirely successful, since CJ1 has not yet forgotten what they have been talking about. CJ1's last utterance in line 58, "*Naottemo nan' ka aru ka wakan'nai tte*" (Even if he can recover, he might possibly have some complications, they say), is a partial repetition of her previous utterances just before the side-sequence (lines 44 and 46). This reminds JJ2 and JJ3 of the critical condition of the musician. Also, CJ1 uses a

linguistic form of indirect quotation "*tte* (they say)" in her utterance, as if she were informing JJ2 and JJ3, who do not understand Cantonese at all, that the content of her utterance is based on CC1's Cantonese utterances of lines 51, 55 and 57. However, as we see from the translations in the data, this does not reflect exactly what CC1 said during the side-sequence in Cantonese but reflects CJ1's personal and subjective interpretation of the accident.

7.3.3. Rotation of roles as expert and non-expert

Example 7-6 illustrates how Chinese and Japanese participants rotate their roles as expert and non-expert in the process of CN-EX. CJ10, who is 23 years old, and JJ15, who is in her 20s, are both information officers at a tourist information office. Since both of them are about the same age, female, and have the same job title, they talk to each other in informal style. CJ10's Japanese is still limited, since her proficiency is categorized as intermediate and her working experience is limited to one year. Therefore, she usually speaks English for work-related talk, and Japanese for non-work-related talk. JJ15 had been in Hong Kong for about one year at the time of recording, so she is very anxious to seek information from her Chinese co-workers on various things in Hong Kong. The process of CN-EX of the example lasted nearly twelve minutes, in which CJ10 and JJ15 constantly move from one topic to another regarding food culture, festivals, and traditional customs of Hong Kong, with the interaction taking place during a one-hour lunchtime at the workplace. The non-expert participant of the two, depending on the ongoing topic, initiates CN-EX in a rotating manner. The twelve-minute CN-EX process is terminated at 1:30 pm, when CJ10 and JJ15 have to resume their work after lunchtime.

Example 7-6 [CJ10 -9]

1	→	CJ10:	結婚式の朝 (1)...お嫁さんの友達はお嫁さんと
2	⇒	JJ15:	友達？(1)...家族じゃないの？
3	☆→	CJ10:	あ、(1)...親友５人ぐらいいっしょ (1)...うちの中。
4	☆⇒	JJ15:	あ、親友。
5	☆→	CJ10:	そう。お婿さんは (1)...お嫁さんのうちに入ることできない。
6			(1)...ドア (1)...あの一鍵かかっている[からね]。
7	⇒	JJ15:	<FA [え、なぜ]？ なぜ、入らないの？ FA>
8	⇒		(1)...お婿さんは迎えに来たんじゃないの？
9	☆→	CJ10:	あー(1)...それは (1)... あの一お嫁さんの友達は
10			(1)...いっぱいむずかしい問題を作る[から]&

11	⇒	JJ15:	[どう]いうふうに？
12	☆→	CJ15:	& お婿さんは　えーあのー(1)... まだ答えられない。
13			(1)...<@ だから、まだ、お婿さんに会えない @>
14	⇒	JJ15:	<FA @ あー、わざと意地悪な質問するのね @FA>
15	☆	CJ10:	<@　そう、そう、お嫁さんの友達　@>、
16			(1)...<@　お婿さんをいじめる、楽しみよ　@>
17			(2)... えー これ、
18	→		(1)... えーと、香港の一種の (1)...　<NB　ceremony　NB>
19	⇒	JJ15:	そうか、儀式のわけね。
...			
20	→	JJ15:	<NB　Yamcha　NB> って楽しいよね。
21	⇒	CJ10:	(1)...そんな楽しい？ (1)...かな。
22	☆→	JJ15:	食べものチョイスたくさんあって. おいしいし安いしね。
23	⇒	CJ10:	(1)...そんな安い？
24	☆→	JJ15:	<FA ほんとよ、最高　FA>。
25			香港の人っていいな、毎日<NB yamcha　NB>できて。
26	⇒	CJ10:	(1)...毎日？
27	☆→	JJ15:	そうよ。(1)...（CJ10 の名前）さんの家の人毎朝<NB yamcha　NB>するんでしょ？
28	⇒→	CJ10:	(1)...いや。
29	⇒	JJ15:	じゃあ、毎週末ぐらい？
30	☆→	CJ10:	うーん、(1)...もっと少ないよ。
31	→		(1)...一ヶ月に一回ぐらい (1)...かな。
32	⇒	JJ15:	<FA えー、そんなに少ないの FA>？
33	☆→	CJ10:	だって、<NB yamcha NB>の食べ物、体にあまりよくないって。
34	⇒	JJ15:	え、どういうふうに？
35	☆→	CJ10:	<@@NB　high salt, high fat, high cholesterol　NB@@>.
36	⇒	JJ15:	<FA えーほんと FA>？
37	☆→	CJ10:	<@　そうらしいよ。毎日食べたら血圧あがって太るって@　>。
38	☆	JJ15:	<@F えー、そう、あーショック F@>
...			
39		JJ15:	この前上海蟹食べたけど、あれ、すごくおいしいね。
40		CJ10:	(1)...へえー。
41	→	JJ15:	そう。ちょっと高かったけどね、
42	⇒		でもさ、去年よりやすいって、ほんと？
43	☆→	CJ10:	(1)... いえ、知らない。
44	⇒	JJ15:	え、知らないの。
45	☆→	CJ10:	<@　だって、一度も食べたことないよ、あれ　@>。
46	⇒	JJ15:	<FA　え？　うそでしょ？　FA>
47	⇒		(2)...<FA　香港の人みんな食べるんじゃないの　FA>？
48	☆→	CJ10:	(1)...あれ、もともと広東の食べ物じゃない、上海のよ。
49	☆→	JJ15:	(1)... あ、そうだよね。
50	☆→	CJ10:	あれ、高級 (1)...贅沢品、だから普通の香港人はねー
51			(1)... <@　買えない、たべ (1)... 食べられない、高すぎて　@>。
52	☆→	JJ15:	(1)...なるほどね。
53	⇒	CJ10:	<@　なにが　なるほど　@>？
54	☆	JJ15:	(2)...<@　そっか (1)...わかった @>。
55	→		(1)...あれね、上海のあたりの淡水湖で獲って長距離電車で運ぶのよね。
56	(⇒)	CJ10:	淡水湖？
57	(☆→)	JJ15:	海の水じゃなくて。
58	(☆→)	CJ10:	(1)...あー<NB taamsui NB>。
59	☆→	JJ15:	(1)...友達に聞いたけどね、
60			(1)...値段が高いのはね、輸送費と仲介業者の関係らしいよね。
61	☆⇒	CJ10:	すごく高い？
62	☆→	JJ15:	うん。(1)...上海蟹って (1)...今しか食べられないのよね。
63	⇒	CJ10:	(1)...今？
64	☆→		９月から１２月までだけだって。
65	☆⇒		今だけ、シーズン？
66	☆→	JJ15:	そう。(2)...あれね、漢方ではね、
67			(1)...からだを冷やす毒があるって
68			そいで、ショウガとお酢をつけて食べなきゃいけないって
69	☆⇒	CJ10:	<@　どうして、こんなくわしい？　@>。

70 ☆ JJ15: <@ 全部友達に聞いたことばっかりだけど @>
71 CJ10: (1)... <@ あ、そろそろ、仕事 @>。
72 JJ15: <@ あ、もう一時半か @>。

<English Translations>

1 → CJ10: On the morning of a wedding (1)...the bride and her friends,
2 ⇒ JJ15: Her friends? (1)...Not her family?
3 ☆→ CJ10: Oh, (1)...Her best friends, about five of them are (1)...at her home.
4 ☆⇒ JJ15: Oh, her best friends.
5 ☆→ CJ10: Yeah. The bridegroom is (1)...not allowed to enter her house.
6 (1)...Because the door (1)...ehh, is locked, [you know].
7 ⇒ JJ15: <FA [Eh, why]? why doesn't he enter? FA>
8 ⇒ (1)...Doesn't he come to pick her up?
9 ☆→ CJ10: Ah, (1)...That is because (1)... ehh, the bride's friends,
10 (1)...give him a lot of difficult [problems] &
11 ⇒ JJ15: [What kind] of?
12 ☆→ CJ15: & the bridegroom is unable to, ehh, (1)... answer them yet.
13 (1)...<@ That's why, he is not yet allowed to see her @>.
14 ⇒ JJ15: <FA @ Oh, you mean, they purposely ask him mean questions @FA>?
15 ☆ CJ10: <@ That's right, that's right. The bride's friends @>,
16 (1)...<@ enjoy bullying him, I think.@>
17 (2)... Ehh, this is,
18 → (1)... Ehh, a kind of (1)... <NB ceremony NB> in Hong Kong.
19 ⇒ JJ15: I see, you mean this is the ceremony (on the wedding morning in Hong Kong).
...
20 → JJ15: <NB Yamcha NB> is enjoyable, don't you think.
21 ⇒ CJ10: (1)...Is it that enjoyable? (1)...I wonder.
22 ☆→ JJ15: Many choices of food, delicious and cheap, you know.
23 ⇒ CJ10: (1)...That cheap?
24 ☆→ JJ15: <FA I think it really is. It's terrific FA>.
25 How I envy Hong Kong people, since they can enjoy <NB yamcha NB> everyday.
26 ⇒ CJ10: (1)...Every day?
27 ☆→ JJ15: Yeah. (1)...Your family members also go to <NB yamcha NB>every morning, don't they?
28 ⇒→ CJ10: (1)...Nope.
29 ⇒ JJ15: Then, something like every weekend?
30 ☆→ CJ10: Uu-n,(1)...less frequently than that, I think.
31 → (1)...Once a month (1)...something like that.
32 ⇒ JJ15: <FA What, that infrequent FA>?
33 ☆→ CJ10: Because the food served for <NB yamcha NB> is not very healthy, they say.
34 ⇒ JJ15: What! how (unhealthy is it)?
35 ☆→ CJ10: <@@NB high salt, high fat, high cholesterol NB@@>.
36 ⇒ JJ15: <FA What, really FA>?
37 ☆→ CJ10: <@That's what I have heard. Eating it everyday would make your blood pressure rise and you get fat @>.
38 ☆ JJ15: <@F What, is that right? Oh, what a surprise F@>!
...
39 JJ15: The other day, I ate Shanghai crabs. They were delicious, you know.
40 CJ10: (1)...You think so.
41 → JJ15: Yeah. They were a bit expensive, though, you know.
42 ⇒ But I've heard that they are cheaper than last year. Is that true?
43 ☆→ CJ10: (1)... Oh, I don't know.
44 ⇒ JJ15: What! You don't know.
45 ☆→ CJ10: <@ Because I have never eaten them before @>.
46 ⇒ JJ15: <FA What? Are you kidding? FA>
47 ⇒ (2)...<FA All Hong Kong people would eat them, wouldn't they FA>?
48 ☆→ CJ10: (1)...These things are not originally Cantonese food, but Shanghainese, I think.
49 ☆→ JJ15: (1)... Oh, that's right.
50 ☆→ CJ10: They are, expensive (1)...luxurious items, so ordinary people in Hong Kong, you know,
51 (1)... <@ cannot afford to buy, ea-- (1)... eat, because they are too expensive @>.
52 ☆→ JJ15: (1)...I see.
53 ⇒ CJ10: <@ What did you see @>?

54 ☆	JJ15:	(2)...<@ Oh, you are right (1)..I understand @>.
55 →		(1)...These crabs were caught in fresh water lakes near Shanghai, and transported to Hong Kong by long distance trains, you know.
56 (⇒)	CJ10:	Fresh water lakes?
57 (☆→)	JJ15:	Not in the salty water (in the ocean).
58 (☆→)	CJ10:	(1)...Oh <NB taamsui (means "fresh water" in Cantonese)NB>.
59 ☆→	JJ15:	(1)...I've heard from my friends, you know,
60		(1)...that the reason the prices are high is due to the expense of transportation and middlemen, you know.
61 ☆⇒	CJ10:	Are they very expensive?
62 ☆→	JJ15:	Yeah. (1)...Shanghai crabs (1)...are available only now, you know.
63 ⇒	CJ10:	(1)...Now?
64 ☆→		Only from September to December.
65 ☆⇒		Only now is the season (for tasting the crabs)?
66 ☆→	JJ15:	Yeah. (2)...These, you know, according to Chinese medicine,
67		(1)...are considered to have poison to cool your body, they say.
68		Therefore, we must eat them together with ginger and vinegar, they say.
69 ☆⇒	CJ10:	<@ Why are you so knowlegeable (about the crabs) ?@>.
70 ☆	JJ15:	<@ I learned everything from my friends, though @>
71	CJ10:	(1)... <@ Oh, it's about time to work @>.
72	JJ15:	<@ Oh, already one thirty @>.

<Romanized Transcription>

1 →	CJ10:	Kekkonshiki no asa (1)...oyomesan no tomodachi wa oyomesan to,
2 ⇒	JJ15:	Tomodachi? (1)...Kazoku ja nai no?
3 ☆→	CJ10:	Aa, (1)...Shinyuu gonin-gurai issho (1)...uchi no naka.
4 ☆⇒	JJ15:	Aa, shinyuu.
5 ☆→	CJ10:	Soo. Omukosan wa (1)...oyomesan no uchi ni hairu koto dekinai.
6		(1)...Doa (1)...anoo-- kagi kakatteru [kara ne].
7 ⇒	JJ15:	<FA [E, naze]? Naze hairanai no? FA>
8 ⇒		(1)...Omukosan wa mukae ni kita n'ja nai no?
9 ☆→	CJ10:	Aa--(1)...sore wa (1)... anoo- oyomesan no tomodachi wa,
10		(1)...ippai muzukashii mondai tsukuru [kara] &
11 ⇒	JJ15:	[Doo] iu fuu ni?
12 ☆→	CJ15:	& Omukosan wa, ee- anoo- (1)... mada kotaerarenai.
13		(1)...<@ Dakara, mada, oyomesan ni aenai @>.
14 ⇒	JJ15:	<FA @ Aa--, wazato ijiwaruna shitsumon suru no ne @FA>.
15 ☆	CJ10:	<@ Soo, soo, oyomesan no tomodachi @>,
16		(1)...<@ Omukosan o ijimeru, tanoshimi yo @>.
17		(2)... Ee, kore,
18 →		(1)... Eeto, Honkon no isshu no (1)... <NB ceremony NB>.
19 ⇒	JJ15:	Soo ka, gishiki no wake ne.
...		
20 →	JJ15:	<NB Yamcha NB> tte tanoshii yo ne.
21 ⇒	CJ10:	(1)...Son'na tanoshii? (1)...kana.
22 ☆→	JJ15:	Tabemono choisu takusan atte, oishii shi yasui shi ne.
23 ⇒	CJ10:	(1)...Son'na yasui?
24 ☆→	JJ15:	<FA Honto yo, saikoo FA>.
25		Honkon no hito tte ii na, mainichi <NB yamcha NB> dekite.
26 ⇒	CJ10:	(1)...Mainichi?
27 ☆→	JJ15:	Soo yo.(1)... (CJ10's name)-san no uchi no hito maiasa<NB yamcha NB>suru n' desho?
28 ⇒→	CJ10:	(1)...Iya.
29 ⇒	JJ15:	Jaa, maishuu matsu gurai?
30 ☆→	CJ10:	Uu--n,(1)...motto sukunai yo.
31 →		(1)...Ikkagetu ni ikkai gurai (1)...kana.
32 ⇒	JJ15:	<FA Ee--, son'na ni sukunai no FA>?
33 ☆→	CJ10:	Datte,<NB yamcha NB> no tabemono, karada ni amari yoku nai tte.
34 ⇒	JJ15:	E, doo iu fuu ni?
35 ☆→	CJ10:	<@@NB high salt, high fat, high cholesterol NB@@>.
36 ⇒	JJ15:	<FA Ee--, honto FA>?
37 ☆→	CJ10:	<@ Soo rashii yo. Mainichi tabetara ketsuatsu agatte futoru tte @>.
38 ☆	JJ15:	<@F Ee--, soo, aa, shokku F@>.

...			
39		JJ15:	Kono mae, Shanhai-gani tabeta kedo, are, sugoku oishii ne.
40		CJ10:	(1)...Hee.
41	→	JJ15:	Soo, chotto takakatta kedo ne.
42	⇒		Demo sa, kyonen yori yasui tte honto?
43	☆→	CJ10:	(1)... Ie, shiranai.
44	⇒	JJ15:	E, shiranai no.
45	☆→	CJ10:	<@ Datte, ichido mo tabeta koto nai yo, are @>.
46	⇒	JJ15:	<FA E? Uso deshoo? FA>
47	⇒		(2)...<FA Honkon no hito min'na taberu n'ja nai no FA>?
48	☆→	CJ10:	(1)...Are, motomoto Kanton no tabemono ja nai, Shanhai no yo
49	☆→	JJ15:	(1)... A, soo da yo ne.
50	☆→	CJ10:	Are, kookyuu (1)...zeitakuhin, dakara futsuu no Honkonjin wa nee,
51			(1)... <@ Kaenai, tabe- (1)... taberarenai, takasugite @>.
52	☆→	JJ15:	(1)...Naruhodo ne.
53	⇒	CJ10:	<@ Nani ga naruhodo @>?
54	☆	JJ15:	(2)...<@ Sokka (1)...wakatta @>.
55	→		(1)...Are ne. Shanhai no atari no tansuiko de totte chookyori densha de hakobu no yo ne.
56	(⇒)	CJ10:	Tansuiko?
57	(☆→)	JJ15:	Umi no mizu ja nakute.
58	(☆→)	CJ10:	(1)...Aa--<NB taamsui NB>.
59	☆→	JJ15:	(1)...Tomodachi ni kiita kedo ne,
60			(1)...Nedan ga takai no wa ne, yusoohi to chuukai-gyoosha no kankei rashii yo ne.
61	☆⇒	CJ10:	Sugoku takai?
62	☆→	JJ15:	Un. (1)...Shanhai-gani tte (1)...ima shika taberarenai no yo ne.
63	⇒	CJ10:	(1)...Ima ?
64	☆→		Kugatsu kara juunigatsu made dake datte.
65	☆⇒		Ima dake, shiizun?
66	☆→	JJ15:	Soo.(2)...Are ne, kanpoo dewa ne,
67			(1)...Karada o hiyasu doku ga aru tte,
68			Soide, shooga to osu o tsukete tabenakya ikenai tte.
69	☆⇒	CJ10:	<@ Dooshite, kon'na kuwashii? @>.
70	☆	JJ15:	<@ Zenbu tomodachi ni kiita koto bakkari dakedo @>.
71		CJ10:	(1)... <@ Aa, sorosoro, shigoto @>.
72		JJ15:	<@ Aa, moo ichiji-han ka @>.

The process of CN-EX illustrates a series of participants' exchanges of turns, which function as Trigger(→), Signal (⇒) and/or Response (☆). The following three topics are introduced in the example: wedding customs in Hong Kong, the Cantonese-style brunch called *yamcha*, and Shanghai crabs. Concerning the first topic (lines 1-19), JJ15 issues seven Signals (lines 2, 4, 7, 8, 11, 14, 19) for the purpose of CN-PM on factual information (CN-PM/fact). Some Signals are categorized as interjection type (lines 7, 11), and some are paraphrase type, with or without candidate answers (lines 2, 8, 14, 19) and one is a partial repetition type (line 4). As mentioned above, CJ10's Japanese being still limited; her utterances contain quite a few deviations. For instance, her deviation of a word "*mondai* (problem)" in line 10 is due to negative transfer from the usage in her L1 (Chinese). This deviation is later corrected by JJ15 to a modified input, "*shitsumon*" (question), in line 14; however, this is not incorporated as a modified (correct) output in

CJ10's utterance. In line 18, CJ10 is unable to find a Japanese word for "ceremony," so she switches her code to English. In the following line, JJ15 provides a modified (correct) input, "*gishiki*" (ceremony), in Japanese, which is not incorporated into CJ10's utterance. Regarding the second topic, both CJ10 and JJ15 issue four Signals each (lines 20-38). With regard to the third topic, JJ15 issues three Signals (lines 44, 46, 47) to show her surprise at finding that CJ10 has never eaten the crabs. Among seven of CJ10's Signals (lines 53, 56, 58, 61, 63, 65, 69), two of them (lines 56, 58) are issued in a side-sequence (Jefferson 1972) for the purpose of CN-PM/ling to negotiate the propositional meaning of the word "*tansui* (淡水 fresh water)". After the side-sequence ends (line 58), JJ15 returns to the main topic of how Shanghai crabs are caught and transported to Hong Kong (line 55). Between lines 59 and 68, JJ15 displays her knowledge of the crabs, while CJ10 issues four Signals to clarify JJ15's utterances on the topic.

For the purpose of understanding how the roles of expert and non-expert between JJ15 and CJ10 are rotated in the example, Framework 3 provides us with useful interpretations for various implicit CN strategies used by the participants. The process can be divided into the three stages according to the three topics, as discussed above. In the first stage (lines 1-19), CJ10 takes the role of an expert on wedding customs in Hong Kong, while JJ15 issues seven questions to request information and clarification, in order to facilitate CJ10's talking. JJ15 adopts such implicit CN strategies as overlapping speech, exaggerated pitch, change of speech rate, and laughter. As discussed above, she corrects CJ10's deviations in the discourse (lines 14, 19) to show her cooperation. CJ10 also uses such inexplicit CN strategies as laughter and the sentence final particles "*yo*" and "*ne*" in order to adjust her psychological distance from JJ15, and to establish herself as an expert without offending her non-expert interlocutor (cf. Kamio 1979; Oishi 1985; McGloin 1990). In the rating sessions, all CRs and JRs positively evaluated JJ15's inquisitive behavior as reflecting her friendliness and involvement rather than interruption (Tannen 1990). JJ15 also confirmed in the interview that she, as a cultural guest, was eager to learn anything related to Hong Kong from her Chinese co-workers, as cultural

hosts.

In the second stage (lines 20-38), the topic of *yamcha* is introduced by JJ15. During the process of CN-EX, CJ10 takes the expert role, while JJ15 plays the role of a non-expert. JJ15's utterances on *yamcha* (lines 20, 22, 24, 25, 27) are stereotypical in Hong Kong. CJ10 issues four short questions (Signals in lines 21, 23, 26, 28), not for the purpose of clarification, but primarily to show her disagreement with JJ15's overgeneralization of Hong Kong people's custom of going to eat *yamcha* everyday. JJ15 asks CJ10 whether her family members go to *yamcha* "everyday" (line 25) and then changes this to "once every weekend" (line 29). As soon as she hears CJ10 say that her family members go to *yamcha* "only once a month" (line 31), JJ15 issues short requests for clarification (Signals in line 32, 34, 36) to show her surprise in order to seek CJ10's explanation. Responding to these requests, CJ10 reveals that *yamcha* food is not very healthy (line 33), since it contains "high salt, high fat, high cholesterol" (line 35) which increases one's blood pressure and causes weight gain (line 37). JJ15 finally understands why CJ10's family go to *yamcha* much less frequently than she first believed based on the her cultural assumption, expressing her shock in an exaggerated manner to find out how unhealthy it really is (line 38). In order to negotiate expertise effectively, CJ10 adopts various implicit CN strategies. For instance, in the first stage discussed above, she uses the sentence-final particles "*yo*" and "*ne*" to adjust her distance toward JJ15 and the ongoing topic. The other particles "*kana*" and "*tte*" are tactfully used as indirect strategies in order to redress the impact of the face-threatening act of revealing to JJ15 the surprising fact about *yamcha*, since the first indicates the speaker's uncertainty and the second means the information is indirectly quoted from others (Brown and Levinson 1978, 1987). The fact that CJ10 suddenly switches her utterance to English in line 35 to break the most surprising news to JJ15 that *yamcha* food contains high salt, high fat and high cholesterol, functions as a highly effective contexualization cue for CJ10 to firmly establish her expert role. This was how it was regarded by all CRs and JRs in the rating sessions, and JJ15 in the follow-up interviews. However, CJ10 said that she was obliged to switch to English, simply because she was unable to translate it into Japanese.

In the third stage (lines 39-72), the topic of Shanghai crabs is also introduced by JJ15 (lines 39, 41-42). JJ15 seems to have the friendly intention of providing CJ10 with a good Hong Kong related topic, on which CJ10 has more expert knowledge than JJ15, so that she can talk in Japanese in a relaxed manner. However, JJ15's attempt does not work as she planned since CJ10 has no knowledge on the topic. As a result, neither of them is able to play the part of the expert until JJ15 takes up the role in line 51. After hearing CJ10's unexpected and unenthusiastic responses (lines 40, 43), JJ15 issues three clarification requests (lines 44, 46, 47). To JJ15's surprise, CJ10's responses reveal that she does not know that this year's price of the crabs is lower than last year's (line 43), that she has never eaten them (line 45), that they are not Cantonese but Shanghainese food (line 48), also that they are too expensive and luxurious for ordinary people in Hong Kong (lines 50-51). After fully understanding that the majority of Hong Kong people, who are Cantonese, do not necessarily appreciate Shanghai crabs as Shanghainese and/or foreign residents do, JJ15 indicates that she is taking an expert role, saying, "I see... You are right... I understand (lines 52 and 54)" in a laughing tone. All CRs and JRs stated in the rating sessions that these utterances of CJ10 functioned as *contexualization cues* to indicate the change of frame, in which rotation of expert and non-expert participants occurred, and both CJ10 and JJ15 tacitly understood that they should play a new role. In line 55, JJ15 introducing information on the topic, and keeps displaying her newly acquired knowledge regarding it (lines 59-60, 62, 64, 66-68). CJ10 now happily accepts her role as a non-expert on the topic, issuing short requests for clarification. Among CJ10's seven requests (lines 53, 56, 58, 61, 63, 65, 69), two of them (lines 56, 58) are issued in a *side-sequence* for the purpose of CN-PM/ling to negotiate the propositional meaning of the word "*tansui* (淡水 fresh water)". After hearing the word *tansuiko* (淡水湖 fresh water lake)" in JJ15's utterance (line 55), and JJ15's explanation by paraphrasing (line 57), CJ10 is able to identify it as the Japanese way of reading the ChB compound is "*taamsui* (淡水) " in line 58. This is because written form of the compound is shared in Chinese and Japanese, and their pronunciations are not too far apart in this case. After the side-sequence ends (line 58), JJ15 returns to the main topic of how Shanghai crabs are

caught and transported to Hong Kong (line 55). After CJ10 laughingly asks JJ15 why she is so knowledgeable on the topic (line 69), JJ15 unmasks herself laughingly by saying that she is not really an expert but has quoted everything from her friend's explanation[10]. These utterances indicate that both participants are in a joking rather than in a serious frame, and JJ15 happily resumes her (original) role of cultural guest regarding Hong Kong customs (line 70). As mentioned above, when the lunchtime finishes, both CJ10 and JJ15 leave the CN-EX sequence (lines 71-72).

Example 7-6 illustrates how the Japanese participant's cultural assumptions based on stereotypes regarding Hong Kong culture are rectified through the process of CN-EX. However, many examples in the study illustrate that CJs and JJs rectify each other's cultural assumptions and stereotypes, while negotiating their expertise on the ongoing topic. As the example above illustrates, Cantonese and Shanghainese subcultural groups in the Hong Kong speech community do no necessarily share all sociocultural customs.

7.4 Summary

A summary of the findings regarding triggers, strategies, processes, functions and outcomes of CN-EX discussed in this chapter is as follows:

(1) Triggers

Processes of conversational negotiation of expertise [CN-EX] in this study, which could be initiated either by CJ or JJ, were triggered by the participants' unshared knowledge with regard to content in the ongoing discourse. In dyadic conversations involving a CJ and a JJ, a participant who possessed more content knowledge of the ongoing topic(s) often acted as an expert and dominated the talk, while his/her interlocutor acted as a non-expert, who issued questions and asked for clarification on the ongoing topic(s). The types of expertise that triggered CN-EX in the present study were roughly categorized into work-related and non-work-related. Examples of work-related expertise concerned participants' professional knowledge and specialties, and experience in their

work. Those of non-work-related expertise were related to the participants' past experience, hobbies and interests, knowledge of customs of their own native cultures, their knowledge of their interlocutors' native culture, and current topics about Hong Kong, Japan, and the world.

(2) Negotiation strategies and processes

Explicit conversational negotiation (CN) strategies used in the processes of CN-EX were the same as those used for CN-PM, as previously discussed in Chapter Five. In addition, participants adopted various implicit CN strategies in order to supplement the effect of explicit ones. For instance, the sentence-final particles (*yo, ne, yo ne, sa, kana, kedo*) were used to indicate speakers' attitudes toward the addressees and the topics (cf. Kamio 1979; Oishi 1985; Cook 1990; McGloin 1991). Discourse markers (*jaa, demo, shikashi, datte*), change of prosody (pitch and quality of voice, speech rate), speech level shifts, and laughter were adopted as cues by CJs and JJs in order to facilitate the subtle processes of CN-EX. Such implicit CN strategies sometimes functioned as *contexualization cues* to indicate the change of frame, to adjust participants' psychological distance, and to strike a balance between their power/dominance and solidarity/rapport (cf. Gumperz 1982; Tannen 1990). The processes of CN-EX in both WRT and NWRT formed a formulaic pattern (Coulmas 1981) which displayed a series of turns, functioning as Trigger, Signal and/or Response. Through the process, an expert participant talked more, while his/her interlocutor, who took the role of a non-expert listener, mainly issued verbal signals to facilitate the expert's contribution.

The information gaps between participants on ongoing topics that triggered CN-EX, could be *genuine* or *pro-forma*. Consequently, the non-experts' questions, such as requests for clarification and elaboration were categorized into two types: *reference* questions and *display* questions. The roles of expert and non-expert in the processes of CN-EX were not statically fixed and were not determined by participants' language proficiency but by their professional and/or sociocultural knowledge of the ongoing

topic(s). Therefore, expert and non-expert roles were rotated dynamically, depending on the ongoing topics. As previous studies report (cf. Woken and Swales 1989; Aston 1993; Zuengler 1993b; Miyazoe-Wong 1998), when linguistic guests (in this case CJs) were cultural hosts (content experts), they tended to participate actively in CN-EX as experts. That is to say, participants' linguistic host–guest relation was not necessarily the factor determining the pattern of participation and dominance among participants in conversation.

As illustrated in Example 7-6, participants seemed to continue moving from one topic after another collaboratively, and these topics were loosely related. As a result, the average numbers of turns per sequence of CN-EX were 40.2 turns in WRT and 94.6 in NWRT, which was much higher than those of CN-PM and CN-IM. As noted above, it was not the participants themselves but external interruptions in the workplace, such as sudden telephone calls, sudden appearance of other participants, and/or appointments for meetings, that frequently ended the ongoing processes of CN-EX in both WRT and NWRT. The average duration of the total sequences of CN-EX in WRT was 1'02", and only five cases (2% of all sequences) lasted longer than three minutes, but did not exceed four minutes. The average duration of all cases (345) of CN-EX in NWRT was 2' 31". Forty-six cases (9.7%) lasted longer than three minutes, out of which 28 examples (5.9%) lasted longer than five minutes, the longest one Example 7-6 lasting nearly 12 minutes. Lack of strict time constraints and external interruptions in NWRT seemed to be the reasons for the duration of sequences of CN-EX in NWRT being twice as long as those in WRT.

(3) Functions and outcomes

As discussed above, the main function of CN-EX was not problem solving but maintaining and enhancing rapport, friendship, and solidarity among co-workers, both in WRT and NWRT. Through the process, non-experts, as negotiation facilitators, demonstrated their keen interest in the ongoing topic(s), and showed their active

involvement with and respect for their interlocutors' expertise. In the meantime, both participants, as co-workers, seemed to contribute collaboratively to the maintenance of conversation by generating topic(s). In this context, various explicit CN strategies consisting of linguistically marked signals and features used in CN-EX were not interpreted by participants as "other-correction" (Schegloff *et.al.* 1977) and their communicative effect was not viewed as face-threatening, as in CN-PM (cf. Tannen 1990).

In WRT, topics generated in the processes of CN-EX not only enforced friendship and rapport among the participants, but also provided the participants with useful and broad background information for them to carry out their work-related tasks. Such background information was often related to sociocultural and socioeconomic knowledge, which is important for the co-workers to share in order to carry out communication successfully and effectively. In NWRT, however, topics generated in the process of CN-EX enhanced rapport and solidarity among co-workers. As discussed above, in non-working hours such as teatime and lunchtime at the multilingual workplace, engaging in small/phatic talk in a friendly and relaxed manner were considered to be very important by CJs and JJS. Through developing topics collaboratively, participants were able to enhance and maintain their solidarity and rapport as co-workers. If time constraints were not overriding, as in recess time, and the content (task) of the ongoing speech was not work-related, CJs and JJs did not seem to mind engaging in lengthy sequences of CN-EX. The main function of CN-EX in the study, therefore, was not problem solving, but maintaining conversation in a friendly manner, by which they mutually conveyed their meta-messages, such as rapport and friendship, to further enhance their solidarity as co-workers.

In addition to the multiple outcomes reported above, CN-EX in this study also served to convey meta-messages, such as friendship, rapport, solidarity, involvement and disagreement, among the participants. As Tannen (1990: 136) puts it, "what appear as attempts to dominate a conversation (an exercise of power) may actually be intended to

establish rapport (an exercise of solidarity)". Occurrence, types and outcomes of CN-EX in the data also displayed a double bind (Bateson 1972). The findings suggest that any CN-EX could possibly have conflicting outcomes. On the one hand, it could be face threatening and embarrassing to participants (Garfinkel 1972: 6-7; Schegloff *et al.* 1977), and on the other hand it could promote mutual rapport and friendliness among participants. The function depends solely on the communicative situations in which interactants participate and the social roles they are playing (cf. Musumeci 1996; Nakayama 1996).

The processes of CN-EX rarely formed a *side-sequence* (Jefferson 1972), as frequently found in those in CN-PM, in which participants return to the original topic after problem solving through the process of conversational negotiation. However, as discussed in Examples 7-5 and 7-6, a *side-sequence* for the process of CN-PM/ling and CN-PM/fact was sometimes inserted as part of the process of CN-EX.

Notes:

[1] Table 5.1 summarized the occurrence of all type of CN in the present study.

[2] In this thesis, I shall use terms *formal style* and *informal style* to describe two styles of Japanese in everyday conversation (Makino and Tsutsui 1986, 1995). Formal style is the style in which speakers employ Japanese with *masu* endings of verbs and *desu* endings of adjectives and copula, while the informal style is the one in which speakers speak Japanese with dictionary forms of verbs and adjectives and *da* endings of the copula. The utterances that are without copula endings will be treated as the informal style.

[3] This finding is contrary to that of previous studies on participation patterns of speakers in intercultural social situations (Fan 1995), which suggest that native participants, as linguistic hosts, often play the roles of "interviewers" to ask nonnative participants (linguistic guests) questions for clarification and information, in order to encourage and facilitate nonnative speakers' participation. However, communicative goals that participants are to attain in interactions in such studies are basically socializing and getting to know each other, without any urgent task(s) for them to complete. On the other hand, participants in the example quoted here are interacting as co-workers, in order for both participants to cooperate and complete the task urgently. That is to say, the participation patterns of speakers in intercultural situations are not necessarily affected by participants' linguistic competence, but by other situational variables, such as participants' content knowledge and social status, goals of the interaction, task type, and setting.

[4] Jones (1990) also includes "citing authority" in the list of strategies for participants to adopt to manage conflict in face-to-face interaction involving native Japanese speakers.

[5] Findings in the study of Goodwin and Goodwin (1990) also suggest that participants often negotiate interactional meaning of the ongoing discourse on a personal level, while trying to (re)establish their social and official roles.

[6] Oishi (1985) illustrates how a non-expert, when talking to an expert, adopts both the particles "*ne*" and "*yo*" tactfully, in order not to offend the expert. Analysis of the data in the present study revealed that both expert and non-expert participants skillfully employ various sentence-final particles, such as "*yo*","*ne*", "*yo ne*", "*kana*", and "*sa*", to indicate their attitude toward the addressees and the ongoing topics.

[7] Since Example 7-5 involves four participants (CJ1, JJ2, JJ3, and CC1), this is quite different from dyadic conversations in other examples in the present study. This sequence typifies multilingual communication in which co-workers participate at the multilingual workplace in Hong Kong.

[8] In her study on conflict management in Japanese conversations involving native Japanese speakers, Jones (1990: 22) listed various strategies adopted by participants, such as "ignoring a conflict; asking a question about something another person has said; shifting speech style to express an increased distance between the speaker and another participant; or laughing frequently to try and treat a conflict as amusing."

[9] Results of the study of Yamada, H. (1992) investigating English conversations involving Japanese and American businesspersons, and Jones' study (1990) examining Japanese conversations in intra-cultural situations include the observation that participants frequently adopt laughter as a discourse strategy to avoid dealing with a conflict in a serious way.

[10] See note 4 above.

CHAPTER 8

CONVERSATIONAL NEGOTIATION OF INTERACTIONAL MEANING

As presented in Chapters Six and Seven, the participants in the multilingual workplaces under study actively employed various explicit and implicit conversational negotiation (CN) strategies to negotiate propositional meaning (CN-PM) and that of expertise (CN-EX) for the purpose of collaboratively attaining communicative goals. In this chapter, I shall present an analysis of the conversational negotiation of interactional meaning (CN-IM) in work-related talk (WRT) and non-work-related talk (NWRT). The analysis includes cases of CN-IM of such speech acts as requests/invitations, disagreement and complaints in WRT, and those of compliments, griping/trouble telling and jokes in NWRT.

8.1 Conversational negotiation of interactional meaning (CN-IM)

As noted in the previous chapters, the nonnative participants (CJs) of the present study have relatively high proficiency in Japanese. As we saw in Chapter Six, when the degree of shared linguistic knowledge among participants was relatively high, as in this study, it was not difficult for the participants to negotiate successfully and mutually reach shared understanding. Conversational negotiation for propositional meaning (CN-PM) is triggered by linguistic ambiguity (CN-PM/ling) and factual ambiguity (CN-PM/fact), as mentioned in 1.3 above. The former type of ambiguity was salient in the discourse in terms of linguistic features (for example, CJs' phonological and lexical errors and

deviations), while the latter quite obviously puzzled either CJs or JJs with regard to the meaning of the ongoing discourse and triggered CN-PM. Therefore, the process of CN-PM was fairly straightforward, and strategies adopted by participants were primarily explicit CN strategies, supplemented by implicit CN strategies. As analyzed in Chapter Six, communication among the co-workers in workplace settings was largely smooth, and drastic miscommunication or communication breakdown was infrequent. They did not negotiate propositional meaning either in WRT and NWRT unless it was absolutely necessary. This was partly due to the time constraints in the workplace environment, and partly due to the participants' general tendency to save the other's face by not unnecessarily committing such face-threatening speech acts as other-correction and seeking clarification of their interlocutors' previous utterances.

The relatively successful outcomes of CN-PM and CN-EX in Chapters Six and Seven were attributable to the fact that CJs and JJs as co-workers were mostly able to infer the propositional meanings of their addressees' utterances without explicit CN-PM. It was also because they seemed to enjoy playing the parts of an expert and a non-expert in the process of CN-EX, as described above. CJs and JJs made use of all available resources around them: linguistic codes, nonverbal cues, expert knowledge, previous experience regarding their jobs, routine work in the workplace, goals of communication, and roles and status of participants. In other words, co-workers shared the *frame* of their workplace, such as shared expectations pertaining to their work, which they relied on heavily, in order to interpret the situated meanings of the ongoing discourse (Gumperz 1979, 1990a, 1990b, 1990c; Miller 1988, Clyne, Ball and Neil 1991; Clyne 1994; Clyne, Giannicos and Neil, 1994; Neil 1994; Tannen 1994). Furthermore, it was observed that JJs were accustomed to CJs' speech/communication style, including their verbal deviations from Japanese norms with regard to pronunciation, grammar and speech styles. Consequently, JJs were able to infer the propositional meanings of CJs utterances, even if they contained grave grammatical errors or vague expressions. In turn, CJs were also used to JJs' speech/communication styles, so that they too were also capable of inferring the propositional meaning of JJs' utterances without explicit negotiation. Thus, participants' conversational inference regarding the meaning of the discourse served as a

resource that greatly contributed to the sense making of their verbal interaction in the process of CN-PM, and also enabled participants to carry out the process of CN-EX.

Unlike the propositional ambiguity in the process of CN-PM discussed above, ambiguity resulting from the illocutionary force (speakers' intentions) and expressive quality of utterances is not so easily noted, and, consequently, is not as efficiently negotiated by participants (Austin 1962; Ervin-Tripp 1976, 1981; van Dijk 1977; Tannen 1984; 1985a, 1985b, 1989; Schiffrin 1994). When performing face-threatening speech acts, such as disagreement (Pomerantz 1984; Jones 1990) or complaints (Boxter 1993; Olshtain and Weinbach 1993), requests and invitations (Ervin-Tripp 1976, 1981; Beebe and Takahashi 1989a; Blum-Kulka 1987; Szatrowski 1987, 1993), correction (Takahashi and Beebe 1993) or rejection (Davidson 1984; Beebe, Takahashi and Uliss-Welts 1990), linguistic features on the surface of the spoken discourse may be presented implicitly and indirectly. CN-IM of these speech acts, therefore, requires more tactful CN strategies and negotiation processes than those of compliments or thanks, since the former group of speech acts entails a potentially higher risk of causing the interlocutor to lose face than those in the latter group (Brown and Levinson 1978, 1987; Leech 1983; Levinson 1983; Beebe and Takahashi 1989b). If contexualization conventions, the ways of structuring information, and culture-specific assumptions and expectations pertaining to a certain situation are not shared among the participants, a speaker's intention may not be conveyed correctly to his interlocutors. As a result, the outcome of such communicative situations may end in misunderstanding, even communication breakdown or pragmatic failure (Thomas 1983, 1984; Wierzbicka 1985, 1991; Kasper 1987; Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper 1989; Kasper and Blum-Kulka 1993; Weisman 1993).

As discussed, in order to understand and interpret interpersonal communication, one must understand both what Saussure calls *core features* of language (for example, grammatical markers and syntactic categories) which signal referential information, and *marginal features* of language (for example, intonation, speech rhythm and choice of lexical terms) which "affect the expressive quality of a message but not its basic meaning" (Gumperz 1982: 16). Such marginal features of language that contextualize the meaning

of ongoing discourse have been termed *contexualization cues* by Gumperz. As discussed, in interactional sociolinguistic (IS) approaches, *contexualization cues* are very important elements in interpreting ongoing discourse, since they often signal a meta-message about the *frame* in which a speaker is operating. For instance, when a speaker is in a joking frame, but his interlocutor interprets the speaker's utterance as an ironic one, the interlocutor's inference from the message might be very different from what the speaker intends to convey (Goffman 1967; Bateson 1972; Bateson and Bateson 1987; Tannen 1992b). More importantly, participants in face-to-face interaction do not adhere to a single fixed frame. They continuously and mutually shift frames; therefore, they must update their interpretation of the ongoing discourse by mutually giving and receiving hints through various contexualization cues. If the participants do not share contexualization conventions, and/or interpretive norms of contexualization cues, it is more likely that miscommunication will occur.

8.2 Use and frequency of strategies for negotiating interactional meaning (CN-IM)

As summarized in Table 8.1 below, the number of CN-IM sequences in the study were 408, which was 22.4% of the total number all types of CN sequences (1,819)[1]. Out of 408 CN-IM sequences, 311 (76.2%) occurred in WRT, while 97 (23.8%) occurred in NWRT. The average frequency of CN-IM sequence per minute was 0.34 and 0.06 in WRT and NWRT respectively, while the average duration per CN-IM sequence was 36 seconds and 57 seconds in WRT and NWRT respectively. This means that CN-IM in WRT occurred more than five times more frequently than that in NWRT. As previously discussed under 5.2 regarding the average frequency per minute in WRT, the frequency of CN-IM sequences per minute (0.34) was less frequent than CN-PM/ling (0.47), but more frequent than CN-PM/fact (0.19) and CN-EX (0.10). As for the average frequency per minute in NWRT, the frequency of CN-IM per minute was 0.06, which was the lowest among the four CN types, since that of CN-EX was 0.41, and that of both CN-PM/ling and CN-PM/fact was 0.10 (cf. Table 5.2).

Table 8.1 Number, average frequency, number of turns and duration of CN-IM in WRT and NWRT

Type of talk →	WRT*	NWRT*	Total
Number of CN-IM sequences	311 (76.2%)	97 (23.8%)	408 (100%)
Average frequency per minute	0.34	0.06	
Average number of turns per Sequence2	26.6	13.0	
Average duration per sequence (minutes and seconds)	35"	57	
Number of sequences longer than 3 mins. and shorter than 5 mins.	6	0	
Number of sequences longer than 5 mins.	2	0	
Longest sequence (minutes and seconds)	7' 21"	2' 26"	

* <Type of talk> WRT: work-related talk, NWRT: non-work-related talk

Table 8.2 below shows that frequency of speech acts such as requests/invitations, disagreement and complaints that tend to affect addressees' negative face (Brown and Levinson 1978, 1987) occurred in WRT far more frequently than in NWRT. For example, the total number of CN-IM sequences involving requests/invitations in the study was 80, out of which 78 (97.5%) and two sequences (2.5%) occurred in WRT and NWRT respectively. The number of those involving disagreement was 43, out of which 40 (93.0%) and three (7.0%) occurred in WRT and NWRT respectively. Furthermore, the number of those involving complaints was 54, all of which occurred in WRT. These results indicate that the participants were required to engage in CN-IM involving such speech acts mentioned above in WRT to solve ambiguity in interactional meaning in the ongoing discourse urgently, in order to carry out work-related tasks. On the other hand, they had a tendency to refrain from negotiating interactional meaning involving such speech acts in NWRT, because it could be face threatening to both participants in dyadic conversations. This general tendency of the participants in CN-IM was confirmed by all Japanese raters (JRs) and Chinese raters (CRs) in the rating sessions.

In contrast, the frequency of speech acts of griping/trouble telling and joking in WRT was far less than that in NWRT. For instance, the total number of CN-IM sequences involving griping/trouble telling occurred 72 times, out of which 45 (62.5%) and 27 sequences (37.5%) occurred in WRT and NWRT respectively, and the act of joking occurred 69 times, out of which 45 (65.2%) and 24 sequences (34.8%) occurred in WRT and NWRT respectively. Perhaps the existence of a time constraint was the main factor

leading participants to refrain from negotiating interactional meaning involving speech acts such as griping/trouble telling and joking in WRT. On the other hand, they seemed to prefer negotiating interactional meaning of such speech acts in NWRT, because this would not only provide them with topics to sustain their conversations successfully and effectively, but also enhance rapport and solidarity among the members. It is worth noting that the frequency of speech acts of complimenting in WRT and NWRT were nearly the same, since 33 sequences (55.8%) and 39 sequences (54.2%) occurred respectively. All 10 raters, both JRs and CRs, in the rating sessions, and all the participants interviewed stated in the follow-up interviews that the mutual exchange of compliments, griping/trouble telling and joking were very important strategies for successful office communication.

Table 8.2 Type of speech acts expressed in CN-IM in work-related talk and non-work-related talk

Chinese Participant (CJs)	CJ1		CJ2		CJ3		CJ4		CJ5		CJ6		CJ7		CJ8		CJ9		CJ10		Sub total		Total
Japanese proficiency*	Adv.		Adv.		Adv.		Upper Inter.		Upper Inter.		Upper Inter.		Upper Inter.		Inter.		Inter.		Inter.				
Type of talk → Type of speech acts ↓	W	NW	W	NW	W	NW	W	NW	W	NW	W	NW	W	NW	W	NW	W	NW	W	NW	W	NW	
Requests/ Invitations [%]*** (%)****	8 [10.3] (18.2)	1 [50.0] (4.3)	8 [10.3] (25.0)	1 [50.0] (12.5)	7 [9.0] (18.4)		9 [11.5] (21.4)		11 [14.1] (22.4)		9 [11.5] (24.3)		14 [18.0] (10.3)		5 [6.4] (35.7)		3 [3.8] (33.3)		4 [5.1] (57.1)		78 [97.5] (25.1)	2 [2.5] (2.1)	80 [100] (19.6)
Disagreement	10 [25.0] (22.8)	2 [66.7] (8.7)	2 [5.0] (6.3)	1 [33.3] (12.5)	4 [10.0] (10.5)		7 [17.5] (16.7)		10 [25.0] (20.4)		3 [7.5] (8.1)		1 [2.5] (2.6)		2 [5.0] (14.3)		1 [2.5] (11.1)				40 [93.0] (12.9)	3 [7.0] (8.1)	43 [100] (10.5)
Complaints	11 [23.4] (25.0)		4 [7.4] (12.5)		8 [14.8] (21.1)		8 [14.8] (19.0)		6 [11.1] (12.2)		6 [11.1] (16.2)		5 [9.3] (12.8)		2 [3.7] (14.3)		2 [3.7] (22.2)		2 [3.7] (28.6)		54 [100] (17.4)	0 [0] (0)	54 [100] (13.2)
Compliments		4 [10.3] (17.4)		2 [5.1] (25.0)	2 [6.1] (5.3)	6 [15.4] (46.2)		7 [17.9] (43.8)	4 [12.1] (8.2)	4 [10.3] (36.4)	4 [12.1] (11.8)	3 [7.7] (33.3)	7 [21.2] (17.9)	5 [12.8] (83.3)	3 [9.1] (21.4)	3 [7.7] (100)	1 [3.0] (11.1)	3 [7.7] (50.0)	1 [3.0] (14.3)	2 [5.1] (100)	33 [55.8] (10.6)	39 [54.2] (40.2)	72 [100] (17.6)
Griping/ Trouble telling	5 [11.1] (11.4)	8 [34.8]	8 [17.8] (25.0)	2 [25.0]	7 [15.6] (18.4)	4 [30.8]	7 [15.6] (17.7)	6 [37.5]	6 [13.3] (12.2)	3 [27.3]	5 [11.1] (13.5)	3 [33.3]	5 [11.1] (12.8)		2 [4.4] (14.3)		1 [2.2] (11.1)	1 [2.2] (16.7)			45 [62.5] (14.4)	27 [37.5] (27.8)	72 [100] (17.6)
Joking	8 [17.8] (18.2)	6 [25.0] (26.1)	8 [17.8] (25.[illegible]	2 [12.5] (25.0)	9 [20.0] (23.7)	3 [12.5] (23.1)	10 [22.2] (23.8)	3 [12.5] (18.8)	11 [24.4] (22.4)	4 [16.7] (36.4)	9 [20.0] (24.3)	3 [12.5] (33.3)		1 [4.2] (16.7)				2 [8.3] (22.2)			45 [65.2] (14.4)	24 [34.8] (24.8)	69 [100] (16.9)
Others	2 [12.5] (4.5)	2 [100] (8.7)	2 [12.5] (6.3)		1 [6.3] (2.6)		1 [6.3] (2.4)		1 [6.3] (2.5)		1 [6.3] (2.7)		7 [43.8] (17.9)				1 [6.3] (11.1)				16 [88.9] (5.1)	2 [11.1] (2.1)	18 [100] (4.4)
	44 [14.1] (100)	23 [23.7] (100)	32 [10.3] (100)	8 [8.2] (100)	38 [12.2] (100)	13 [13.4] (100)	42 [13.5] (100)	16 [16.5] (100)	49 [15.8] (100)	11 [11.3] (100)	37 [11.9] (100)	9 [9.3] (100)	39 [12.5] (100)	6 [6.2] (100)	14 [4.5] (100)	3 [3.1] (100)	9 [2.9] (100)	6 [6.2] (100)	7 [2.3] (100)	2 [2.1] (100)	311 [76.2] (100)	97 [23.8] (100)	408 [100] (100)

Notes:
* <Japanese Proficiency> Adv.: advanced level of proficiency, Upper Inter.: upper intermediate level of proficiency, Inter: intermediate level of proficiency
** <Type of talk> W: work-related talk, NW: non-work-related talk
*** Figures shown in [ ] indicate the proportion of each speech act appearing in CN-IM sequences, by each CJ (in each horizontal row).
**** Figures shown in ( ) indicate the proportion of each speech act appearing in CN-IM sequences, within each CJ (in each vertical column).

Table 8.3 below summarizes the differences in CN-IM occurrences in terms of participation by Chinese participants (CJs). A comparison of *average participation rates* (APRs) among the three proficiency groups are as follows: in WRT, the most active participants in the CN-IM sequences involving requests/invitations were those of the upper intermediate group (APR: 53.8%), followed by those of the advanced group (APR: 26.3%), and lastly those of the intermediate group (APR: 15%). Regarding those involving disagreement in WRT, the most active participants were those of the upper intermediate group (APR: 48.8%), followed by those of the advanced group (APR: 37.2%) and then those of the intermediate group (APR: 7.0%). As for those involving complaints in WRT, the most active participants were also those of the upper intermediate group (APR: 46.3%), followed by those of the advanced group (APR: 42.6%), and those of the intermediate group (APR: 11.1%). As far as compliments in WRT are concerned, CJs of the upper intermediate group participated most actively (APR: 20.6%), while ARPs of the advanced and intermediate groups were very low, that is, 2.8% and 6.9% respectively. As discussed above, CN-IM sequences involving griping/trouble telling in WRT were too few to provide us with sufficient examples to reach a definite conclusion. However, with regard to the speech act of joking, the average participation rates of CJs in the advanced and upper intermediate groups were 36.2% and 41.7% respectively, while no CJs of the intermediate group participated. The overall results for CJs' participation in WRT, given above, indicate that participation of the CJs of the advanced and upper intermediate groups was consistently high, while that of CJs of the intermediate group was consistently low. This finding suggests that the advanced and upper intermediate CJs were equipped with the linguistic and sociolinguistic competence, including CN strategies, required for CN-IM, which the intermediate CJs had not yet acquired. More concretely, the advanced and upper intermediate CJs were able to interact with their Japanese co-workers on quite complicated matters involving various speech acts, and to infer the interactional meaning of the ongoing discourse that was indicated through implicit CN strategies and subtle conventionalized cues.

Table 8.3 CJs' average participation rates (APR) in each speech act expressed in CN-IM (according to the three Japanese proficiency groups)

Japanese proficiency group	Advanced proficiency group		Upper intermediate group.		Intermediate group		Sub total in W/WR talk		
Chinese participants	CJ1, CJ2 and CJ3		CJ4, CJ5, CJ6 and CJ7		CJ8, CJ9 and CJ10		All 10 CJs		
Type of talk → / Type of speech acts ↓	W*	NW	W	NW	W	NW	W	NW	Total
Requests/ Invitations	21	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	12	[illegible]	78	2	80
[%]**	[26.3]	[illegible]	[53.8]	[illegible]	[15.0]	[illegible]	[97.5]	[2.5]	[100]
(%)***	(18.4)	(4.5)	(25.7)	[illegible]	(40.0)	[illegible]	(25.1)	(2.1)	(19.6)
Disagreement	16	[illegible]	21	[illegible]	3	[illegible]	40	3	43
	[37.2]	[7.0]	[48.8]	[illegible]	[7.0]	[illegible]	[93.0]	[7.0]	[100]
	(14.0)	(6.8)	(12.6)	[illegible]	(10.0)	[illegible]	(12.9)	(3.1)	(10.5)
Complaints	23	[illegible]	25	[illegible]	6	[illegible]	54	0	54
	[42.6]	[illegible]	[46.3]	[illegible]	[11.1]	[illegible]	[100]	[illegible]	[100]
	(20.2)	[illegible]	(15.0)	[illegible]	(20.0)	[illegible]	(17.4)	[illegible]	(13.2)
Compliments	2	12	15	19	5	8	33	39	72
	[2.8]	[16.7]	[20.6]	[26.4]	[6.9]	[11.1]	[55.8]	[54.2]	[100]
	(1.8)	(27.3)	(9.0)	(45.2)	(16.7)	(72.7)	(10.6)	(40.2)	(17.6)
Griping/ Trouble telling	20	4	23	12	3	1	45	27	72
	[27.8]	[19.4]	[31.9]	[16.7]	[4.2]	[1.4]	[62.5]	[37.5]	[100]
	17.5)	(31.8)	(13.8)	(28.6)	(10.0)	(9.1)	(14.4)	(27.8)	(17.6)
Joking	25	11	30	11		2	45	24	69
	[36.2]	[16.9]	[41.7]	[15.9]		[2.9]	[65.2]	[34.8]	[100]
	21.9)	(25.0)	(18.0)	(26.2)		(18.2)	(14.4)	(24.8)	(16.9)
Others	5	2	10	[illegible]	1	[illegible]	16	2	18
	[26.3]	[2.9]	[55.6]	[illegible]	[5.6]	[illegible]	[88.9]	[11.1]	[100]
	(1.8)	(4.5)	(6.0)	[illegible]	(3.3)	[illegible]	(5.1)	(2.1)	(4.4)
Total	114	44	167	42	30	11	311	97	408
[%]**	[27.9]	[10.8]	[40.9]	[10.3]	[7.4]	[2.7]	[76/2]	[23.8]	[100]
(%)***	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)

Notes: * <Type of talk> W: work-related talk, NW: non-work-related talk

** Figures shown in [ ] indicate the proportion of each speech act appearing in CN-IM sequences, by each of the three Japanese proficiency groups (in each horizontal row).

*** Figures shown in ( ) indicate the proportion of each speech act appearing in CN-IM sequences, within each of the three Japanese proficiency groups (in each vertical column).

In NWRT, the *average particiaption rates* (APRs) in terms of the three proficiency groups were as follows (as discussed above, the number of CN-IM sequences identified in NWRT was too few to provide us with any meaningful results): with regard to the CN-IM sequences involving compliments, the most active participants were those of the upper intermediate group (APR: 26.4%), followed by those of the advanced group (APR: 16.7%), and lastly those of the intermediate group (APR: 11.1%). Regarding those involving griping/trouble telling, the most active participants were those of the advanced group (APR: 19.4%), followed by those of the upper intermediate group (APR: 16.7%), and those of the intermediate group (APR: 1.4%). As for those involving joking, those of the advanced and upper intermediate groups participated equally (APR: 15.9%), followed by those of the intermediate group (APR: 2.9%), and those of the intermediate group (APR: 1.7%).

8.3 CN-IM in work-related talk (WRT)

8.3.1 Invitations and Requests

Szatrowski (1987, 1993) has pointed out that in performing speech acts of inviting/requesting, Japanese native speakers in intra-cultural situations often avoid the so-called explicit patterns of invitations/requests which are widely introduced in Japanese textbooks for nonnative speakers, such as the negative form of a plain style verb with rising intonation (*Ikanai?* Won't you go?), or the negative form of a polite style verb with a question sentence-final particle "*ka*" (*Ikimasen ka?* Won't you go?). Instead, Japanese native speakers engage in careful conversational negotiation of inviting/requesting.

> What goes on among friends and acquaintances in this context is a careful process of negotiation regulated by 1) lexical contexualization cues given by the person making the invitation, 2) the prior text or shared experience of the individuals involved, and 3) responses from the invitee; these include silence, minimal listener response, acknowledgment, positive/negative assessment of the information, and requests for further information (Szatrowski 1987: 270).

These speech acts are highly conventionalized, and their linguistic features are

implicit and subtle, so that, in some cases in intra-cultural situations, even Japanese native speaking participants do not realize at the initial stage whether they are being invited or requested to do something. As a result, they sometimes have to negotiate speakers' intentions before they actually get involved in the sequence of the invitation or request (Szatrowski 1987: 272). It is not surprising, therefore, to see nonnative speakers in intercultural situations having difficulty in decoding the illocutionary force of Japanese native speakers' invitations/requests, partly because they have acquired only the basic standard forms, such as the ones cited above, and partly because they have not acquired the competence to negotiate Japanese invitations/requests. As Szatrowski (1987, 1992) points out, various studies on invitations/requests in intercultural situations involving Japanese native speakers have also reported that, in performing such speech acts either in Japanese or English, Japanese participants engage in careful and subtle conversational negotiation, instead of using the explicit linguistic patterns of invitations/requests (cf. Blum-Kluka, House and Kasper 1989; Beebe, Takahashi and Uliss-Weltz 1990). However, such studies were conducted by means of discourse completion tests, and studies focusing on naturally occurring data in the workplace, as in this study, so far have been few.

Example 8-1 below illustrates how JJ8 and CJ5 successfully negotiate the speech act of invitation. CJ5 is female, aged 28 years and is a management trainee, while JJ8, in her 30s, is a female secretary. Both are co-workers in the office of a trading firm and are interacting just before lunchtime. JJ8 has to find a suitable Chinese restaurant where her boss can take Japanese visitors from Company X. JJ8, who is sitting next to CJ5, starts to seek advice on the matter from CJ5. The Japanese speech style adopted by the participants is the informal style. During the process, JJ8 acts as the only information seeker, while CJ5 provides the required information; however, at the end, JJ8 reveals that her real intention is to invite/request CJ5 to go out to lunch with their Japanese visitors:

Example 8-1 [CJ5-8]

1	JJ8:	ねー (CJ5's first name)。
2	CJ5:	なに？
3 ☆→	JJ8:	X社の人と<NB ヤムチャ (飲茶) NB>(/yamchah/)に行こうと思うのよ。
4 ⇒→	CJ5:	(1)...<NB ヤムチャ (飲茶) NB>(/yamchah/)。

5	☆⇒	JJ8:	うん、そいで＝どっかいいとこ知らない？
6	⇒	CJ5:	近くで？
7	☆→	JJ8:	そうね (1)... そのほうがいいかな、(1)...雨だし。
8	⇒	CJ5:	(1)... うーんと、この下の<NB　チョイユン（翠園）NB>(/Chuei Yuen/)は？
9	☆→	JJ8:	(1)...うん (1)...そうね。
10	☆⇒	CJ5:	味はかなりいいけど＝でも(1)...ちょっと高いかな。
11	☆→	JJ8:	<FA そこでいいよ。そこにしようよ、ね FA>？
12	⇒	CJ5:	(1)... ねって、 (1)... 私も？
13	☆→	JJ8:	<@F　そーよ　F@>。
14	☆	CJ5:	<@　オッケー　@>。

<English Translations>

1		JJ8:	Hah, (CJ5's first name).
2		CJ5:	What (is it)?
3	☆→	JJ8:	(We are) thinking about going to <NB yamcha NB> with people from Company X.
4	⇒→	CJ5:	(1)...<NB Yamcha NB>.
5	☆⇒	JJ8:	Yeah. Do you know any good restaurants?
6	⇒	CJ5:	Near here?
7	☆→	JJ8:	Yeah. (1)... I guess that's better, because it's raining.
8	⇒	CJ5:	(1)... mhm, how about <NB Choy Yun NB>, which is on the lower floor of the building?
9	☆→	JJ8:	(1)...Yeah. (1)...Let's see.
10	☆⇒	CJ5:	The food is good = but, (1)... a bit expensive, I think.
11	☆→	JJ8:	<FA　That sounds a good place, I think. Let's decide on that. Do you agree　FA>?
12	⇒	CJ5:	(1)... Are you asking me if I agree with you?"　(1)...　Am I going too?
13	☆→	JJ8:	<@F　Yeah　F@>.
14	☆	CJ5:	<@　O.K.　@>.

<Romanized transcripts>

1		JJ8:	Nee, (CJ5's first name).
2		CJ5:	Nani?
3	☆→	JJ8:	X-sha no hito to <NB　Yamucha NB> ni ikoo to omoo no yo.
4	⇒→	CJ5:	(1)...<NB Yamcha NB>.
5	☆⇒	JJ8:	Un, soide=dokka ii toko shiranai?
6	⇒	CJ5:	Chikaku de?
7	☆→	JJ8:	Soo ne (1)... sono hoo ga ii kana, (1)...Ame da shi.
8	⇒	CJ5:	(1)... Uun to, kono shita no<NB　Choy Yun NB>(/Chuei Yuen/) wa?
9	☆→	JJ8:	(1)...Uun (1)...soo ne.
10	☆⇒	CJ5:	Aji wa kanari ii deko = demo (1)...chotto takai kana.
11	☆→	JJ8:	<FA Soko de ii yo. Soko ni shiyoo yo, ne FA>?
12	⇒	CJ5:	(1)... Ne tte,　(1)...　watashi mo?
13	☆→	JJ8:	<@F　Soo yo　F@>.
14	☆	CJ5:	<@　Okkee　@>.

As coded in the data, the process of CN-IM in the example forms a continuous series of turns consisting of Trigger(→), Signal (⇒) and Response (☆). An analysis of the data based on Frameworks 2 and 3 allows us to identify various explicit CN strategies, which are supplemented with implicit CN strategies. For instance, JJ8 starts her conversation with CJ5 with a statement of her plan to take out Japanese visitors for a Cantonese style lunch called "*yamcha*" (line 3). This serves as a Trigger to prompt CJ5 to issue a Signal [(3) Partial repetition: (plain) type] in line 4. Then JJ8 seeks information from CJ5 about a good Chinese restaurant (line 5). In line 6, CJ5, without answering JJ8's previous question, clarifies whether JJ8 wants to go to a restaurant near their office [(3) Partial repetition: (plain) type]. CJ5's clarification question (line 6),

"*chikaku de?*" (Near here?) in fact conveniently gives JJ8 a good choice for a rainy day. In terms of discourse management, this also supplies a candidate answer (Pomeranz 1988) for JJ8, which requires JJ8 simply to agree or disagree in the following turn. JJ8, giving a positive assessment by agreeing to the candidate answer supplied by CJ5, indicates her preference for a near-by restaurant, with an additional reason that it is now raining (line7). However, two one-second pauses and a sentence-final particle "*kana*" in JJ8's utterance, "*Soo ne... Sono hoo ga ii kana... ame da shi*" (Yeah, I guess so, because it's raining), indicates JJ5's uncertainty. In line 8, CJ5 then pauses one second, and suggests to JJ8 a restaurant located in the lower floor of the same building as their office. JJ8 positively assesses CJ5's choice, but in a very simple answer, "*Uun...soo ne*" (Yeah...Let's see) (line 9). JJ8 does not seem to be very enthusiastic about the restaurant. So, in line 10, CJ5 further elaborates on the restaurant by giving a positive ("The food is good"), as well as a negative assessment ("but a bit expensive"), to express her opinion regarding the suggestion made by her interlocutor (Szatrowski 1987, 1993). She also ends her utterance with a particle "*kana*" to indicate her uncertainty (Maynard 1990; Makino and Tsuitsui 1995). This well-balanced information with the hedging device "*kana*" might be intended to allow JJ8 to decide on where to go without any imposition (cf. Brown and Levinson 1978, 1987). In line 11, JJ8 finally makes up her mind, saying "*Soko de ii yo*" (That sounds a good place, I think), followed by more assured statements of "*Soko ni shiyoo yo, ne*" (Let's decide on that, you know. Do you agree?), in a louder voice and faster rate of speech than usual. This utterance of JJ8 (line 11), for the first time, triggers CJ5 to negotiate further as to whether JJ8 is actually inviting her to go out for lunch too. This is because the previously used sentence-final particles, such as "*yo*" and "*ne*", a sentence pattern of suggesting someone do something together,"...*ni shiyoo*" (let's...), and change of prosody in JJ8's utterance function as *contexualization cues* to indicate her illocutionary force.

The illocutionary force of JJ8' utterance in line 11 is encoded by CJ5 as a possible invitation issued by JJ8. In particular, the pragmatic functions of the particles "*yo*" and "*ne*" play a very important role here to indicate the speaker's attitude toward the addressee, and to adjust the psychological distance between the participants (Ueno 1973;

Kamio 1979, 1990; Oishi 1994). The particle "*yo*" is categorized as a particle of insistence (McGloin 1991), indicating the assurance of speakers who distance themselves from addressees. Therefore, CJ5 infers that JJ8 has made up her mind finally to go to the restaurant that CJ5 has suggested. However, the final particle "*ne*" makes CJ5 puzzled as to whether she herself is invited, since the particle "*ne*" is classified as one of confirmation/rapport indicating willingness to share the information and to shorten psychological distance toward addressees. The particle usage by JJ8 immediately elicits a response from CJ5. Accordingly, CJ5's response, "*Ne-tte*" (Are you asking me if I agree with you?'), functions as her own comprehension check. "*Ne-tte*" is a combination of partial repetition of JJ8's previous utterance of line 11, plus the informal quotative particle "*tte*", which also indicates that the content referred by CJ5 is outside the speaker's territory of knowledge (cf. Kamio 1979). CJ5 further negotiates by issuing a more explicit clarification question about whether she is also going [line 12]. "*Watashi mo?*" is a short form of "*watashi mo issho ni iku'n desu ka*?" (am I also going with you?), with the underlined part omitted. JJ8 confirms laughingly that CJ5 is also invited [line 13], and CJ5 accepts the invitation to go out for lunch laughingly [line13]. Thus, in the example, JJ8's illocutionary force of invitation is successfully negotiated and conveyed to CJ5 in the end.

Previous research has shown that sentence-final particles such as *yo* and *ne* in face-to-face interaction play a very important role as lexical contexualization cues to make sense of ongoing discourse and speakers' illocutionary force (Oishi 1985; Jones 1990; Szatrowski 1994). Oishi (1985) points out that sentence-final particles in conversation function to indicate participants' "territories of knowledge" (Kamio 1979). They often contexualize ongoing discourse, imply shifts in frames, express participants' attitudes, and influence the development of the interaction. For instance, *yo* is interpreted as a speaker having knowledge or information, which his interlocutor does not possess. "*Ne*" is read as a speaker's willingness to confirm shared feelings and information and thus it tends to create closer and more friendly relations with his interlocutor. In Example 8-1, CJ5's ability to encode the final particles as cues which contexualize JJ8's intention as an invitation and her subsequent negotiation has lead their interaction to a successful

communicative outcome.

JJ8 does not say that she is inviting CJ5 to go out for lunch until line 11. However, all JRs and CRs in the rating sessions confirmed that the sequence between line 1 and line 10 was not uncommon as a pre-sequence to an invitation in Japanese. Though they were familiar with this type of pre-sequence, they expressed the view that they would not start negotiation on whether or not they were invited until they had made sure they had heard such an utterance, as in line 11. This is because it would be embarrassing for them to explicitly clarify the speaker's intention only to find out that it was not an invitation, particularly in the presence of other colleagues at the workplace. This would also make the speaker embarrassed. All the JRs said that the sentence-final particle "*ne*" is the cue, which triggers most Japanese native speakers to think that such an utterance might be an invitation. During the follow-up interviews, JJ8 told me that she not only assessed CJ5's Japanese competence as very high, but also regarded CJ5 as much more alert and a quicker learner in comparison with most of her nonnative co-workers. She assumed that CJ5 could understand not only the propositional meaning of everyday office conversations, but also the utterances or intentions of her Japanese co-workers which were expressed in a rather indirect or implicit way. CJ5 was accustomed to the ways her Japanese co-workers invite or request indirectly, since she had been working in a Japanese speaking workplace for three years. However, she revealed that she sometimes misinterpreted her Japanese co-workers' intentions. Thus, she had made it a habit to negotiate or clarify when she was not sure, for it was sometimes very difficult for her to guess correctly.

Pomerantz (1988:365) analyses how participants in everyday interaction commonly elicit information by offering a candidate answer to a query. According to Sacks (1964, 1966, 1967), offering a candidate answer functions as a "correction invitation" device. Namely, if a candidate answer offered by a speaker is wrong, it invites the interlocutor's correction. If it is right, it invites the interlocutor's further information or elaboration. Offering a correct candidate answer is interpreted as a speaker having knowledge of an ongoing topic (Pomerantz 1988: 369), and often creates a cooperative and friendly relationship among participants (Pomerantz 1988: 370).

Example 8-1 illustrates how CJ5, as a cultural host, displays her knowledge of the subject matter (that is, choosing a good Chinese restaurant for eating out) to her Japanese co-worker (JJ8), a cultural guest, by offering a correct candidate answer. This, at the end, creates a friendly atmosphere and rapport between CJ5 and JJ8.

Example 8-2 below illustrates how JJ7's illocutionary force of requesting is about to result in misunderstanding due to vague and indirect expressions in his discourse. However, CJ5, as stated in the follow-up interview, applies CN strategies effectively in order to interpret highly conventionalized contextualization cues used by JJ7. JJ7, who is a male director in his 40s, and CJ5, who is a female management trainee aged 28 years, negotiate a requesting sequence, which ends in successful communication. JJ7, who is CJ5's boss, and CJ5 are co-workers in the office of a trading firm. When CJ5 is typing, JJ7 approaches and stands right next to CJ5's left side and talks to her. JJ7 has the urgent task of submitting his report to an executive director, so the day before the interaction took place he had asked CJ5 to type it. In the example, JJ7 asks CJ5 when his report will be ready. CJ5 usually speaks to JJ7 in formal speech style, while JJ7 normally speaks to CJ5 in informal speech style. In the first half of the process, JJ7 talks as if his intention is to seek information from CJ5, while in the latter half, he starts to indicate his real intention, that is, to request CJ5 to type his report as soon as possible:

Example 8-2 [CJ5-10]

1	→	JJ7:	あのー(1)...<A (CJ5's first name)、ちょっとごめん A>。
2	⇒	CJ5:	はい？ ((stops typing and looks at JJ7))
3	⇒	JJ7:	<A あのさ、昨日頼んだあれ、どうなった A>？
4	☆→	CJ5:	あ、あれ、まだ (1)...これー急ぎなんですよ。
5	⇒	JJ7:	(1)...あー、急ぎ。
6	⇒		(1)...そいじゃ、僕のいつできる？
7	☆→	CJ5:	えーと、これ終わってからでいいですか？
8	☆	JJ7:	うーん。しかたないなー。
9	⇒		(1)...じゃ、それ終わってからね。
10	☆	CJ5:	はーい。
...	(5 minutes later)		
11	⇒→	JJ7:	ね、 (JJ5's first name) 、さっきの件だけど。
12	⇒	CJ5:	(1)... え、報告書のタイプ？
13	☆→	JJ7:	そう。(1)... あれー常務がねー、
14			(1)... やっぱ、すぐ読みたいって言うんだよ。
15	⇒	CJ5:	つまり、(1)... 急ぐってこと？
16	☆→	JJ7:	<FA そうなんだよ。あれ、先やってくれる FA>？
17	⇒	CJ5:	(1)...<@ 何で早く言わなかったのかな @>。
18	☆	JJ7:	<@ いや。ほんと急い @>。

<English translations>

1	→	JJ7:	Eh...(1)<A (CJ5's first name), excuse me for a second A>.
2	⇒	CJ5:	Yes? ((stops typing and looks at JJ7))
3	⇒	JJ7:	<A Eh, what happened to that document I asked you (to type) yesterday A>?
4	☆→	CJ5:	Ah, that one. Not (done) yet. (1)...This is urgent, you know.
5	⇒	JJ7:	(1)... Oh, urgent.
6	⇒		(1)... Then, when can you finish mine?
7	☆→	CJ5:	Let me see. Is it O.K. if I do it after finishing this?
8	☆	JJ7:	Mhh. It seems that there is no other way.
9	⇒		(1)... Then, after you finish this.
10	☆	CJ5:	O.K.

... (5 minutes later)

11	⇒→	JJ7:	Excuse me, (JJ5's first name), as for the matter I've just talked to you about.
12	⇒	CJ5:	(1)... What? (Do you mean) typing of your report?
13	☆→	JJ7:	Yeah...(1) that report, the Executive Director--
14			(1)... As I expected, says that he wants to read it immediately (though you may not know).
15	⇒	CJ5:	In other words, you want me to do it urgently?
16	☆→	JJ7:	<FA That's what I mean. Can you do that first FA>?
17	⇒	CJ5:	(1)...<@ Why didn't you say that earlier @>?
18	☆	JJ7:	<@ Oh, I am terribly sorry @>.

<Romanized transcripts>

1	→	JJ7:	Anoo--(1)...<A (CJ5's first name), Chotto gomen A>.
2	⇒	CJ5:	Hai/ ((stops typing and looks at JJ7))
3	⇒	JJ7:	<A Ano sa, kinoo tanonda are, doo natta A>?
4	☆→	CJ5:	A, are, mada (1)...Kore isogi nan' desu yo.
5	⇒	JJ7:	(1)...Aa, isogi.
6	⇒		(1)...Soi ja, boku no itsu dekiru?
7	☆→	CJ5:	Eeto, kore owatte kara de ii desu ka?
8	☆	JJ7:	Uun. Shikata nai naa.
9	⇒		(1)...Ja, sore owatte kara ne.
10	☆	CJ5:	Haai.

... (5 minutes later)

11	⇒→	JJ7:	Ne, (JJ5's first name), sakki no ken dakedo.
12	⇒	CJ5:	(1)... E, hookokusho no taipu?
13	☆→	JJ7:	Soo. (1)... Are, joomu ga ne=
14			(1)... Yappa, sugu yomitai tte iu n'da yo.
15	⇒	CJ5:	Tsumari, (1)...isogu tte koto?
16	☆→	JJ7:	<FA Soo nan' da yo. Are, saki yatte kureru FA>?
17	⇒	CJ5:	(1)...<@ Nando hayaku iwanakatta no kana @>.
18	☆	JJ7:	<@ Iya. honto warui @>.

The process of CN-IM forms a continuous series of turns consisting of Trigger(→), Signal (⇒) and Response (☆). An analysis of the data based on Frameworks 2 and 3 reveals that JJ7 and CJ5 adopt various explicit and implicit CN strategies.

In the first half of the process (lines 1-10), JJ7 starts his conversation with CJ5 to seek information on when his report will be typed (line 3), which serves as a Trigger to prompt CJ5 to issue a Response in line 4. CJ5's Response functions as a Trigger to prompt JJ7 to issue a Signal (line 5). JJ7 issues another Signal to clarify with CJ5 when

his report will be ready (line 6), since he had asked her to type his report yesterday. He did not say how urgent it was when he originally instructed CJ5. As all Japanese Raters stated, it is quite obvious to Japanese native speakers that JJ7's behavior between lines 1-10 is a pre-sequence (cf. Szatrowski 1987, 1993) for urgently requesting CJ5 to type the report. Through the rapid speed of his utterances (lines 1 and 3), JJ7 wishes to convey the message to CJ5 that he has an urgent request. However, this is not encoded by CJ5. In line 4, CJ5 simply responds to JJ7 that she has not typed it yet, and that the job she is doing now is more urgent. CJ5 uses the sentence-final particle "*yo,*" a particle of insistence (McGloin 1991) to emphasize this, by indicating that the information belongs only to CJ5 herself (cf. Kamio 1979). Consequently, she succeeds in justifying why she has not fulfilled JJ7's request. This implies that CJ5 was not told that JJ7's request was urgent. It is worth noting that both participants refer to the report as "*are* (that)" (lines 3, 4), instead of explicitly mentioning what it is. JJ7, after realizing that it was his fault that he did not tell CJ5 how urgent it was, feels rather helpless to insist. So, he repeats CJ5's previous utterance ("Uh, urgent") to check his comprehension, which, in fact, has the multiple function of expressing his disappointment too. After a pause, he issues a question to CJ5 to seek information about when the typing of his report will be finished (line 6), through which JJ7 hopes that CJ5 would encode his real intention.

However in line 7, to JJ7's disappointment, not understanding the interactional meaning of the ongoing discourse, CJ5 asks JJ7 whether it is all right for her to type it after the current urgent job by simply repeating her previous priority order of jobs, as in line 3. JJ7 shifts to a monologue mode in line 8, saying "*Shikata nai naa*" (It seems that there is no other way). The sentence-final particle "*naa/na*", which is a particle of confirmation/rapport, conveys the emotional load of a speaker, such as surprise and/or disappointment (McGloin 1991). Three JRs (JR1, JR3, JR4) even detected something of a complaining tone in JJ7's utterance. All JRs and CRs stated in the rating sessions that this final particle certainly creates a frame in which a speaker pretends he is talking to himself rather than to his interlocutor. However, in fact, he wishes his interlocutor to infer his emotion of great frustration because his intention of urgent request has not been appropriately understood. All JRs confirmed that JJ7's sentence-final particle "*naa/na*"

plays a crucial role in interpreting the illocutionary force of an indirect request. Then JJ7 shifts back to a dialogue mode, and goes on to say to CJ5 in a seemingly calm manner that it is all right if CJ5 types his report after finishing the present job. This shift between a monologue to a dialogue mode was interpreted as a conventionalized *contexualization cue* in Japanese conversation by all JJs and CRs. That is to say, JJ7 is not saying what he really means. He actually wants to make an urgent request to CJ5 at that moment, but says the opposite. Though JJ7 still avoids making a specific request to CJ5 at this point, he indirectly hints to CJ5 through the shifts at his intention. However, as all CRs noted, this strategy is too subtle for CJ5 to encode as a cue to contexualize JJ7's emotion.

The latter half of the process (lines 11-18) occurs five minutes after the first half ended in line 10. When JJ7 brings the matter up again in line 11, he refers to the urgent task of the typing of his report in an ambiguous way, "*sakki no ken dakedo*" (as for the matter I've just talked to you about), instead of referring to it explicitly. JJ7's vague expression, as in line 3, is of a kind which CJ5 is familiar with through her work experience with the Japanese, and it triggers her question to check her comprehension in line 12, "*e, hookokusho no taipu?*" (Do you mean the typing of your report?), by referring to the job explicitly. Now that CJ5 has voluntarily initiated negotiation of JJ7's meaning explicitly by issuing a yes-no question, it is easier for JJ7 to affirm or negate it and to continue negotiation in the subsequent requesting sequence. In lines 13 and 14, JJ7 effectively uses three kinds of strategies to make his negotiation successful. First, he refers to a higher authority who wants this job done urgently (cf. Jones 1990). He says to CJ5 that it is not himself but the Executive Director who wants to read his report immediately. According to all JRs, reference to a higher authority in the company (in the case of the example, "the Executive Director") is quite common in Japanese to ask someone to do a task immediately. It creates a situation where a request is an *official* one rather than a *personal* one; consequently, it is easier for a requester to issue a request, and rather difficult for a requestee to refuse it. Secondly, in JJ7's utterance, he employs "*yappa*" (as I/we expected), which is a colloquial variety of "*yahari/yappari.*" "*Yahari/yappai/yappa*" is an adverb "indicating an actual situation expectedly/anticipatively conforms to a standard based on past experience, comparison

with other people, or common sense" (Makino and Tsutsui 1986: 538), which often extends its function to a speaker's assumption that what he is stating/insisting on is objective fact and/or common sense to every one, including his addressee/interlocutor (Nishihara 1988; Maynard 1990, 1991; Kawaguchi 1994). Thirdly, JJ7's use of the sentence-final particle "*yo*" is effective in asserting his statement, and coupled with his other strategies discussed above, successfully make CJ5 realize JJ7's intention. In the following line 15, CJ5 briefly and explicitly checks her comprehension by asking a yes-no question, "*Tsumari, isogu-tte koto?*" (Are you telling me that it is urgent?), which is CJ5's clear summary paraphrase of what JJ7 has said in a round-about way in lines 13 and 14. In line 16, after affirming CJ5's question about whether it is an urgent task, JJ7 now feels comfortable for the first time in explicitly and directly requesting CJ5 to type his report immediately, even before her current typing job.

In line 17, CJ5 laughingly asks a question in informal style and in a monologue mode, "*Nande hayaku iwanakatta_no kana*?" (Why didn't you say that earlier?). The structure of the utterance, which is an extended predicate followed by a sentence-final particle "*kana*", indicates a speaker's emphasis or request for more information (Jorden with Noda 1963: 52-56). According to the follow-up interviews, CJ5 has previously experienced many cases of such indirect/implicit requests from Japanese co-workers. In line 17, however, CJ5 pretends in a monologue mode that she is puzzled with JJ7's sudden change, and speaks as if she were asking herself. In the rating sessions, all JRs and CRs were of the view that CJ5 actually wants JJ7 to interpret her utterance (line 17) as a mild complaint. CJ5's utterance is made in a laughing voice, which constitutes an important *contexualization cue* to signal that CJ5 is in a joking frame rather than in a serious frame, as a means of softening her complaint (Jefferson 1984; Yamada H. 1992). Since complaining is one of the speech acts which has a potentially high face threatening risk to an addressee, CJ5 shifts to a joking frame in order to redress the force of her complaint (Brown and Levinson1987). Finally, JJ7 issues an informal apology, "*Iya, honto warui*" (I am terribly sorry) in line 18. It is interesting to note that the latter half of the example (lines 11-18) illustrates how JJ7 and CJ5 as co-workers mutually negotiate their attitudes by conveying meta-messages of friendliness, rapport and solidarity throughout the

negotiation sequence.

The process of CN-IM in Example 8-3, involving CJ1 (age: 32, female, manager) and JJ1 (age: in his 30s, male, manager), who are co-workers in a management consultancy firm. They are talking about their company's briefing meeting with one of their clients. JJ1 requests CJ1 to postpone her ten-days' leave, because JJ1 desperately wants CJ1's help at a briefing meeting which is scheduled during CJ1's leave period. CJ1 usually speaks to JJ1 in formal style, while JJ1 normally speaks to CJ1 in informal style. At the beginning of the process, JJ1 acts as if his intention were to confirm his understanding as to the date of the briefing session, however, this turns out to be the pre-sequence of his request. Being the most advanced Japanese speaker among the ten CJs in the present study, CJ1 not only has the most advanced proficiency of Japanese language, but also the most years of work experience with Japanese co-workers. In the example, CJ1 demonstrates her very tactful negotiation skills in refusing JJ1's request politely and appropriately, using linguistically explicit expressions of refusal to indicate her intention clearly, while redressing their face threatening effect effectively by applying implicit strategies, such as laughter and joking expressions:

Example 8-3 [CJ1-2]

1	→	JJ1:	A社でやる説明会ね、9月16日に決まったよね。
2	☆	CJ1:	ええ。
3	⇒→	JJ1:	(1)...えっと (CJ1's first name) のリーブ、14日からだよね。
4	☆	CJ1:	えーそうだけど。
5	⇒		(2)...<@ それが、どうしたっていうんですか @>?
6	☆⇒	JJ1:	いやー(1)... 2、3日遅らせて取ってくれないかなって思ってさー。
7		CJ1:	@@@
8	☆→		<@F それは、絶対にできませんよ F@>。
9	⇒	JJ1:	<L (CJ1's first name) いないと、ほんと困るんだよー L>。
10			(1)...広東語の説明とかさ。
11		CJ1:	@@
12	☆→		でも、14日から10日間って、ずいぶん前、社長の許可もらいましたよ。
13			<@FL だから、だめです FL@>。
14	⇒	JJ1:	<P でもさー P>。
15	☆	CJ1:	(JJ1's name) さんがいつも言っている労働者の基本的権利でしょう、
16			(1)... これって@@。
17	⇒	JJ1:	だめ? (1)...どしても?
18	☆	CJ1:	<@FL どうしてもだめですね FL@>。
19	⇒		(1)...<@ 香港人も一人、雇ったら @>?

<English translations>

1	→	JJ1:	We have decided to have a briefing meeting at Company A on 16th of September, haven't we?
2	☆	CJ1:	Yeah.
3	⇒→	JJ1:	(1)...Ehh (CJ1's first name) 's leave is from 14th, isn't it?

4	☆	CJ1:	Yeah, that's right, but...
5	⇒		(2)...< @ Does that matter to you @ >?
6	☆⇒	JJ1:	No (1)... I was just wondering whether you could postpone your leave for a few days...
7		CJ1:	@@@
8	☆→		<@F It is absolutely not possible, you know F@>.
9	⇒	JJ1:	<L If you are not around, it is really difficult for me to cope with, you know... L>.
10			(1)... for instance, when Cantonese explanations are needed, you know ...
11		CJ1:	@@
12	☆→		But I was given the President's approval a long time ago for my ten days' leave from the 14th, you know.
13			< @FL Therefore, it is out of question FL@ >.
14	⇒	JJ1:	<P Yeah, but you know.. P>.
15	☆	CJ1:	This is the workers' basic rights that you (JJ1 's name) are always talking about?
16			(1)... Isn't it? @@
17	⇒	JJ1:	There's no way (you can postpone your leave)? Any possibility?
18	☆	CJ1:	<@FL No way I can postpone my leave, as you just said FL@>.
19	⇒		(1)...< @ Why don't you hire one more Hong Kong Chinese @ >?

<Romanized Transcripts>

1	→	CJ1:	Ee-sha de yaru sestumeikai ne, kugatsu juurokunichi ni kimatta yo ne.
2	☆	CJ1:	Ee.
3	⇒→	JJ1:	(1)...Etto (CJ1's first name) no riibu, juuyokka kara da yo ne.
4	☆	CJ1:	Ee, soo da kedo.
5	⇒		(2)...< @ Sore ga, doo shitatta tte iu n' desu ka @ >?
6	☆⇒	JJ1:	Iyaa, (1)... ni, sannichi okurasete totte kurenai kana tte omotte sa--.
7		CJ1:	@@@
8	☆→		<@F Sore wa, zettai ni dekimasen yo F@>.
9	⇒	JJ1:	<L (CJ1's first name) inai to, honto komaru n' da yoo-- L>.
10			(1)...Kanton-go no setsumei toka sa.
11		CJ1:	@@
12	☆→		Demo, juuyokka kara tooka-kan tte, zuibun mae, shachoo no kyoka moraimashita yo.
13			< @FL Dakara, dame desu FL@ >.
14	⇒	JJ1:	<P Demo sa-- P>.
15	☆	CJ1:	(JJ1's name)-san ga itsumo itte iru roodoosha no kihonteki kenri deshoo,
16			(1)... kore tte. @@
17	⇒	JJ1:	Dame? (1).. Do shitemo?
18	☆	CJ1:	<@FL Doo shitemo dame desu ne FL@>.
19	⇒		(1)...< @ Honkonjin mo hitori yatottara @ >?

The process of CN-IM in the example forms a series of turns, consisting of Trigger (→), Signal (⇒) and Response (☆). In the analysis of the data according to Frameworks 2 and 3, both CJ1 and JJ1 adopt various explicit and implicit CN strategies. As mentioned above, in line 1, JJ1 starts his speech act of request with a pre-sequence (Szatrowski 1987, 1990) and pretends to be simply confirming the date of the briefing meeting in order to establish his common ground with CJ1. Consequently, CJ1 gives a short Response of confirmation (line2). In the follow-up interview, CJ1 stated that she was already able to interpret JJ1's remark (line 1) as a requestive hint (Weizman 1989, 1993), through which JJ1 was smoothly paving the way to attain his ultimate communicative goal of request for CJ1 to postpone her leave date. In line 3, JJ1 issues

another confirmation check on the date of CJ1's leave, which indicates that JJ1 is gradually revealing his true intention but still in an indirect way, thus functioning as a Trigger for CJ1 to simply issue a short Response to affirm JJ1's check. After a two-seconds' pause, CJ1 asks JJ1 laughingly whether her leave has anything to do with JJ1 or his work (lines 4-5). In this way, CJ1's verbal as well as nonverbal behavior (lines 4-5) not only conveys to JJ1 that she has already understood JJ1's intention completely, but also indicates implicitly that JJ1's request will not be granted, even though CJ1 has not yet heard JJ1 stating it explicitly.

It is this behavior of CJ1 (lines 4-5) that functions as a Signal to urge JJ1 to issue a Response, where JJ1 for the first time requests CJ1 to postpone her leave in a verbally explicit manner (line 6). Since CJ1 has already inferred JJ1's hidden intention, she issues a Response in which she makes a very direct refusal in terms of its linguistic features in a louder and laughing tone (line 8). In the follow-up interviews, all 10 CRs and JRs stated that this might have sounded very blunt and face-threatening to JJ1, if the nonverbal and implicit strategy of laughter had not been adopted by CJ1 (lines 7-8), but this effectively softens and redresses the negative effect of the direct refusal (Brown and Levinson 1978, 1987; Jefferson 1984). Even after hearing CJ1's flat refusal, JJ1 continues negotiating, stating that he will have great difficulty at the briefing session without CJ1, who is able to provide explanations to Chinese-speaking clients in Cantonese (lines 8-9). This remark of JJ1 functions as a Signal urging CJ1 to issue two Reponses to indicate her firm refusal (lines 11-13, 15-16). Firstly, CJ1 refers to the fact that her leave was officially approved quite some time ago by the president of the company, which indicates that her *personal* entitlement as an employee should be respected and protected (lines 11-13). Secondly, as soon as JJ1 attempts to state his request again, CJ1, quickly referring to JJ1's philosophy that workers should enjoy leave entitlement as a basic right, hints that JJ1's request for her to postpone her leave dates contradicts his usual stance (lines 15-16). Here, CJ1 presents herself in a *public role* representing workers, whose rights, which JJ1 usually advocates as a *professional* management consultant, should be protected in employment contracts and ordinances. As noted above, Jones (1990) points out that Japanese participants in intra-cultural situations often adopt strategies to manage conflict in the ongoing discourse

by referring to higher authority or official remarks to depersonalize their conflict. While JJ1 uses this strategy to manage their conflict, CJ1, as an advanced speaker of Japanese, seems to have acquired such native-like negotiation strategies and the ability to infer implicit interactional meaning in the ongoing discourse. CJ1 issues three direct refusing remarks (lines 8, 13 and 17), but all in a laughing tone. At the end of the process (line 19), CJ1 even suggests jokingly the alternative solution of hiring one more Chinese staff member who can handle briefing meetings in Cantonese, Japanese and English, in order to help JJ1 solve the problem during CJ1's leave.

It is worth noting how both JJ1 and CJ1 use various sentence-final particles as *contexualization cues*, in order to adjust the psychological distance between the members (Ueno 1971; Kamio 1979, 1990; Oishi 1985; Cook 1990). Following McGloin (1991), we can say that "*yo ne*" at the end of JJ1's utterances in lines 1 and 3 indicates JJ1's "territory of information" (Kamio 1979), showing authority through "*yo*" (a particle of insistence), while indicating his friendly consideration toward CJ1 through "*ne*" (a particle of report/confirmation). JJ1 also uses "*sa*"[2] three times (lines 6, 10 and 14) and "yo" once (line 9), to indicate his insistence in requesting. On the other hand, CJ1 uses "*yo*" twice (lines 8 and 12) to indicate her strong insistence on turning down JJ1's request. Furthermore, CJ1 effectively uses laughter and a joking frame as mentioned, and JJ1 adopts various hedging devices to soften the face-threatening effect of the speech act of request (Brown and Levinson 1978, 1987). For instance, pauses (lines 3, 6, 10 and 17), change of prosody to a slower pace (line 9) and softer quality of speech (line 14), and a sentence pattern to request in a polite and less aggressive way, "*ni san nichi okurasete totte kurenai kana tte omotte sa*" (I was just wondering whether you could postpone your leave for a few days) in line 6.

8.3.2 Extended sequence of CN-EX in work-related talk (WRT)

In Example 8-4 below, which is the longest of the CN-EX extended sequences in WRT lasting 7 minutes and 21 seconds (cf. Table 8.1), JJ5 and CJ4 mutually negotiate speech acts of request, refusal, disagreement and complaint, but their interaction

eventually results in mutual misunderstanding. The example shows how JJ5's intention of complaint, disagreement and requesting is misunderstood by CJ4, because the latter is unable to infer the intended meaning of JJ5, who adopts implicit CN strategies such as vague Japanese contexualization cues in the discourse as a means of indicating his intentions. It also illustrates that CJ4's illocutionary force of disagreement and refusal of JJ5's request is misunderstood by JJ5, because JJ5 overestimates CJ4's linguistic and professional competence. Since this extended sequence is too long to present as one excerpt, I shall present my discussion and analysis in three parts.

In this example, JJ5 (in his 30s, senior researcher) and CJ4 (aged 28 years, female, executive officer) are co-workers in the office of a trade organization, and JJ5 is senior to CJ4 in terms of the position and age, though JJ5 is not CJ4's boss in the strict sense. CJ4 was previously requested by JJ5 to complete the task of collecting information about business organizations in Hong Kong, such as names of their representatives, addresses and contact numbers. After completing the task, CJ4 brings the list to JJ7. As soon as JJ7 looks at the list, he starts to confer with CJ4 about the list, which triggers a 7-minute extended sequence of CN-PM. Both CJ4 and JJ7 have the urgent task of sending information leaflets issued by their organization to the business organizations on the list. CJ4 usually speaks to JJ5 in formal speech style, while JJ5 normally speaks to CJ4 in informal speech style. Being a native speaker of the Osaka variety of Japanese, JJ5's speech is characterized with a distinctive accent and intonation patterns, though his speech can be classified as the standard variety of Japanese. However, JJ5 switches between the standard and the Osaka variety several times in the example[3]. The process of CN-IM is carried out primarily through the oral channel, but both participants occasionally look at the list of trade and business organizations and negotiate their content through the oral/visual channel. An analysis based on Frameworks 2 and 3 shows that JJ5 uses explicit CN strategies as well as many subtle implicit CN strategies in order to convey his intentions. However, some of JJ5's intentions are not interpreted correctly or appropriately by CJ4. In turn, CJ4 mainly uses explicit CN strategies in order to indicate disagreement and refusal. Nevertheless, CJ4's intentions are not fully understood by JJ5 either.

Example 8-4 [CJ4-12]

[Example 8-4-(1)]

→		((JJ5 receives a list from CJ4, and starts to look at it.))
1	JJ5:	<NB Thank you NB>.
2 →	CJ4:	いいえ。これは＝いつまで出せばいいですか。
3 ☆⇒	JJ5:	(2)...はてはて、これどこに置いてあったっけ？
4 ⇒		(1)...＜X　これはファイルを　X＞打ってるわけね。
5 ☆→	CJ4:	＜NB　mh　NB＞
6 ☆	JJ5:	そーう。
7	CJ4:	＜NB　mh　NB＞
→		((pointing at the list, which has titles of the heads of the business organizations without individual names, and their addresses))
8 ⇒		えーこのリスト[えー]　&
9	JJ5:	[うん]
10 ⇒	CJ4:	&　したがって出しましょうか？
11 ☆→		＜ FA うん、そりゃ出しといてもらったほうがね　FA＞
12		(1)...こなん、リストになって <NB こないになってますん[でね]　NB>。
13 ☆→	CJ4:	[うん]。もうーか月ね。
14 ☆	JJ5:	(1)... じゃあ(1)...とりあえず＝これで出してください。
15 ⇒		(1)...こーこれ (1)...＜FA　何部ぐらい　F A＞ ＜NB 来てる NB＞/ki-teru/[4]？ ((pointing at the information leaflets))
16 ☆→	CJ4:	え――え、ご――　ごじゅう＝部。
17 ⇒	JJ5:	50 部<NB 来てる NB>/ki-teru/?
18 ☆→	CJ4:	えー。
19 [⇒]	JJ5:	(2)...＜P　だいぶ ＜NB 遅いなあ NB＞/oo-soi naa/[5]　P＞。
20 [⇒]		＜P　まえに 早く送れといったのに　P＞。
21 ⇒		これ 50 部で＝＜FA これ何人ぐらいありましたっけな　FA＞。 ((pointing at the list.))
22 ☆→	CJ4:	え＝70 ぐら［い］。
23 ☆→	JJ5:	＜FA [70]人もいる　FA＞。
24		あ、そりゃ　X
25 ☆→	CJ4:	にじゅう　――　にじゅっさつ足りません。
26 ☆⇒	JJ5:	＜FA　20 冊足りないね　FA＞。
27 ☆→	CJ4:	うーん、そう。
28 [⇒]	JJ5:	<P (2)... しかし、寝かしとくわけにもいかんしな P>。
29 ☆→	CJ4:	うん。
30 ☆→	JJ5:	(1)...わかった。
31		じゃあね、とりあえず、えーと、<FA 送ってください 50 名 FA>。
32		(1)... <A 上からでいいや [これ] A>。
33 ☆	CJ4:	[はい]、はい。
34 →		(1)...わたし、ちょっと選んで。
35 ☆⇒	JJ5:	＜FA　選んでね　FA＞。
36 ☆	CJ4:	はい。

[Example 8-4-(1)]

<English translations>

→		((JJ5 receives a list from CJ4, and starts to look at it.))
1	JJ5:	<NB Thank you NB>.
2 →	CJ4:	Not at all. As for those (leaflets)= when is the deadline for sending out?
3 ☆⇒	JJ5:	(2)...Let me see. Where were they stored, I wonder.
4 ⇒		(1)...＜X　So you are typing　X＞ this file (of mailing lists), I presume.
5 ☆→	CJ4:	＜NB　mh　NB＞
6 ☆	JJ5:	Right.
7	CJ4:	＜NB　mh　NB＞
→		((pointing at the list, which has titles of the heads of the business organizations without individual names, and their addresses))
8 ⇒		Ehh, (according to) this list [ehh]　&
9	JJ5:	[mhm].
10 ⇒	CJ4:	&　shall I mail these leaflets?
11 ☆→		＜ FA　Mhm. Of course, it is better to mail them, you know　FA＞

12			(1)...It is prepared like <NB this NB> in list form, like <NB this, [as you know] NB>.
13	☆→	CJ4:	[Mhm]. One month, you know.
14	☆	JJ5:	(1)...Then (1)...immediately (for the time being)=please mail them according to the list.
15	⇒		(1)...The.. these (1)...<FA How many copies FA> <NB have we got NB[6]>? ((pointing at the information leaflets))
16	☆→	CJ4:	Eh, ehh... fif.. fifty copies.
17	⇒	JJ5:	<NB We have got NB> fifty copies?
18	☆→	CJ4:	Yeah.
19	[⇒]	JJ5:	(2)...<P Very <NB slow, I think NB[7]> P>.
20	[⇒]		<P Though I told her to mail them long time ago P>.
21	⇒		These are fifty copies, and =<FA How many people on the list, do you know FA>? ((pointing at the list))
22	☆→	CJ4:	Eh= about seven[ty] .
23	☆→	JJ5:	<FA [Seventy], so many FA>?
24			Eh, then X
25	☆→	CJ4:	Short of twin, --twenty copies.
26	☆⇒	JJ5:	<FA Mhm, short of twenty copies, as you say. FA>.
27	☆→	CJ4:	Mhmm. Right.
28	[⇒]	JJ5:	<P (2)...But we can't just leave them as they are P>.
29	☆→	CJ4:	Yeah.
30	☆→	JJ5:	(1)...All right.
31			In this case, immediately (for the time being), ehh, <FA please mail them to fifty persons FA>.
32			(1)... <A from the top of the name lists, [these] A>.
33	☆	CJ4:	[Yes], yes.
34	→		(1)...I, shall I select (fifty persons from the list),
35	☆⇒	JJ5:	<FA Select them, please, as you suggested FA>.
36	☆	CJ4:	Yes.

[Example 8-4-(1)]

<Romanized transcripts>

	→		((JJ5 receives a list from CJ4, and starts to looking at it.))
1		JJ5:	<NB Thank you NB>.
2	→	CJ4:	Iie. Kore wa=itsu made daseba ii desu ka.
3	☆⇒	JJ5:	(2)...Hate hate, kore doko ni oite attakke?
4	⇒		(1)... <X Kore wa fairu o X> utteru wake ne.
5	☆→	CJ4:	<NB mh NB>
6	☆	JJ5:	Sooo.
7		CJ4:	<NB mh NB>
	→		((pointing at the list, which has titles of the heads of the business organizations without individual names, and their addresses))
8	⇒		Ee, kono risuto [ee-] &
9		JJ5:	[un]
10	⇒	CJ4:	& shitagatte dashimashoo ka?
11	☆→		<FA Un, sorya dashitoite moratta hoo ga ne FA>.
12			(1)...Konan, risuto ni natte <NB konai ni natte masu n' [de ne] NB>。
13	☆→	CJ4:	[Un]. Moo ikkagetsu ne.
14	☆	JJ5:	(1)... Jaa(1)...Toriagezu= kore de dashite kudasai.
15	⇒		(1)...Ko-kore (1)...<FA nanbu-gurai FA> <NB kiteru NB[8]>/ki-teru/? ((pointing at the information leaflets))
16	☆→	CJ4:	Ee-- e, go-- gojuu=bu.
17	⇒	JJ5:	Gojuubu <NB kiteru NB>/ki-teru/?
18	☆→	CJ4:	Ee--.
19	[⇒]	JJ5:	(2)...<P Daibu <NB oosoi naa NB[9]>/oo-soi naa/ P>.
20	[⇒]		<P Mae ni hayaku okure to itta noni P>.
21	⇒		Kore gojuubu de = <FA kore nan-nin gurai arimashita kke na FA>. ((pointing at the list))
22	☆→	CJ4:	E=Nanajuu-gura[i--].
23	☆→	JJ5:	<FA [nana]juu-nin mo iru FA>.
24			A, sorya X
25	☆→	CJ4:	Nijuu--- nijussatsu tarimasen.
26	☆⇒	JJ5:	<FA Nijussatsu tarinai ne FA>.
27	☆→	CJ4:	U--n, soo.
28	[⇒]	JJ5:	<P (2)...Shikashi, nekashitoku wake ni mo ikan shi na P>.

29	☆→	CJ4:	Un.
30	☆→	JJ5:	(1)...Wakatta.
31			Jaa ne. Toriaezu, eeto, <FA okutte kudasai, gojuu-mei FA>.
32			(1)... <A Ue kara de ii ya [kore] A>.
33	☆	CJ4:	[Hai], hai.
34	→		(1)...Watashi, chotto erande.
35	☆⇒	JJ5:	<FA Erande ne FA>.
36	☆	CJ4:	Hai.

In Example 8-4-(1), which is the first part of the extended sequence of CN-IM, JJ5 first clarifies with CJ4 on looking at the typed list of names and addresses of business organizations in Hong Kong (line 3). However, the process of negotiation was in fact triggered through the visual channel when CJ4 hands the lists to JJ5 before their oral interaction begins in line one. CJ4's question in line 3 to ask JJ5 when to send out letters and information leaflets to the business organizations functions as a Trigger for JJ5 to issue a series of Signals. In the first part of the example, JJ5 issues seven Signals (lines 3, 4, 15, 26, 19-20, 28, 35) to clarify with CJ4 about the list and information leaflets (lines 3, 4, 15, 26) to whom to send them (line 35), and to check his own comprehension (lines 19-20, 28). JJ5's two Signals (lines 19-20 and line 28) have multiple functions in the process of meaning negotiation[10]. These functions include checking JJ5's own comprehension regarding the task in the mode of monologue, indirectly indicating to CJ4 his dissatisfaction that the important task has been delayed by CJ4 and her subordinates for about a month, and subtly hinting at JJ5's dissatisfaction with the whole matter. JJ5 utters these two Signals in a drastically softer quality of voice than that of his other utterances. JJ5 apparently does not want CJ4 to hear them, yet he wishes CJ4 to infer his intended meaning, such as his negative assessment of the progress of the required task and feeling of dissatisfaction toward CJ4.

In addition to the use of *contexualization cues,* such as a sudden change in the prosody (lines 19-20, 28), JJ5 adopts other implicit CN strategies to emphasize his dissatisfaction by switching his speech style from standard Japanese to the Osaka variety in line 19[11]. He purposely shifts speech style by using a colloquial idiomatic expression in line 28, "*Shikashi, nekashitoku wake nimo ikan shi na*" (But, we can't just leave them as they are). The expression "*nekashitoku*" (leave them as they are) literally means "leave them asleep", which CJ4 stated in the follow-up interview that she had not understood at all. All 10 CRs and JRs in the rating sessions stated that this expression was too

advanced and colloquial for CJ4 to comprehend. They felt that JJ5 intentionally used the slang to baffle CJ4, instead of using an easier expression to facilitate CJ4's understanding. Two JRs, who were native speakers of the Osaka variety, said that they were quite sure that in line 19, JJ5 purposely pronounced a word (*oo-soi*) in a conspicuous Osaka accent because he wanted to distance himself from CJ4, indicating his great dissatisfaction. The two Osaka-variety-native-speaking JRs said that this type of code-mixing was a very common strategy for Osaka-variety-native-speakers to enable them to highlight views and opinions which often contradicted what their interlocutors said in the interaction. Five JRs and three CRs also believed that JJ5 was exercising his power as a native speaker of Japanese, purposely making his utterances difficult for CJ4 to understand and indicating JJ5's views that CJ4's Japanese proficiency was still insufficient to interact as a businessperson in the workplace.

JJ5 issues two explicit request expressions (lines14, 31-32), "...*dashite kudasai*" (please mail...) and "...*okutte kudasai*" (please mail...), which urge CJ4 to send information leaflets to the organizations on the list. Since both expressions are based on one of the most basic sentence patterns of request, "... *[verb te-form] kudasai*" (please do something), which is widely introduced in elementary/intermediate Japanese textbooks, CJ4 interprets the propositional meaning of the utterances correctly. However, in order to understand the interactional meaning of the ongoing discourse, it is crucial for us to pay attention to the fact that JJ5 uses the adverb "*toriaezu*" (immediately; for the time being) in his two request expressions (lines 14, 31). In the follow-up interviews, CJ4 stated that she interpreted the adverb as "immediately". On the other hand, JJ5 stated that he intended to convey his dissatisfied feeling through the adverb, indicating that he was not happy at all with the suggested method of problem solving in his request expressions (lines 14, 31), but that this was only "a temporary measure", as distinct from the ideal method of doing business. It is interesting to note that all 10 JRs and CRs stated that the adverb "*toriaezu*" was one of the implicit CN strategies and *contexualization cues* JJ5 adopted, of which CJ4, as an upper intermediate speaker of Japanese, was unable to infer the interactional meaning appropriately.

Furthermore, there are two other factors which widen the misunderstanding between JJ5 and CJ4 in the example. Firstly, CJ4 misinterprets the interactional meaning of JJ5's two information questions (lines 15, 21), in which JJ5 asks CJ4 how many copies of the leaflets they have and how many representatives there are on the list. CJ4's comment in the follow-up interview revealed that CJ4 interpreted only the propositional meaning of JJ5's questions, thinking that JJ5 just wanted to seek more detailed information. She did not infer any interactional meaning or meta-messages contained in the questions. However, all JRs and four CRs felt that JJ5's questions were not *genuine information questions*, but *rhetorical questions*[12] to indirectly hint at his irritation and dissatisfaction. The raters' comments were confirmed by JJ5 himself in the follow-up interview. As noted and discussed in Example 7-5, in order to exit from the uncomfortable situation and to harmoniously manage conflict in the ongoing discourse, participants sometimes adopt an implicit CN strategy to issue questions, acting as if they are simply interested in getting more information on something related to, but slightly away from, the central issue of the ongoing conflict (cf. Jones 1990).

Secondly, JJ5's misinterpretation of three of CJ4's utterances (lines 8-9, 25 and 34) as a result of his overestimation of CJ4's professional competence as well as Japanese language competence leads to more serious misunderstanding between JJ5 and CJ4 in the following two parts of Example 8-4. CJ4's first utterance, "Ehh, (according to) this list ehh, shall I mail these leaflets?" (lines 8-9) sounds to JJ5 to be a timely as well as professional suggestion by his Chinese co-worker, who has more working experience in this office, since JJ5 was a relative new comer[13] in the Hong Kong office at the time of recording. CJ4's second utterance in line 25, "(We are) short of 20 copies (of leaflets)" is a very important piece of information necessary for carrying out the task successfully and efficiently, because it makes clear their problem of shortage copies of the leaflets. CJ4's last utterance in line 34, "I shall just select (50 organizations from the list)," is an offer in which CJ4 efficiently volunteers to select 50 organizations to which to send the leaflets, in order to carry out their overdue task immediately. In the follow-up interviews, CJ4's behavior discussed above was evaluated by JJ5 very positively. JJ5 also reiterated his appreciation of CJ4's professional support during the previous six months since his

transfer to the Hong Kong office. When I played back the audio recorded interaction of the example, JJ5 cited the same three utterances discussed above as typical examples to illustrate CJ4's professional competence as well as competence in Chinese, English and Japanese. Thus, both participants' misinterpretation of the interactional meaning of the ongoing discourse in Example 8-4-(1) creates further misunderstanding in the following two parts of the extended CN-IM sequence.

Example 8-4-(2), which is the second part of the extended sequence, illustrates how JJ5 and CJ4 continue their interaction after discussing for 1 minute and 35 seconds how to select 50 organizations from the list. Though in line 34, JJ5 appreciates CJ4's efficiency in volunteering to select these organizations, he does not seem to let her do it in her own way. As a result, JJ5 is the dominant speaker who gives detailed instructions on how to choose the 50 organizations (lines 37, 39-41, 43, 45), and issues a request (line 47), an information question (lines 48-49) and a suggestion (line 53), while CJ4 as the listener, gives only short responses to JJ5's utterances (lines 38, 42, 44, 46).

[Example 8-4-(2)]
[1 minute 35 seconds after turn 36]

37	⇒	JJ5:	あのメーカーがらみのやつをちょっと挙げて、ね。
38		CJ4:	<NB mh NB>。
39	⇒	JJ5:	<F 製造業がらみのやつ F>、
40			(1)...<F とにかくほんとにあ [illegible]、((pointing at the list))
41			(3)...<F こういうのは商工[illegible]とか[illegible] F>。
42	☆	CJ4:	はい。
43	⇒	JJ5:	<F 香港の団体 F> と 香港インター <X X> とか、
44	☆	CJ4:	うんうんうん。
45	⇒	JJ5:	マニュファクチャラーズ・アソシエーションね、
46		CJ4:	<NB mh NB>。
47	⇒	JJ5:	こういった所に <X ずっと X>送ってください。
	→		((looking at the list))
48	⇒		(3)...このセクレタリー・ジェネラル、
49			(1)...名前わかんない？ こんなの。
50	☆→	CJ4:	(1)...えーわかりません。
51	⇒	JJ5:	これね＝<FA ちょっとあとでまた時間みてね FA>。
52		CJ4:	<NB mh NB>。
53	⇒→	JJ5:	<FA 名前宛に送ってあげたほうがいいんじゃないの FA>？
54	☆	CJ5:	あーそですか。でも、<IJ いつも IJ>/ichimo/
55	☆		(1)...えー <L 担当の人は L> &
56		JJ5:	えー。
57	☆→	CJ4:	& <NB change NB>ですから、
58	☆⇒	JJ5:	(1)...チェンジねー。
59	☆	CJ4:	<NB mh NB>。

[Example 8-4-(2)]

<English Translations>

[1 minute 35 seconds after turn 36]

37	⇒	JJ5:	Ehh, (you may) just pick out organizations which are makers, you know.
38		CJ4:	<NB mh NB>.
39	⇒	JJ5:	<F those related to manufacture F>.
40			(1)...<F Any way, really those of= F>, ((pointing at the list))
41			(3)...<F Those of business associations or the like, you know F>.
42	☆	CJ4:	Yes.
43	⇒	JJ5:	<F Organizations in Hong Kong F>, and Hong Kong Inter--<X X> and so on,
44	☆	CJ4:	Yeah, yeah, yeah.
45	⇒	JJ5:	Manufacturers' Association, you know.
46		CJ4:	<NB mh NB>。
47	⇒	JJ5:	To these places, <X all the way (in the list) X>, please mail them.
	→		((looking at the list))
48	⇒		(3)...This Secretary-General,
49			(1)...Can't (you/we) know the personal name? Stuff like this.
50	☆→	CJ4:	(1)...Eh, (I/We) don't know.
51	⇒	JJ5:	This=<FA Just check these when you have time later, you know FA>.
52		CJ4:	<NB mh NB>。
53	⇒→	JJ5:	<FA Isn't it better to send letters addressed to personal names (in addition to their business titles), don't you think FA>?
54	☆	CJ5:	Oh, is that right? But <IJ always IJ>.
55	☆		(1)...Eh.. <L persons who are in charge L> &
56		JJ5:	Yeah.
57	☆→	CJ4:	& because (they) <NB change NB>.
58	☆⇒	JJ5:	(1)...They (always) change, you mean.
59	☆	CJ4:	<NB mh NB>.

[Example 8-4-(2)]

<Romanized transcripts>

[1 minute 35 seconds after turn 36]

37	⇒	JJ5:	Ano meekaa garami no yatsu o chotto agete, ne.
38		CJ4:	<NB mh NB>。
39	⇒	JJ5:	<F Seizoogyoo garami no yatsu F>,
40			(1)...<F Tonikaku honto ni are F>, ((pointing at the list))
41			(3)...<F Koo iu no wa shookoo-dantai toka ne F>.
42	☆	CJ4:	Hai.
43	⇒	JJ5:	<F Honkon no dantai F> to Honkon intaa <X X> toka,
44	☆	CJ4:	Un un un .
45	⇒	JJ5:	Manufakucharaazu-asoshieishon ne,
46		CJ4:	<NB mh NB>。
47	⇒	JJ5:	Koo itta tokoro ni <X zutto X> okutte kudasai.
	→		((looking at the list))
48	⇒		(3)...Kono sekuretarii-jeneraru,
49			(1)...Namae wakan' nai? 'kon' na no.
50	☆→	CJ4:	(1)...Ee-- wakarimasen.
51	⇒	JJ5:	Kore ne= <FA chotto ato de mata jikan mite ne FA>.
52		CJ4:	<NB mh NB>.
53	⇒→	JJ5:	<FA Namae ate ni okutte ageta hoo ga ii n' ja nai no FA>?
54	☆	CJ5:	A-, soo desu ka. Demo, <IJ itsumo IJ>/ichimo/
55	☆		(1)...Ee-- <L tantoo no hito wa L> &
56		JJ5:	Ee--.
57	☆→	CJ4:	& <NB change NB> desu kara,
58	☆⇒	JJ5:	(1)...chenji nee.
59	☆	CJ4:	<NB mh NB>.

When JJ5 gives CJ4 detailed instructions (lines 37-45), he adopts various implicit CN strategies in order to indicate his dissatisfaction with CJ4 and the ongoing issue of the overdue task, and to show his dominance and power as a native speaker of Japanese as well as CJ4's senior co-worker. This interpretation of JJ5's intended meaning in the ongoing discourse was shared by all five JRs and three CRs in the rating sessions. JJ5's implicit CN stratetegies include his sudden change in prosody (louder tone than usual in lines 39-41, 43), and his use of a colloquial phrase "... *garami no yatsu*" (stuff including...) in lines 37 and 39, instead of a more neutral phrase like "...*kankei no tokoro*" (places related to...). Furthermore, the adverb "*tonikaku*" in JJ5's utterance (line 40) here functions as *a contexualization cue* in a similar way as the adverb "*toriaezu*" (immediately; as a temporary measure) does in the previous part (lines 14, 31) to indicate emphatically that the task should be done urgently, as JJ5 is not particularly happy about the way the task has been delayed and handled by CJ4 and her staff members. According to Makino and Tsutsui (1995: 216-218), the expression "*tonikaku* ... [verb *te*-form] *kudasai*" (please do ... anyway) is used in highly hearer-oriented requests. In the follow-up interviews, four JRs and three CRs stated that native speakers of Japanese often use this expression to request their interlocutor(s) to do things as a temporary measure, but simultaneously conveying their irritation, dissatisfaction and/complaint to their interlocutor(s). In the meantime, JJ5 tries his best to adopt various redressing strategies to soften the face-threatening effects of the implicit CN strategies discussed above. For instance, JJ5 uses the sentence-final particle "*ne*" (lines 37, 45) to indicate his rapport with CJ4 (cf. Kamio 1979; Oishi 1985; McGloin 1990) and uses the conjunction "*toka* (or)" (lines 41, 43) as a hedging device to indicate JJ5's uncertainty about the items suggested by him as inexhaustive examples (Makino and Tsutui 1986: 488-490) so as to leave some room for CJ4 to comment on them.

Another characteristic aspect worth noting in the example is that JJ5 constantly looks at the list and asks CJ4 to pay attention to the details (lines 40, 47). Thus, both participants negotiate interactional meaning through the visual channel as well as the oral channel. Just after JJ5 issues the request in line 47, he looks at the list for a few seconds. The visual information JJ5 gets from the list functions as a Trigger to prompt JJ5 to issue a

Signal, which is a form of an information question "Can't (you/we) know the personal name of the Secretary-General? Stuff like this", in order to clarify with CJ4 the content of the list (lines 48-49). After hearing CJ4's negative reply (line 50), JJ5 immediately issues two *requestive hints*[14] (Weizman 1993) in a louder tone and faster rate of speech than usual. The first one is in the form of request, but an important verbal phrase is left unsaid: "*Kore ne = Chotto ato de mata jikan mite ne*" (These = just [check these information] when you have time later, you know) in line 51. The second one is in the form of a suggestion/advice, "*Namae ate ni okutte ageta hoo ga ii n' ja nai no?*" (Isn't it better to send letters addressed to personal names [in addition to their business titles]?) in line 53. This utterance of JJ5's is very important in showing the fact JJ5 has changed his mind from his previous request for CJ4 to send leaflets to the organizations immediately (lines 14, 31-32, 47) to wanting CJ4 to check all the personal names of the organizational heads. However, without comprehending the interactional meaning of the ongoing discourse, CJ4 gives a negative reply to JJ5's suggestion (line 53), saying that it is difficult to determine the personal names of the heads, since the turnover of such persons is quite high (lines 54-55, 57).

CJ4's comments in the follow-up interview revealed that she interpreted JJ5's two utterances (lines 51 and 53) literally as suggestions for her to act "when she had time in the future", instead of inferring them as requestive hints to urge her to check the personal names of the heads immediately. On the other hand, JJ5 reiterated that he had made it very clear to CJ4 that he had been making very urgent requests, which he expected CJ4 to infer correctly and appropriately. All 10 JRs and CJs in the rating sessions stated that Japanese native speakers often use information questions, suggestions and advice as requestive hints as JJ5 did, in order to realize their requests indirectly, thus avoiding the face-threatening impact on all participants. Furthermore, their comments suggested that Japanese phrases such as "*jikan ga aru toki/himana toki*" (when you have time) and "*ato de*" (later) often take on completely opposite meanings, such as "urgently" and "immediately", depending on the context. JJ5's dissatisfaction with CJ4 all through the first and second parts of the example provides us with important contextual information indicating that these phrases were used by JJ5 to convey unconventional contextual

implications in the ongoing discourse, but these were too subtle for CJ4 to decode.

In the third and last part of Example 8-4, JJ5 continues to be the dominant speaker, while CJ4 remains as a passive listener. Firstly, JJ5 issues many Signals to clarify repeatedly with CJ4, using such set phrases as "What I mean is, you know..." (line 60), "Why I am saying like this is, you see"(line 62), and "Just want to know who this person is, you see" (line 68), through which he tries to convince CJ4 that sending letters addressed to the personal names of the heads is more polite and friendly than using titles only:

[Example 8-4-(3)]
[2 minutes 15 seconds after turn 59]

60	⇒	JJ5:	(2)...あのー (1)...というのはね、
61		CJ4:	<NB mh NB>。
62	⇒	JJ5:	(1)...どしてこういうこと言うかっていうとさ。
63		CJ4:	<NB mh NB>。
64	⇒	JJ5:	あのこんどまた＝コンタクトする時にね。
65		CJ4:	<NB mh NB>。
66	⇒	JJ5:	この人が誰なのかって、
67			(1)...<FA 例えば香港ジェネラル・チェンバー・オブ・コマースのダイレクターとか FA>、
...			
68	⇒	JJ5:	<A えーちょっと知りたいわけよ A>。
69		CJ4:	[<NB mh NB>]。
70	⇒	JJ5:	[でー、 あなた] の ほうで[ねー] &
71	☆	CJ4:	[はい]、
72	→		(1)...時間があ--あれば &
73		JJ5:	<X X>
74	→	CJ4:	& チャ—— [チェックします]。
75	☆	JJ5:	<FA [チェックしてね] FA>、
76	⇒		(1)...で、所長が今後、また (1)...<FA あのーだれそれさんとね FA>&
77		CJ4:	<NB mh NB>。
78	⇒	JJ5:	& <FA 会いたいと言った時に FA>、
79			(1)...やっぱし(1)...こうね。
80	→⇒		(3)....<PL こちら全部名前が入っているでしょう PL>。
	⇒		((looking at the second page of the list, which has the titles and personal names of heads of business organizations, with their addresses))
81	☆→	CJ4:	うん。そうですね。
82	☆⇒	JJ5:	はーい。(1)...<FA ここを知りたいんですね FA>。
83		CJ4:	<NB mh NB>。
84	⇒	JJ5:	<A ちょっとやってみてくれる A>?
85	⇒		(1)...<FA これ、イグゼキュティブ・ダイレクターだけじゃなくて FA> &
86		CJ4:	<NB mh NB>。
87	⇒	JJ5:	& <FA アメリカン・チャンバー・オブ・コマースの-- が-- FA>、
88			ザ・イグゼキュティブじゃなくて<FA だれを-- だれなのか一体 FA>、
89		CJ4:	<NB mh NB>。
90	⇒	JJ5:	<FA イグゼキュティブ・ダイレクターが誰なのか FA>
91		CJ4:	<NB mh NB>、
92	☆→		はい[はい]。
93	⇒	JJ5:	<F [そこ]が問題のわけ F>。
94		CJ4:	<NB mh NB>。
95	⇒	JJ5:	うちのほうでもいろいろ <FA 催しものとかイベントやった時に FA>、
96			(1)... こー こういう人呼びたいから。
97	☆→	CJ4:	<A はいはい A>、

98			(.)...はい。
99	⇒	JJ5:	えー、[これね]。
100	☆→	CJ4:	[あとで]電話しましょう。
101	☆	JJ5:	<FA うん。電話して FA>。

[Example 8-4 -(3)]

<English translations>

[2 minutes 15 seconds after turn 59]

60	⇒	JJ5:	(2)...Ehh (1)...what I mean is, you know.
61		CJ4:	<NB mh NB>.
62	⇒	JJ5:	(1)...Why I am saying like this is, you see.
63		CJ4:	<NB mh NB>.
64	⇒	JJ5:	Ehh, next time = when we contact this person, you know.
65		CJ4:	<NB mh NB>.
66		JJ5:	(We want to know) who this person is.
67			(1)..<FA For instance, who is the Director-General of the Hong Kong General Chamber of Commerce FA>?
...			
68	⇒	JJ5:	<A Eh, (I/We) just want to know who this person is, you see A>.
69		CJ4:	[<NB mh NB>].
70	⇒	JJ5:	[Therefore—] on your part, [you know--] &
71	☆	CJ4:	[Yes],
72	→		(1)...If I ha-- have time &
73		JJ5:	<X X>
74	→	CJ4:	& (I shall) cha--[check those personal names].
75	☆	JJ5:	<FA [Please check them] FA>.
76	⇒		(1)...And, when our Director-General will meet (1)...<FA eh, such and such a person in the future, you know FA>&
77		CJ4:	<NB mh NB>.
78	⇒	JJ5:	& <FA When he says that he wants to see that person again FA>,
79			(1)...As we expect (1)... you know.
80	→⇒		(3)....<PL You see, this page contains personal names (in addition to their titles) PL>.
	⇒		((looking at the second page of the list, which has the titles and personal names of heads of business organizations, with their addresses))
81	☆→	CJ4:	Yeah, that's right.
82	☆⇒	JJ5:	Tha--t's right. (1)...<A That's what I want to know, you know FA>.
83		CJ4:	<NB mh NB>.
84	⇒	JJ5:	<A Just try to do (as I have said) A>?
85	⇒		(1)...<FA This one, is not just the Executive Director, but FA>&
86		CJ4:	<NB mh NB>.
87	⇒	JJ5:	& <FA Not merely the Executive (Director) of the American Chamber of Commerce FA>,
88			But (we want to know) <FA her/his personal name FA>.
89		CJ4:	<NB mh NB>.
90	⇒	JJ5:	<FA Who is the Executive Director FA>.
91		CJ4:	<NB mh NB>.
92	☆→		Yes [yes].
93	⇒	JJ5:	<F [That] is the important point I want to know F>.
94		CJ4:	<NB mh NB>.
95	⇒	JJ5:	When our office holds various <FA exhibitions or events FA>,
96			(1)... because we want to invite the--, these people.
97	☆→	CJ4:	<A Yes, yes A>,
98			(1)...Yes.
99	⇒	JJ5:	Eh, (therefore) [this, you know].
100	☆→	CJ4:	[Later], I shall make phone calls.
101	☆	JJ5:	<FA Yeah, make phone calls, please FA>.

[Example 8-4-(3)]

<Romanized transcripts>

[2 minutes 15 seconds after turn 59]

60	⇒	JJ5:	(2)...Anoo-- (1)...to iu no wa ne,
61		CJ4:	<NB mh NB>.
62	⇒	JJ5:	(1)...Doshite kooiu koto iu ka tte iu to sa.
63		CJ4:	<NB mh NB>.
64	⇒	JJ5:	Ano kondo mata=kontakuto suru toki ni ne.
65		CJ4:	<NB mh NB>.
66	⇒	JJ5:	Kono hito ga dare na no ka tte,
67			(1)...<FA Tatoeba Honkon Jeneraru-chenbaa-obu-komaasu no dairekutaa toka FA>,
...			
68	⇒	JJ5:	<A E-- chotto shiritai wake yo A>.
69		CJ4:	[<NB mh NB>].
70	⇒	JJ5:	[De--, anata] no hoo de [nee] &
71	☆	CJ4:	[Hai],
72	→		(1)... Jikan ga a-- areba &
73		JJ5:	<X X>
74	→	CJ4:	& cha— [chekku shimasu].
75	☆	JJ5:	<FA [Chekku shite ne] FA>,
76	⇒		(1)...De, shochoo ga kon'go, mata (1)...<FA ano-- dare sore san to ne FA> &
77		CJ4:	<NB mh NB>.
78	⇒	JJ5:	& <FA Aitai to itta toki ni FA>,
79			(1)...Yappashi (1)...koo ne.
80	→⇒		(3)....<PL Kochira zenbu namae ga haitte iru deshoo PL>.
	⇒		((looking at the second page of the list, which has the titles and personal names of heads of business organizations, with their addresses))
81	☆→	CJ4:	Un, soo desu ne.
82	☆⇒	JJ5:	Haa--i. (1)...<FA Koko o shiritai n' desu ne FA>.
83		CJ4:	<NB mh NB>
84	⇒	JJ5:	<A Chotto yatte mite kureru A>?
85	⇒		(1)...<FA Kore, iguzekyuchibu-dairekutaa dake ja nakute FA> &
86		CJ4:	<NB mh NB>.
87	⇒	JJ5:	& <FA Ameirkan-chanbaa-obu-komaasu no -- ga-- FA>,
88			Za- iguzekyuchibu ja nakute <FA dare o -- dare na no ka ittai FA>,
89		CJ4:	<NB mh NB>.
90	⇒	JJ5:	<FA Iguzekyuchibu-dairekutaa ga dare na no ka FA>.
91		CJ4:	<NB mh NB>,
92	☆→		Hai [hai].
93	⇒	JJ5:	<F [Soko] ga mondai no wake F>.
94		CJ4:	<NB mh NB>.
95	⇒	JJ5:	Uchi no hoo demo iroiro <FA moyooshimono toka ibento yatta toki ni FA>,
96			(1)... Ko--koo iu hito yobitai kara.
97	☆→	CJ4:	<A Hai hai A>,
98			(1)...Hai.
99	⇒	JJ5:	E--, [kore ne].
100	☆→	CJ4:	[Ato de] denwa shimashoo.
101	☆	JJ5:	<FA Un. Denwa shite FA>.

Between lines 60-101, JJ5 requests explicitly three times, pressing CJ4 rather hard to do the task of mailing (lines 75, 84, 101). These utterances of JJ5's are made in a louder tone and/or faster rate of speech than usual in order to highlight the fact that the requests are very important and urgent. After JJ5 makes his first explicit request (line 75), "Please check them [= the personal names of the heads]", looking at the second page of the list for a few seconds, JJ5 finds fortunately that the second page, unlike other pages

of the list, includes the personal names of the heads. He then says confidently and happily in a louder tone and slower rate of speech than usual, "You see, this page contains personal names [in addition to their titles]"(line 80). Now that JJ5 has gained the confidence to convince CJ4 to track down all the personal names of the heads, as typed on the second page, most of JJ5's utterances after line 80 are made in a louder tone and are uttered at a faster rate than usual (lines 82, 84-85, 87-88, 90, 93, 95-96). In particular, JJ5's second explicit request (line 84): "Just try to do (as I have said)", and the third and last explicit request (line 101): "Yeah, make phone calls (to the organizations to find out these personal names of heads), please", are spoken in a happy and friendly manner. They indicate that JJ5 wishes to convey rapport and solidarity as a co-worker of CJ4 to accomplish the required task happily, while demonstrating his power as CJ4's senior co-worker and cultural (as well as linguistic) host to insist on his method of mailing.

In addition to the explicit requests discussed above, JJ5 issues many implicit requestive hints (64, 67, 72, 76, 78-79, 95-96) to make sure CJ4 carries out the task as JJ5 wishes. For instance, he refers to the future plans and events of their organization (lines 64, 95-96), and to a higher authority such as their Secretary-General's possible future appointments with the heads of the business organizations on the lists (line 76, 78-79). Furthermore, JJ5 adopts implicit CN strategies such as style shifts between formal and informal speech styles, change in prosody, and use of sentence final particles "*yo*" and "*ne*" for the purpose of indicating frame changes and his psychological distance toward CJ4 and the ongoing topic(s) in the discourse. In the follow-up interview, JJ5 stated that CJ4's minimum but prompt responses, "*hai hai*" (yes yes) in line 91 and "*hai hai hai*" (yes yes yes) in line 97-98 indicated that CJ4 would carry out the task successfully and efficiently as JJ5 had requested.

However, the comments of CJ4 in the follow-up interview revealed that she was quite confident that JJ5's most urgent request was to send the leaflets immediately without finding out the heads' personal names. Consequently, CJ4 had already instructed her two subordinates to send them out immediately. CJ4 told them to check the heads' personal names, *when they had time in the future*, as JJ5 had requested CJ4 to do (line 51) and as

CJ4 confirmed by repeating JJ5's request (line 72, 74). She was also quite sure that JJ5 had been fully aware of the business situation in Hong Kong, because she had explicitly explained to JJ5 that the turnover of such heads in Hong Kong was very frequent. Her misunderstanding of the interactional meaning thus resulted partly from her insufficient knowledge of implicit CN strategies including the contexualization cues used by JJ5, and partly because of her strong assumptions based on her knowledge of the Hong Kong business situation. In contrast, JJ5's failure to understand the interactional meaning in the example was partly due to his lack of knowledge of Hong Kong's business situation and his strong assumption based on the Japanese employment system where staff turnover in the workplace is not as high as in Hong Kong, and partly due to his insistence on a politeness norm in Japanese business letter writing, in which personal names with official titles are employed. JJ5 also repeatedly overestimated CJ4's Japanese linguistic competence, as noted above, as well as her professional competence, assuming that CJ4, who had worked for the office for more than three years at the time of the recording, was familiar with the Japanese business norm of using personal names on letters. However, the norm CJ4 was following was not the Japanese business norm, but the one practised in the multilingual workplace in Hong Kong, though she was interacting with JJ5 in Japanese.

I observed their interaction while audio-recording, and later conducted the follow-up interviews with JJ5 and CJ4 separately in the tearoom in the office. When I suggested to CJ4 that JJ5's intended meaning might be to actually urge CJ4 to find out the personal names of the heads before mailing, CJ4 seemed to be very surprised and immediately went to JJ5's office to clarify his intention. CJ4 returned to the tearoom, reporting to me that my interpretation was correct and she admitted that she had misinterpreted JJ5's intention. Consequently, she immediately amended her instructions to her two subordinates. Thus, it was fortunate that CJ4 and JJ5 successfully attained the goal of the required task at the end, though their initial conversational negotiation ended in pragmatic failure and misunderstanding.

8.4 CN-IM in non-work-related talk (NWRT)

As mentioned under 8.2, participants' frequent use of (a) compliments, (b) griping/trouble telling and (c) joking characterized the discourse of NWRT in the present study. In the following sections, I shall present examples of CN-IM to discuss these three kinds of speech act.

8.4.1 Compliments

The process of CN-IM involving compliments in the data is highly formulaic consisting of certain conversation routines (cf. Pomerantz 1978; Coulmas 1981; Yokota 1985; Holmes 1986, 1988; Kumatoridani 1986; Chen 1993; Kodama 1996a, 1996b; Terao 1996). As Pomeranz (1978) suggests, when receiving a complimentary remark from a speaker, a hearer will be in dilemma, wishing to accept it happily, and simultaneously to minimize and equalize the distance from the speaker. Consequently, the hearer's response would be to either accept the compliment (with thanks), reject it in order to avoid self-praise, or issue other avoiding responses such as joking, and shifting to other topics (Terao 1996). It seems rather easy for CJs and JJs to understand correctly and appropriately the interactional meaning of messages in the ongoing discourse involving exchanges of complimentary remarks, so there seem to be no need for conversational negotiation.

However, in the data the processes of CN-IM involving compliments had multiple functions and outcomes on both the levels of messages and of meta-messages. For instance, in terms of global management of the discourse, complimentary remarks may function as topic openers, topic developers, or as an "exit device" to conclude conversation (Jefferson 1978). On the interpersonal level, complimentary remarks work as "lubricants" (Wolfson and Manes 1980; Wolfson 1987) to make the interaction smoother and to consolidate rapport and solidarity among the participants (Holmes 1986, 1988). In addition, they function as a politeness strategy to respect the hearer's positive face (Brown and Levinson 1978, 1987), and also as an indication to show one's

listenership and involvement in the ongoing topic(s) and with the speaker (cf. Tannen 1989). An analysis of the data in the present study reveals that through CN-IM involving compliments, CJs and JJs negotiate their distance, attitudes, and relationship, and convey meta-messages such as friendship, rapport and solidarity. Two types of compliments are identified in the present data, that is, "*deserved*" compliments, and "*pro forma*" compliments (Johnson and Rosen 1992). While the first category constitutes a *genuine* compliment, the latter is not based on a fact, but is meant to be issued as a rhetorical and interactional device to manage the ongoing discourse (Jefferson 1977; Kodama 1996a, 1996b).

Example 8-5 below illustrates how JJ10 starts to make complimentary remarks on the multilingual skills of CJ7. JJ10 [in her 30s; female; executive officer] and CJ7 [aged 26 year; female; research assistant] are co-workers, who are about the same age and at the same rank in the workplace. In this, they first negotiate the speech act of compliment about CJ7's multilingual skills, and then that of disagreement about JJ10's over-generalization of Hong Kong people's lack of knowledge of Japanese. The compliment presents a typical example of a highly conventionalized and ritualized routine (cf. Pomerantz 1978; Terao 1996), where CJ7 (the compliment receiver) manages her dilemma of wanting to accept the compliment and of rejecting it, in order to minimize her distance from JJ10 (the compliment giver):

Example 8-5 [CJ7-4]

1	→	JJ10:	(CJ 7's first name)さんはいいわね、いろんな言葉できて。
2	☆→	CJ7:	(1)...いえ、どれもあんまり上手じゃないねー@@
3	⇒	JJ10:	(1)...香港は中国語と英語できる人は多いけど　&
4		CJ7:	<NB mh NB>。.
5	⇒	JJ10:	&　日本語までっていう人、少ないでしょ。
6	☆→	CJ7:	うーん、でも、最近、日本語できる人、増えましたよ。
7	☆⇒	JJ10:	あら、そう？
8	→		(2)...私なんか、<@ 広東語も英語もぜんぜん上達しないわ @>。
9	☆→	CJ7:	<@　いえ、じょうずですよ　@>。
10	⇒	JJ10:	(1)...でもね、日本人ってさ、(1)...語学下手よね。
11	☆⇒	CJ7:	うーん　(1)... でも、わかー(1)...若者ね、上手な人結構増えたみたい。
12	⇒		(1)...英語も北京語も広東語も、べらべらの日本人　&
13		JJ10:	うん。
14	⇒	CJ7:	&　たくさん、会ったことありますよ。
15	☆⇒	JJ10:	へー　ほんと？
16	☆	CJ7:	(1)...うーん。

<English translations>

1	→	JJ10:	I envy you, (CJ 7's first name), since you are proficient in many languages.
2	☆→	CJ7:	(1)...No, I am not proficient in any one of them, you know @@

3	⇒	JJ10:	(1)...Many Hong Kong people are proficient in Chinese and English but &
4		CJ7:	<NB mh NB>.
5	⇒	JJ10:	& there are only a few who are multilingual with Japanese, don't you think?
6	☆→	CJ7:	Mhh, but, the number of HK people proficient in Japanese has recently increased, you know..
7	☆⇒	JJ10:	Yeah, really?
8	→		(2)...Talking about myself, <@ I have not improved in either Cantonese or English @>.
9	☆→	CJ7:	<@ No, you are good, you know @>.
10	⇒	JJ10:	(1)...But, you know, the Japanese in general, (1).. are quite poor at languages, don't you think?
11	☆⇒	CJ7:	Mhh (1)... But (1)...it seems that more and more young Japanese have become good at languages.
12	⇒		(1).. Japanese who are fluent in English, Putonghua, Cantonese &
13		JJ10:	Yeah.
14	⇒	CJ7:	& I have met quite a lot of such Japanese.
15	☆⇒	JJ10:	Yeah, really?
16	☆	CJ7:	(1)...Mhh.

<Romanized transcripts>

1	→	JJ10:	(CJ 7's first name)- san wa ii wa ne, iron'na kotoba dekite.
2	☆→	CJ7:	(1)...Ie, doremo amari joozu ja nai nee @@
3	⇒	JJ10:	(1)...Honkon wa Chuugokugo to Eigo dekiru hito wa ooi kedo &
4		CJ7:	<NB mh NB>.
5	⇒	JJ10:	& Nihongo made tte iu hito, sukunai desho.
6	☆→	CJ7:	U-n, demo, saikin, Nihongo dekiru hito, fuemashita yo.
7	☆⇒	JJ10:	Ara, soo?
8	→		(2)...Watashi nanka, <@ Kantogo mo Eigo mo zenzen jootatsu shinai wa @>.
9	☆→	CJ7:	<@ Ie, joozu desu yo @>.
10	⇒	JJ10:	(1)...Demo ne, Nihon-jin tte sa, (1)...gogaku-beta yo ne.
11	☆⇒	CJ7:	U-n (1)... demo, waka--(1)...wakamono ne, joozu na hito kekkoo fueta mitai.
12			(1)...Eigo mo Pekingo mo Kantongo mo, perapera no Nihonjin &
13		JJ10:	Un.
14	⇒	CJ7:	& takusan, atta koto arimasu yo.
15	☆⇒	JJ10:	Hee, honto?
16	☆	CJ7:	(1)...U-n.

JJ10 issues explicit CN strategies to openly and explicitly praise CJ7's multilingual proficiency (line 1) by referring to the fact that only a few Hong Kong people can speak Japanese in addition to their bilingual proficiency in Chinese and English (lines 3, 5). In order to avoid self-praise (cf. Pomerantz 1978; Terao 1996), CJ7 firstly rejects JJ10's complimentary remark, depreciating her multilingual proficiency in various languages as not very high (line 2). Then she switches the topic from her *personal issue* (her multilingual competence) to *a more global phenomenon* that more and more Hong Kong people as a group are now gaining multilingual proficiency, including Japanese (line 6). Responding to such humble comments by CJ7 on her ability, JJ10 first shows surprise (line 7). Then, instead of complimenting CJ7's *personal* ability, JJ10 adopts a strategy to talk about her own *personal* ability, depreciating her own proficiency in Cantonese and English (line 8) in a laughing tone, so as to indirectly praise CJ7. CJ7 immediately responds to JJ10's self-depreciation by opposing it, through praising JJ10 in a laughing tone, claiming that she is good at the two languages. In this way, CJ7 is able to

save JJ10's *personal* face (line 9). JJ10 avoids talking about her own personal issue, and refers to a more *global* topic. After uttering a conjunction of opposition, "*demo* (but, however)", she brings up a frequently-quoted stereotypical statement that the Japanese as a group are generally poor at foreign languages (line 10). JJ10's utterance here is meant to indirectly praise the higher standard of multilingual competence among Hong Kong people *collectively*, in comparison to that of the Japanese so as to emphasize the difference between the two speech communities and indirectly compliment CJ7's multilingual competence. However, CJ7 expresses her disagreement with JJ10's over-generalized comment on the Japanese people's poor proficiency in foreign languages, stating that she has met quite a few young Japanese who are fluent in English and Chinese, including Putonghua and Cantonese, citing individual cases (lines 11-12, 14). As discussed above, both JJ10 and CJ7 thus constantly praise each other, and save each other's face by tactfully disagreeing with the interlocutor's statements of praise, and by opposing the interlocutor's self-depreciating remarks. In the follow-up interviews, both JJ10 and CJ7 stated that they issued some *deserved (genuine)* compliments, and some *pro forma* compliments, in order to manage their interaction in a friendly manner (cf. Johnson and Rosen 1992). Both participants in the follow-up interviews and all 10 raters in the rating sessions commented that the primary goal of interaction in such NWRT in the workplace was for the participants (co-workers) to convey their friendly attitudes to each other, eliminating chances of hurting or causing the other participants to lose face.

8.4.2 Griping and trouble telling

Topics that trigger CN-IM sequences involving the speech act of griping are related to and/or belong to participants themselves, their families, friends, relatives, neighbors, flats, jobs, and personal interests and skills. The process of CN-IM involving griping is highly ritualized and conventionalized, similar to that of the compliment. One of the typical patterns is that Participant A states his/her gripe about something or someone. Participant B then consoles Participant A, by bringing up his/her own gripe, which is somewhat similar to Participant A's claim. Finally, both participants acknowledge that they share similar problems or bad experiences, concluding their

interaction with a "happy ending" in which their personal trouble is perceived to be shared. Implicit CN strategies that are often adopted by participants are laughter and change of prosody, especially change to a louder tone and faster rate of speech to indicate their involvement in the ongoing topic(s).

In Example 8-6 below, CJ2 is griping about her husband who sits up late every night and has a hard time getting up in the morning (lines1, 3 5, 7), while she herself goes to bed early and gets up early. JJ4 immediately responds that she is also an early bird (line 2), and brings up a similar habit of her own husband, who sits up late (line 6). At the end, they laughingly admit that they share a similar problem, and console each other laughingly and jokingly by agreeing that they both have a difficult time living with their *problem husbands* (lines 8-9). Through the process of CN-IM involving gripes about the similar habits of their husbands, the participants convey the meta-messages of friendship and rapport as co-workers.

Example 8-6 [CJ2-6]

1	CJ2:	夜遅く寝る慣習、ないんですよ、私。
2	JJ4:	私も早寝早起き。
3 →	CJ2:	でも、主人はね (1)...遅くまでテレビ見て、本読んで &
4 ⇒	JJ4:	<FA あら、そう FA>?
5 ☆→	CJ2:	& いつも1時ぐらいかな? (1)...寝るの。
6 ☆→	JJ4:	<FA あ、うちも遅いのよ FA>。
7 ☆→	CJ2:	(1)...毎朝起きるのは大変 (1)... 早く寝るといいのに——
8 ☆	JJ4:	(1)...<@ お互い苦労し[てんだ] @>。
9	CJ4:	<@ [そうそう] @>。

<English translations>

1	CJ2:	I have no habit of sitting up late, you know.
2	JJ4:	Neither do I. I go to bed early and get up early.
3 →	CJ2:	But my husband (1)...sits up late watching TV, and reading books &
4 ⇒	JJ4:	<FA Oh really FA>?
5 ☆→	CJ2:	& always at about one o'clock, I think? (1)...he goes to bed.
6 ☆→	JJ4:	<FA Oh, my husband goes to bed late too, you know FA>.
7 ☆→	CJ2:	(1)...Every morning, he has such a hard time getting up (1)... I always wish he went to bed earlier--
8 ☆	JJ4:	(1)...<@ Oh, it seems that both of us have similar [problems to tackle] @>.
9	CJ4:	<@ [That's right] @>.

<Romainized transcripts>

1	CJ2:	Yoru osoku neru shuukan, nai n' desu yo, watashi.
2	JJ4:	Watashi mo hayane hayaoki.
3 →	CJ2:	Demo, shujin wa ne (1)...Osoku made terebi mite hon yonde &
4 ⇒	JJ4:	<FA Ara, soo FA>?
5 ☆→	CJ2:	& Itsumo ichiji-gurai kana? (1)...Neru no.
6 ☆→	JJ4:	<FA A, uchi mo osoi no yo FA>.
7 ☆→	CJ2:	(1)...Maiasa okiru no wa taihen (1)... hayaku neru to ii noni--

8 ☆	JJ4:	(1)...< @	Otagai kuroo shi[ten' da] @ >.
9	CJ4:		< @ [Soo soo] @ >.

In the rating sessions, four JRs and three CRs stated that speech acts of griping were widely favored by Chinese and Japanese female co-workers as topics of small talk in the workplace. Comments of the participants in the follow-up interviews also suggested that the goal of interaction in small talk in the multilingual workplace, as illustrated in Example 8-6, is not griping in the genuine sense, but as a means to maintain talk in a relaxed and friendly manner. To this end, participants who do not necessarily share linguistic, sociolinguistic and sociocultural rules have a tendency to collaboratively provide safe topics, such as the one in the example above.

Topics that trigger CN-IM sequences involving the speech act of trouble telling are related to various unfortunate incidents such as burglary, loss of people's belongings, swindling, accidents, and sickness which participants themselves, their family members and/or friends have experienced. These kinds of CN-IM, like those involving griping discussed above, are also highly conventionalized in Japanese. In a typical sequence of trouble telling in Japanese identified in this study, Participant A tells his/her story of trouble, and participant B then consoles Participant A by bringing up his/her own story of similar trouble. Finally, both participants conclude that their experiences of trouble are widely shared by many people. The most frequently used implicit CN strategies are laughter, which functions to redress the face threatening effect on both participants at the time of trouble telling (Jefferson 1984; Jefferson, Sacks and Schegloff 1987), as well as to indicate the change of frame from a serious to a light-hearted mode. Participants also adopt a strategy of changing prosody, especially changing to a louder tone and faster than normal rate of speech, in order to indicate their involvement in the ongoing topic(s), and to show their rapport and sympathy toward their interlocutors.

In Example 8-7 below, CJ3 starts to relate some trouble that her mother experienced in Shenzhen in China. CJ3's mother paid a Chinese medicine dealer in Shenzhen HK$5,000 for some kind of Chinese medicine which was supposed to be around 50% cheaper than in Hong Kong. When she returned to Hong Kong, she was told by a

Chinese herbal specialist that the medicine she had purchased in Shenzhen was fake (lines 1, 3, 5). In line 6, JJ4 responds to CJ3, showing her surprise and involvement in an exaggerated manner using louder tone and faster rate of speech than usual, and then introduces her own unfortunate experience of shopping in Shenzhen (line 8). In line 9, it is CJ3's turn to show her surprise in a louder tone and faster rate of speech than usual to indicate her involvement and sympathy toward JJ4 and the ongoing topic. JJ4 continues telling her story about paying HK$1,000 for fake "Finest Tea", while her friend paid as much as HK$6,000 for the same fake product (lines 10-11). After CJ3 laughingly indicates that both CJ3's mother and JJ4 suffered similar troubles (line 12), JJ4 reminds CJ3 that many people have been cheated in Shenzhen and that they should be more careful from now on (line 13). Here, JJ4 shifts her perspective to look at the unfortunate incident as her *personal* trouble to *a more global tendency* of merchants in Shenzhen who deceive customers and have no concept of business ethics. Through the process of CN-IM in Example 8-7, both participants tell troubles of their own or of a person close to them in order to share their unfortunate experience, and console each other, conveying meta-messages, such as friendship and rapport as co-workers:

Example 8-7 [CJ1-9]

1	→	CJ3:	うちの母、この前シンセンで漢方薬買ったんだけどねー&
2		JJ4:	うん。
3	→	CJ3:	& 香港の半額だっていうんで、５千ドルぐらい払ったんですよ。
4	☆	JJ4:	うわー高い。
5	→	CJ3:	(1)...それが、香港に戻ったらにせものだって、わかったんですよ。
6	⇒→	JJ4:	<FA え、ほんと FA>?
7	☆	CJ3:	そうなんですよ。
8	→	JJ4:	(2)...<@ じつはね、私も詐欺にやられたのよ、シンセンで @>。
9	⇒→	CJ3:	<@FA えー、いつ FA@>?
10	☆→	JJ4:	２ヶ月前かな。(1)...香港ブランドの『高級茶』。
11	→		私は千ドルだけ損したんだけど、友達はね、(1)...６千ドルもやられたのよ。
12	☆→	CJ3:	<@ いやあ、みんな、大変だったね @>。
13	☆→	JJ4:	<@ シンセンで騙された人、結構多いよね。今度から注意しようね@>。
14	☆	CJ3:	そうそう@@

<English translations>

1	→	CJ3:	My mother bought Chinese medicine in Shenzhen, you know &
2		JJ4:	Yeah.
3	→	CJ3:	& the price was half that in Hong Kong, so she paid about $5,000, you know.
4	☆	JJ4:	Wow, expensive.
5	→	CJ3:	(1)...And as soon as she returned to Hong Kong, she found it was fake, you know.
6	⇒→	JJ4:	<FA What, really FA>?
7	☆	CJ3:	That's right.
8	→	JJ4:	(2)...<@ To tell you the truth, I also got cheated, in Shenzhen @>.
9	⇒→	CJ3:	<@FA What, when FA@>?
10	☆→	JJ4:	Two months ago or so. (1)... "Finest Chinese Tea", that is a Hong Kong brand.

11	→		I lost only $1,000, but my friend, you know, (1)...got cheated as much as $6,000.
12	☆→	CJ3:	<@ Oh, everybody has a hard time, don't you think @>?
13	☆→	JJ4:	<@ Quite a number of people have got cheated in Shenzhen. We have to be more careful @>.
14	☆	CJ3:	That's right, that's right@@

<Romanized transcripts>

1	→	CJ3:	Uchi no haha, kono mae Shinsen de kanpooyaku kattan' dakedo ne--&
2		JJ4:	Un.
3	→	CJ3:	& Honkong no hangaku datte iu n'de, gosendoru-gurai haratta n' desu yo.
4	☆	JJ4:	Waa, takai.
5	→	CJ3:	(1)...Sore ga, Hongkon ni modottara nisemono datte, wakatta n' desu yo.
6	⇒→	JJ4:	<FA Ee, honto FA>?
7	☆	CJ3:	Soo nan desu yo.
8	→	JJ4:	(2)...<@ Jitsu wa ne, watashi mo sagi ni yarareta no yo, Shinsen de @>.
9	⇒→	CJ3:	<@FA Ee, itsu FA@>?
10	☆→	JJ4:	Nikageta mae kana. (1)...Honkon burando no "Kookyuucha".
11	→		Watashi wa sendoru dake son shita n' dakedo, tomodachi wa ne, (1)...tokusendoru mo yarareta no yo.
12	☆→	CJ3:	<@ Iyaa, min'na, taihen datta ne @>.
13	☆→	JJ4:	<@ Shinsen de damasareta hito, kekkoo ooi yo ne. Kondo kara chuui shiyoo ne @>.
14	☆	CJ3:	Soo, soo@@

In the rating sessions, four JRs and five CRs stated that the speech acts of trouble telling were favored by Chinese and Japanese co-workers as topics of small talk in the workplace, regardless of sex. The two participants and all raters in the follow-up interviews stated that the goal of interaction in small talk in the multilingual workplace is, as illustrated in Example 8-7, to maintain a relaxed and enjoyable atmosphere. They also suggested that co-workers in the multilingual workplace who do not necessarily share linguistic, sociolinguistic or sociocultural rules have a tendency to choose topics such as troubles and unfortunate experiences of their own or person close to them, rather than happy topics. This is perhaps because such negative experiences are more universal than positive ones and participants can gain their interlocutors' sympathy and involvement.

8.4.3 Joking

As summarized in Table 8.2, 24 CN-IM sequences involving speech acts of joking were identified in NWRT, and all of them can be categorized as episodes in which a JJ and a CJ *jointly* and *collaboratively* construct on a joking "footing" (Goffman 1981; Davies 1984). Typical features characterizing the processes of CN-IM involving speech acts of joking in the study is that both participants adopt various implicit CN strategies such as laughter (Jefferson 1979), change of prosody (speech rate, voice quality and loudness of voice), exaggerated speech style and speech style shift in the ongoing

discourse, and these serve as *contexualization cues* (Gumperz 1982) for both participants to construct joking collaboratively. The communicative goal of such *joint joking* is to enhance participants' friendship, rapport and empathy (Davies 1984). Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987) categorize joking as a positive politeness strategy through which participants mutually endeavor to display their friendship and solidarity.

Example 8-8 below illustrates how CJ3 explains to JJ4 about Chinese people's perception of colors. CJ3 [aged 25 year old; female; information officer] and JJ4 [in her 40s; female; information officer] are co-workers at a tourist information office, and both share the same rank in the workplace. In the example, CJ3 emphasizes how important the color red is to Chinese people, since it is traditionally considered as the most auspicious color and thus widely used by the Chinese for clothes, greeting cards and decorations to celebrate the Lunar New Year, weddings and birthdays. CJ3 is supposed to be very happy because of her recent engagement and promotion; however, she is wearing a black sweater and pants. As a result, *visually* triggered by the black clothes of CJ3's, JJ4 negotiates *orally* the content of CJ3's utterances (lines 1, 3, 5) in a joking mode:

Example 8-8 [CJ3-3]

1	→	CJ3:	だから(1)...中国人にとって、赤っておめでたい色なんですね。
2		JJ4:	うーん。
3	→	CJ3:	結婚式の衣装も赤(1)...お年玉の袋も赤。
4		JJ4:	うん、うん。
5	→	CJ3:	(1)...幸福を呼ぶっていうか (1)...ラッキーな色？
6	⇒	JJ4:	(1)...＜@FA ラッキーな色って、黒じゃないの FA@＞？
			((JJ4 smilingly looks at CJ3's black sweater and pants.))
7		CJ3:	(2)...@@@
8	☆⇒		＜@FL 最近、変わった(1)....かな FL @＞？
9		JJ4:	@@@

[English translations]

1	→	CJ3:	Therefore (1)...to the Chinese people, red is an auspicious color, you know.
2		JJ4:	Yeah.
3	→	CJ3:	Brides' wedding gowns are red (1)...pouches for lucky money are also red.
4		JJ4:	Yeah, yeah.
5	→	CJ3:	(1)...To invite happiness, so to speak, (1)...lucky color?
6	⇒	JJ4:	(1)...＜@FA Isn't it black which is lucky (according to the Chinese custom) FA@＞?
			((JJ4 smilingly looks at CJ3's black sweater and pants.))
7		CJ3:	(2)...@@@
8	☆⇒		＜@FL (The custom) has recently changed (1)....I presume FL @＞?
9		JJ4:	@@@

[Romanized transcripts]

1 →	CJ3:	Dakara (1)...Chuugokujin ni totte, aka tte omedetai iro nan desu ne.
2	JJ4:	Uun.
3 →	CJ3:	Kekkonshiki no ishoo mo aka (1)...otoshidama no fukuro mo aka.
4	JJ4:	Un, un.
5 →	CJ3:	(1)...Koofuku o yobu tte iu ka (1)...rakkii na iro?
6 ⇒	JJ4:	(1)...<@FA Rakkii na iro tte, kuro ja nai no FA@>?
	((JJ4 smilingly looks at CJ3's black sweater and pants.))	
7	CJ3:	(2)...@@@
8 ☆⇒		<@FL Saikin, kawatta (1)....kana FL @>?
9	JJ4:	@@@

In lines 1-5, JJ4 attentively listens to what CJ3 says and is rather amused to find the striking information gap between what she has obtained through the *visual channel* that CJ3 is dressed all in black, and CJ3's explanation through the *oral channel* that the color of red is the auspicious color according to the Chinese traditional custom. As a result, JJ4 negotiates the discrepancy (line 6). Their interaction between lines 1-6 can be categorized as CN-PM/fact to negotiate factual ambiguity regarding the meaning of the ongoing discourse through the visual and oral channels. The laughing voice quality of JJ4's clarification question "*Rakkii na iro tte, kura ja nai no?*" (Isn't it black which is lucky [according to the Chinese custom]), indicates the change of frame of the ongoing discourse from a serious to a joking mode. After a two-second pause, CJ3 laughs loudly, saying that "*Saikin kawatta kana*" ([The Chinese custom] might have recently been changed...I presume) in a louder and faster than usual (line 8). Thus, CJ3 mocks at her own previous stereotypical over-generalization of the Chinese traditional custom in a laughing tone, in order to invite JJ4 to jointly laugh and collaboratively construct a joking sequence (Jefferson 1979; Davies 1984). According to the rating sessions, four JRs and all five CRs stated that JJ4's Signal remark (line 6) and CJ3's following response in a joking frame (lines 7-8) had effectively softened the possible face-threatening impact of JJ4's other-correction of CJ3's over-generalization with regard to her own native culture. JJ4 also evaluated CJ3's humorous response (line 8) very positively as it showed CJ3's advanced interactive competence in Japanese.

8.5 Summary

A summary of the findings regarding triggers, strategies, processes, functions and outcomes of CN-IM discussed in this chapter are as follows:

(1) Triggers and occurrence

In this study, CN-IM involving speech acts of request/invitation, disagreement and complaint occurred far more frequently in WRT, where transmission of clear and accurate messages is essential and urgent, than in NWRT. These negotiation sequences were triggered either by a CJ or a JJ. Through the processes, both participants in dyadic conversations were motivated to negotiate the ambiguous interactional meaning resulting from unshared knowledge with regard to the interpretive norms of implicit contexualization cues appearing in the ongoing discourse (cf. Gumperz 1982, 1992c).

In contrast, CN-IM involving griping/trouble telling and joking occurred more frequently in NWRT than in WRT. The occurrence of CN-IM involving compliments was nearly equal in WRT and NWRT. These CN-IM sequences were also triggered by either a CJ or a JJ. Through the highly ritualized exchanges of turns for the realization of the speech acts of compliments (cf. Pomeranz 1978; Homes 1986, 1988; Kodama 1996a, 1996b), griping/trouble telling (cf. Jefferson 1984) and joking (cf. Davies 1984), both participants in the dyadic conversations were motivated to negotiate their attitudes toward each other and the ongoing topic(s), and also to convey meta-messages such as rapport and solidarity as co-workers.

(2) Negotiation strategies and processes

In general, neither JJs nor CJs explicitly signaled their non-comprehension of the interactional meaning in the ongoing discourse. Instead, they signaled more implicitly through such means as change in prosody, speech level shift, sentence final particles, conversational routines, laughter and discourse markers. These subtle means function as *contexualization cues* (Gumperz 1982) to indicate the intentions and attitudes of the participants in the ongoing discourse. JJs, as native speakers of the base language, tend to negotiate the interactional meaning of the ongoing discourse in a very subtle manner. The CN strategies used by JJs were generally implict/indirect, and sometimes too

implicit/indirect for the CJs to decode, since the latter had not yet acquired sufficient interactive skills to infer such conventional discourse strategies in Japanese.

As discussed in this chapter, processes of CN-IM in the study sometimes formed *side sequences* (cf. Jefferson 1972), in which participants resumed an original topic after the CN-IM sequences ended. However, since the linguistic processes of CN-IM were characterized with implicit and subtle expressions, as discussed above, *side sequences* appearing in CN-IM were not as conspicuous as in CN-PM.

(3) Functions and outcomes

As mentioned above, the primary functions of CN-IM in WRT were to negotiate the interactional meaning of the ongoing discourse, such as participants' intentions (requests/invitations, disagreement, and complaints), and to carry out work-related tasks successfully and effectively. However, some of the implicit CN strategies adopted by JJs were too implicit for lower proficiency CJs to interpret. Consequently, there were a few cases of pragmatic failure (Thomas 1983) identified in the study, as illustrated by Example 8-4. In this example, CJ4 misunderstood JJ5's intentions concerning requests, complaints and disagreement. However, some of the higher proficiency CJs displayed effective use of CN strategies in order to explicitly but politely clarify JJs' ambiguous intentions. For instance, CJ5 (Example 8-2) and CJ1 (Example 8-3) were able to negotiate interactional meaning of the ongoing discourse, explicitly yet politely, in order to clarify the ambiguous intentions of JJ7 (Example 8-2) and JJ1 (Example 8-3) respectively. Having had a great deal of experience in dealing with JJs' implicit/indirect requestive hints in the workplace, the two CJs in the above-mentioned examples demonstrated their interactive in negotiation, as well as their professional competence. That is to say, CJ5 effectively carried out her urgent task of typing which was implicitly requested by JJ7, while CJ1 successfully attained her goal of securing her leave, as previously granted by the president of the company.

In the processes of realizing speech acts of request/invitation, disagreement and

complaint, all JJs and CJs of the advanced and upper intermediate groups usually tried their best to redress any face threatening effect by actively adopting various inexplicit CN strategies, as mentioned above. Through such efforts during the processes of CN-IM, both JJs and CJs mutually conveyed meta-messages, such as rapport, friendship and solidarity as co-workers.

Notes:

[1] Table 5.1 summarized the occurrence of all type of CN in the present study, and CN-IM (408) accounted for 22.4% of the total occurrence of all types of CN (1,819).

[2] Both "*sa*" and "*yo*" are categorized as "particles of insistence" according to McGloin (1991), and the former is used more frequently used in informal situations than the latter (Makino and Tsutsui 1986, 1995).

[3] Since I am not a native speaker of the Osaka variety of Japanese, I asked two Japanese Raters (JRs) who were native speakers of the Osaka variety to comment on JJ5's speech style. They stated that JJ5's speech could be categorized as Japanese standard variety; however, the accent and intonation of his speech was heavily influenced by his native variety. Furthermore, they pointed out that JJ5 occasionally switched his speech style from standard Japanese to the Osaka variety in the example. The other three JRs, who were not native speakers of the Osaka variety, and all five Chinese raters (CRs) also gave similar comments on JJ5's speech as the two Osaka-variety-native-speaking JRs.

[4] The underlined parts of the Japanese words "*ki-teru*"(lines 16 & 17) and "*oo-soi*"(line 19) indicate that these parts are uttered at a higher pitch than other parts of the words. Being a native speaker of the Osaka variety of Japanese, JJ5 occasionally switches from standard Japanese to the Osaka variety in his utterances, as in lines 15, 17 and 19. In lines 15 and 17, JJ5 pronounces the word "*ki-teru*" with the latter part "*teru*" at a higher pitch than the first part "*ki*", while according to the pronunciation of the standard variety, the word should be pronounced as "*ki-teru*", where the pitch of the first part "*ki*" is higher than the latter half "*teru*". These cases of JJ5's switching in Example 8-4 were confirmed during the rating sessions by the two Osaka-variety-native speaking JRs.

[5] JJ5 pronounced the word "oo-soi" according to the Osaka variety of Japanese, with the pitch of the first part higher than the latter part, and the vowel of "oo" much longer than in the standard variety.

[6] See notes 3 and 4 above.

[7] See notes 3 and 5 above.

[8] See notes 3 and 4 above.

[9] See notes 3 and 5 above.

[10] The functions of turns in monologue mode, such as JJ4's utterances in lines 19-20 and line 28, are coded in brackets [ ] in the data.

[11] See notes 4 above.

[12] Makino and Tsutui (1995: 352-355) define a rhetorical question as a "question which functions as a forceful statement with no expected response." Various studies (Merrit 1976; Goody 1978; Pride 1986; Freed, A. 1994) have investigated the forms and functions of questions in spoken English discourse in different communicative situations. For the definitions of reference and display questions, which are often used in language teaching situations, see endnote [2], Chapter Two.

[13] JJ5 had been in the Hong Kong office for about six months, while CJ4 had worked in the office more than 3 years at the time of recording.

[14] Wiseman (1993: 123) describes *requestive hints* as "the most unconventional and indirect of all request strategies".

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSION

In this thesis, I have discussed how Chinese and Japanese co-workers in the multilingual workplace in Hong Kong achieve mutual understanding through processes of *conversational negotiation*. In this final chapter, I shall summarize the major findings of the present study, answering the three research questions presented in 1.3. I shall also include some implications for further research, comment on the significance of this study, and give suggestions for the teaching/training of conversational negotiation strategies to native and non-native speakers of Japanese who interact as co-workers in multilingual social and workplace settings.

9.1 Summary of major findings

Based on data from naturally occurring interactions, the present study confirmed the findings of previous studies that participants in face-to-face interaction cooperate with each other, through exchanging turns and establishing mutual understanding, in order to carry out their communicative goals and to sustain conversation. As Gumperz (1992: 305) states, CN sequences revealed interactional processes through which shared understanding in terms of linguistic, sociolinguistic and sociocultural knowledge was arrived at by participants. The analysis of the data with a focus on CN revealed that the sequence could be initiated by either a Japanese participant (JJ) or a Chinese participant (CJ) in the multilingual workplace. As in previous studies, CN in the study, triggered by unshared knowledge, was adopted by Japanese and Chinese co-workers as a discourse strategy, in order primarily to attain communicative goals successfully and effectively, to solve communication problems, and to mutually understand participants' intentions and attitudes by overcoming

unshared knowledge of linguistic, sociolinguistic and sociocultural rules (cf. Table 2.1).

The participants in this study constantly updated their interpretation of the ongoing spoken discourse, which they were jointly constructing through various discourse strategies. They continuously indicated whether they comprehended the ongoing interaction and displayed their willingness to maintain and develop conversation through CN processes. When they received non-comprehension signal(s) or clarification requests from their interlocutors, they often modified their own utterances to become clearer and more acceptable to their interlocutors. Conversely, if they were not clear about the interlocutors' utterances, they often indicated their non-comprehension, which subsequently induced their interlocutors to modify their own utterances to be mutually comprehensible to all participants. They thus modified or corrected their interlocutors' utterances, as previous studies have reported (cf. Schegloff *et al.* 1977; Richards, Platt and Platt 1992: 244).

In terms of triggers, three major types of conversational negotiation in the data were identified: conversational negotiation of propositional meaning (CN-PM), of expertise (CN-EX), and of interactional meaning (CN-IM). In the following sections, I shall summarize the major findings according to the three types of CN with regard to their triggers, occurrence, strategies, processes, functions and outcomes.

9.1.1 Conversational negotiation of propositional meaning [CN-PM]

(1) Triggers and occurrence

The native-nonnative discourse in the present study contained various types of CJs' linguistic deviations in Japanese. However, the analysis revealed that a mere 20% of CJs' linguistic deviations actually triggered JJs to initiate CN-PM/ling (cf. Table 6.1). The number of triggers resulting from CJs' linguistic deviations accounted for nearly 85% of the total cases of triggers, while 15 % resulted from other types of ambiguity in the ongoing discourse (cf. Table 6.2). Among the three types of linguistic deviation, 45.5% of the CJs' total lexico-semantic deviations triggered CN-PM/ling sequences, while only 15% of the total phonological deviations and 0.9%

of the morpho-syntactic deviations triggered them. Furthermore, among the lexico-semantic deviations, Chinese-character-based (ChB) deviations were more likely to trigger CN-PM/ling (63.0%) than non-Chinese-character-based (NChB) deviations (40.3%) (cf. Table 6.1). Comments from the follow-up interviews confirmed that JJs were reluctant to negotiate the propositional ambiguity resulting from CJs' linguistic deviations if they were able to guess the general meaning of the discourse. Since explicit CN-PM/ling often implies "other-correction" of CJs' linguistic deviations mentioned above, JJs tended to use various implicit CN strategies in the process of CN-PM/ling in order to redress its face threatening effect on CJs.

The occurrence of CN-PM/ling in work-related talk (WRT) was more than four times as frequent as that in non-work-related talk (NWRT), and that of CN-PM/fact in WRT was nearly as twice as frequent as that in NWRT (cf. Table 5.1). The results suggest that CN-PM tended to occur when urgent transmission of clear messages was required, and that it tended to be reduced or totally avoided in phatic talk where task orientation was weak. As for CN-PM/ling, 93% of the total cases both in WRT and NWRT were initiated by JJs, mainly because of CJs' linguistic deviations. On the other hand, a mere 7% of the total cases of CN-PM/ling in WRT and NWRT were initiated by CJs, and these occurred because of ambiguous sources other than CJs' linguistic deviations in the discourse (cf. Table 6.2). As for CN-PM/fact cases, JJs were less dominant than in CN-PM/fact: 56.8% of the cases in WRT, and 41.1% of the cases in NWRT were initiated by JJs, thus indicating CJs' active roles as initiators of CN-PM/fact (cf. Table 6.3). The results thus revealed that JJs took dominant roles as linguistic hosts and CJs retained their roles as linguistic guests in the processes of CN-PM/ling, while CJs, particularly high proficient CJs, tended to take more active roles in initiating CN-PM/fact in both WRT and NWRT.

The present study confirmed that CJs and JJs made active use of their shared linguistic resources, as previous studies have reported (cf. Fan 1992; Miyazoe-Wong 1995, 1996). Since ChB cognates are not entirely shared in Chinese and Japanese, the partially shared linguistic knowledge pertaining to ChB cognates often created propositional ambiguity in the ongoing discourse, and this triggered CN-PM/ling. Through these processes, CJs and JJs not only negotiated the propositional meaning of

the ongoing discourse, but also negotiated interactional meaning, such as solidarity, rapport and friendship, by reaffirming the shared linguistic code of ChB vocabulary.

(2) Negotiation strategies and processes

Processes of CN-PM/ling were carried out through seven explicit CN strategies – expressions of non-understanding, interjection, partial repetition, complete repetition, minimum reply plus correct information, paraphrasing and elaboration – which were supplemented by various implicit CN strategies. Of the seven sub-categories of the of paraphrasing strategies - synonyms and antonyms, switching of intransitive and transitive verbs, switching of Chinese reading and Japanese reading of Chinese characters, multilingual code-switching, explaining the radicals of Chinese characters, showing visual documents and writing Chinese characters (*hitsudan* 筆談) - the last five strategies were categorized as Chinese-character-based (ChB) CN. This study revealed a number of interesting findings regarding strategies and processes of CN-PM characteristic of Chinese-Japanese interaction. Firstly, CJs and JJs not only utilized their shared ChB linguistic knowledge, but also their shared metalinguistic knowledge regarding the shape, meaning and pronunciation of Chinese characters, when applying ChB strategies. Secondly, the participants negotiated during the processes involving ChB strategies, not only utilizing the oral channel, but also an oral/visual channel, and/or solely a visual channel. The five strategies listed above form a continuum in terms of channels of communication, as summarized in Table 3.7.

Among the five strategies, writing Chinese characters (*hitsudan*) is the most extreme and conspicuous one, and may be considered as unusual in ordinary face-to-face communication. The present study revealed that *hitsudan* sequences can be considered the most conspicuous *side-sequences* of all explicit CN strategies, in which participants, after suspending the original flow of communication in order to clarify ambiguity in the ongoing discourse, return to the original topic. The follow-up interviews revealed that it would be face threatening for CJs themselves to use the *hitsudan* strategy too often in the workplace, for it might present them as linguistically incompetent co-workers. Since the CJs' oral proficiency in Japanese was intermediate to advanced, they were capable of negotiating orally, and preferred to do this to clarify ambiguity. JJs also seemed to refrain from using the *hitsudan* strategy, since they did

not want to embarrass CJs by unnecessarily creating an unfavorable asymmetry among co-workers, simply due to their linguistic competence. More importantly, the *hitsudan* strategy required more time and effort to solve communication problems, and consequently due to the time constraint found in workplace communication, it was not as popular with participants as the other four types of ChB CN strategy. Thus, its use in the present data seemed to be constrained socially and linguistically. The participants' tendency not to prefer the *hitsudan* strategy over the other CN strategies in the present study confirms findings in previous studies on Chinese-Japanese face-to-face interaction in Japanese, that, in general, *hitsudan* was a developmental CN strategy, preferred mainly by low proficiency Chinese speakers of Japanese, or Japanese native speakers when interacting with low proficiency Chinese speakers of Japanese (Miyazoe-Wong 1995, 1996, 1997). Furthermore, the analysis revealed that, regardless of CJs' proficiency levels in Japanese, CJs themselves and JJs as their interlocutors, effectively used the *hitsudan* strategy combined with other oral and/or oral/visual strategies, in order to negotiate ambiguous meaning of ChB proper nouns. JJs and CJs, being aware of its effectiveness, used *hitsudan* very discreetly and carefully only when they wanted to solve oral communication problems resulting from ChB proper nouns urgently.

It is also worth noting that the analysis of the data and the follow-up interviews revealed that both JJs and CJs assumed that both they and their interlocutors shared a certain metalinguistic knowledge of ChB vocabulary, particularly when they used the strategy of *explaining the radicals of Chinese characters*. They were also clearly aware that this was a very useful linguistic resource to be exploited for effective CN-PM in Japanese-Chinese interaction. They seemed to decide which strategies to choose, after assessing their shared linguistic and metalinguistic knowledge of Chinese characters. It was participants' metalinguistic knowledge of ChB vocabulary that characterized the five ChB CN strategies in the process of CN-PM in Japanese-Chinese interaction. It was not uncommon to find in the present data that JJs and CJs exchanged remarks on metalinguistic knowledge of ChB vocabulary, before, during and after the CN processes. These verbal exchanges among the participants seemed to play an important role in Japanese-Chinese interaction to build solidarity and rapport

among participants who share ChB vocabulary as their *lingua franca,* at least in the visual form through writing and reading.

It is interesting to note that CJs were reluctant to incorporate JJs' modified (correct) input in their utterances both in WRT and in NWRT of the CN-PM sequences being identified as such cases (cf. Table 6.4). The results suggest that any CN-PM processes which explicitly revealed CJs' incompetence in Japanese seemed to be highly restricted, because they might harm the favorable symmetry in their role relationship as co-workers in the workplace.

(3) Functions and outcomes

The functions and outcomes of the processes of CN-PM/ling and CN-PM/fact were primarily to clarify/remove the linguistic and factual ambiguity of the ongoing discourse, to mutually understand the meaning of the ongoing discourse, and to maintain the conversation, as discussed in Chapter Six. In addition, comments from the follow-up interviews and Japanese (JRs) and Chinese raters (CRs) in the rating sessions suggested that both CJs and JJs as co-workers exchanged meta-messages such as solidarity, rapport, and friendship through the processes of CN-PM.

9.1.2 Conversational negotiation of expertise [CN-EX]

(1) Triggers and occurrence

Conversational negotiation of expertise [CN-EX] in the present study was triggered by CJs or JJs due to their unshared knowledge of the ongoing discourse. Participants who possessed more content knowledge on the ongoing topic(s) acted as experts, while the other participants issued questions and clarifications as if they were non-experts seeking more information regarding the topic(s). It was the existence of an information gap between CJs and JJs, either genuine or pro forma, on the ongoing topic(s) that triggered CN-EX and consequently helped the participants to collaboratively create an optimal environment for expert and non-expert participants to negotiate. The sources of expertise that triggered CN-EX in the present study were roughly categorized into work-related (WR) and non-work-related (NWR). Examples of WR expertise covered participants' specialties, knowledge of and experience in their

work. Those of NWR expertise were related to the participants' past experiences, hobbies and interests, knowledge of customs of their own native cultures, their views on their own and their interlocutors' native cultures and current topics in Hong Kong, Japan, and the world.

The total occurrence CN-EX in NWRT was four times as frequent as that in WRT (cf. Table 5.2 and Table 7.1). Of all cases of CN-EX in WRT, JJs and CJs acted as experts nearly equally, while of those in NWRT, CJs acted as experts much more frequently than JJs (cf. Table 7.3). CJs' more active participation as experts in NWRT (67.4%), in comparison to that in WRT (43%), was generally as a result of JJs' willingness and efforts to take up roles as non-experts, in order to let CJs talk more in Japanese on topics that they were familiar with.

(2) Negotiation strategies and processes

The processes of CN-EX in both WRT and NWRT seemed to form a common pattern where the participants who took the roles of experts talked more dominantly, while their interlocutors, who took the roles of non-experts, issued various verbal signals to facilitate the experts' talking. Non-experts' signals were mostly questions including requests for clarification and explanation, comprehension checks, and non-understanding of the ongoing topic(s). Such explicit strategies applied by non-expert participants in the processes of CN-EX effectively served to facilitate the expert participants to talk more on the topics. In other words, expert participants were acting as if they were interviewees or lecturers, and they kept on talking about the ongoing topic(s) of their expertise, while non-experts participants acted as if they were interviewers, asking questions regarding the ongoing topic(s).

Explicit CN strategies used in the processes of CN-EX were the same as the explicit strategies of CN-PM (cf. Table 3.6). In addition, implicit CN strategies consisting of *contexualization cues*, such as changes in prosody, shift in speech levels and varieties, laughter, conversational routines and discourse markers were often used by JJs and CJs in order to supplement the effect of the explicit linguistic signals to facilitate the processes of CN-EX. As mentioned above, the information gap on ongoing topic(s) between participants that triggered CN-EX could be genuine or pro

forma. Consequently, the non-experts' questions, such as requests for clarification and elaboration, can be categorized either as reference questions or as display questions, as mentioned in Chapter Two.

The roles of experts and non-experts in the processes of CN-EX were determined not by language proficiency, but by professional and/or sociocultural knowledge of the ongoing topic(s). Therefore, expert and non-expert roles rotated depending on the topic. That is to say, a participant with professional and sociocultural knowledge on the topic(s) did most of the talking, while a non-expert participant issued requests for clarification and explanation, and statements to indicate their non-understanding of the topic(s), thus allowing the expert to talk more on the ongoing topic(s). Participants seemed to continue moving collaboratively from one topic to another, with the topics being loosely related. The processes of CN-EX, therefore, rarely formed side-sequences, unlike those found in CN-PM, in which participants returned to the original topic after problem solving through the CN processes. As a result, average durations per CN-EX sequence in WRT and NWRT were far longer that those of CN-PM/ling sequences in WRT and NWRT (cf. Table 5.2). The further analysis showed us that it was not participants themselves, but external conditions and interruptions in the workplace, such as sudden telephone calls, the sudden appearance of other participants, and/or appointments for meetings, that frequently interrupted/terminated the ongoing processes of CN-EX in WRT. The fact that the average duration of CN-EX in WRT was twice as long as that in NWRT, and that a greater number of longer CN-EX sequences was found in NWRT than in WRT (cf. Table 5.2) was probably due to the lack of time constraints and external interruptions in NWRT.

(3) Functions and outcomes

In WRT, topics generated in the CN-EX processes not only enforced friendship and rapport among the participants, but also provided the participants with useful and broad background information for them to carry out their work-related tasks. Such background information was often related to sociocultural and socioeconomic knowledge, which was important for the co-workers to share in order to engage in communication.

As mentioned above, the main function of CN-EX was not problem-solving, but maintaining and enhancing rapport, friendship and solidarity as co-workers, in which, as non-experts, they demonstrated their keen interest in the on-going topic(s), and showed their active involvement in and respect for their interlocutors' expertise. In the meantime, both participants as co-workers seemed to collaboratively and mutually contribute to the maintenance of conversation by generating topic(s). Explicit CN strategies containing linguistically marked signals and features used in CN-EX, therefore, were not interpreted by participants as "other-correction" made by their interlocutors, and their communicative effect was not viewed as face-threatening, as in CN-PM.

As we have seen in Chapter Seven, in non-working hours such as teatime and lunchtime at the multilingual workplace, engaging in small/phatic talk in a friendly and relaxed manner and developing topics jointly and collaboratively was viewed by all CJs and JJs as very important for enhancing and maintaining their solidarity and rapport as co-workers. In the light of the participants' joint topic development, recursive sequences of CN-EX and the role rotation of an expert and a non-expert seemed to provide the participants with common ground on which they could build their conversations actively. If time constraints were not foremost, and the content (task) of the ongoing speech was non-work-related rather than work-related, CJs and JJs seemed to enjoy engaging in lengthy sequences of CN-EX.

9.1.3 Conversational negotiation of interactional meaning [CN-IM]

(1) Triggers and occurrence

The conversational negotiation of interactional meaning [CN-IM] in the study was triggered by ambiguity resulting from unshared knowledge about how to interpret implicit contexualization cues, such as discourse markers and speech level shifts implying such interactional meanings as requests, disagreements, complaints and compliments. The occurrence of CN-IM sequences involving requests/invitations, disagreements and complaints were far more frequent in WRT than in NWRT. That of CN-IM containing compliments was nearly the same in WRT and NWRT. On the

other hand, those involving griping/trouble telling and joking occurred more frequently in NWRT than in WRT (cf. Table 8.2).

(2) Negotiation strategies and processes

Processes of CN-IM were characterized by various implicit CN strategies consisting of subtle *contexualization cues*, such as sudden changes in intonation and rate of speech, code-switching, speech style shift, use of discourse markers, conversational routines and idiomatic expressions, as summarized in Table 3.8.

Especially when they were negotiating the interactional meaning of face-threatening speech acts such as disagreements and complaints, it was observed that CJs and JJs tried to apply implicit CN strategies to redress any face-threatening impact on their interlocutors. Effective strategies applied for this purpose included the use of jokes, laughter, smiles and hesitation, which not only facilitated the attainment of communicative goals successfully and smoothly by all concerned, but also conveyed meta-messages such as friendliness and rapport.

The CN strategies used by JJs and advanced CJs for CN-IM (requests/invitations, disagreements and complaints) were almost always implicit, in order to redress FTA resulting from the realization of the speech acts. However, at times these were too subtle for lower proficiency CJs to infer the interactional meaning intended. In a few cases, unaware of JJs' implicit cues, CJs completely misunderstood JJs' intentions, during and even after the processes of CN-IM.

The processes of CN-IM involving compliments and griping/trouble telling tended to be highly ritualized with conversation routines, and so it was easy for participants to infer the meaning of the ongoing discourse. In typical complimenting routines, JJs and CJs presented two contrasting views of themselves and their interlocutors by expressing their compliments to their interlocutors, and their own self-criticism. Likewise, when griping/trouble telling, both JJs and CJs mutually exchanged their gripes concerning themselves or person close to them, followed by expressions to console their interlocutors, saying that the problems they had encountered were very common.

(3) Functions and outcomes

The primary functions of CN-IM were to negotiate the interactional meaning of the ongoing discourse, such as participants' intentions. It was observed that participants adopted various contexualization cues to mutually negotiate interactional meaning, and in the meantime, mutually convey meta-messages, such as friendship, rapport and solidarity as co-workers. Through the processes of CN-IM involving compliments, participants tried to maximize the effect of positive politeness on their interlocutors in order to establish and strengthen their friendship. In contrast, in the processes of CN-IM involving requests/invitations, disagreements and complaints, participants adopted indirect and implicit strategies to negotiate their intentions with their interlocutors in order to soften/minimize their imposition and the negative face-threatening effects on their interlocutors. For instance, frequent use of complimentary remarks by JJs and CJs regarding their interlocutors were applied in WRT as well as in NWRT, not only for the purpose of issuing genuine compliments, but also for the purpose for negotiating their attitude to the other and relationship as co-workers, and for conveying meta-messages such as friendship, rapport and solidarity. When JJs disagreed with CJs, JJs' intention of disagreement was not conveyed directly and explicitly by JJs, but it was often negotiated between the two parties. JJs issued subtle contexualizataion cues, such as speech level shifts, changes in prosody, jokes, laughter and conversation routines to imply their disagreement with CJs, which in turn sometimes triggered CJs to negotiate the interactional meaning of the discourse. JJs use of implicit strategies indicated that they were trying to minimize the face threatening effect of disagreements on CJs, and showing their consideration toward the latter in order to maintain their equality and solidarity as co-workers.

In terms of outcome, only a few cases (8%) of the total CN-IM sequences in the present study resulted in misunderstandings in which the CJs' perceived meaning did not match the JJs' intended meaning. Various subtle signals employed by JJs, such as repetition, formulaic expressions, changes in volume of voice, changes in intonation and pitch, speech style shift, and use of discourse markers for the purpose of implying their intentions were not interpreted appropriately by these CJs (cf. Example 7-4).

9.1.4 Side sequences

The processes of CN-PM often contained *side sequences*, in which participants seemed to digress from an original topic (main sequence) and halted the main flow of interaction in order to negotiate the ambiguity of the ongoing discourse. In most cases, the participants returned to the main sequence to complete the task(s), after solving the problem(s). As discussed in Chapter Six, the *hitsudan* strategy (writing Chinese characters) identified in the present study was the most explicit and conspicuous type of *side sequence* and was carried out by participants utilizing the visual channel.

In the processes of CN-EX, *side sequences* were rarely found since participants moved from one topic to another topic, which were loosely connected. The participants sometimes engaged in recursive negotiation sequences as an expert and a non-expert participant, without returning to the original topic (main sequence). In the process, the participants seemed to be willing to digress, without completing any particular tasks except reciprocally giving and receiving information on the topic(s).

The processes of CN-IM sometimes involved *side sequences.* However, since the processes were often not marked by any explicit linguistic features, but characterized by subtle *contexualization cues*, *side sequences* appearing in CN-IM were not as conspicuous as in CN-PM.

9.2 Significance of the present study

As summarized in the sections above, CN undertaken by CJs and JJs in the multilingual workplace differed significantly from those involving native and nonnative speakers in experimental and instructional settings reported in previous research, particularly in the area of SLA, with regard to types, triggers, strategies, processes, functions and outcomes. Some of the differences are as follows:

(1) Workplace settings and the social relations between CJs and JJs as co-workers affected the extent to which the participants engaged in negotiation. Both CJs and JJs enjoyed similar social status as paid employees in the workplace settings. CN-PM, particularly that involving explicit other-correction of CJs linguistic deviations from Japanese native norms, was not preferred and was thus minimized. Only important and urgent messages which contained linguistic and factual ambiguity were negotiated by the participants, and the focus of CN was on the content of the ongoing discourse, rather than on the linguistic form.

(2) The tasks that CJs and JJs were to carry out were authentic tasks, which they were both economically and socially motivated to complete successfully within the limited time frame. Therefore, the most important issue to the participants in the workplace was to complete the tasks quickly and efficiently. Their focus was thus not on the communication itself. Such expectations of the participants' substantive behavior in the workplace constitutes a difference from those in previous SLA studies of negotiation of meaning. This is because the tasks used in many SLA studies were artificially designed by researchers for experimental purposes to investigate negotiation of meaning, and participants were not expected to carry out any substantive behavior, such as completing various tasks in the workplace.

(3) Shared knowledge in terms of linguistic, sociolinguistic and sociocultural knowledge among the participants in the present study was much greater than that shared by participants in previous SLA studies. In terms of linguistic knowledge, CJs were categorized as intermediate to advanced speakers of Japanese, so their Japanese proficiency was high enough to carry out daily office communication. The existence of ChB cognates as their shared linguistic code also characterized the processes of CN-PM in this study. Furthermore, CJs and JJs, as co-workers, shared experiences and expectations regarding their work and communication in the multilingual workplace, thus facilitating their inference of the meaning of the ongoing discourse.

(4) The roles of the native and nonnative participants in the present study were not statically fixed as linguistic hosts and guests, and experts and non-experts in terms of professional and sociocultural knowledge. Instead, they flexibly rotated their roles in the processes of CN in a dynamic way, in order to maintain the balance of power as co-workers, especially in CN-EX and CN-IM sequences.. Various studies in SLA have reported that nonnative speakers in intercultural situations tend to be passive with native speakers as the dominant participants. However, the findings of the present study did not confirm the pattern of such fixed role relationships based on the linguistic proficiency of native and nonnative speakers. My research showed that participants' roles, such as those of an expert and a non-expert in terms of professional, cultural as well as linguistic knowledge, rotated constantly in a more dynamic way. This is probably attributable to the fact that the CJs possessed intermediate and advanced proficiency in Japanese and that they tended to be cultural hosts in the Hong Kong workplace.

(5) The present study confirmed the claims made by SLA researchers that modified input (correct form) from more proficient speakers would make the input comprehensible to less proficient speakers. However, the other suggestion made by SLA researchers that to enhance SLA linguistically modified input (*comprehensible input*) made by more proficient speakers is often incorporated in the utterances of less proficient speakers as *comprehensible output*, was rarely observed in the present study (cf. Table 6.4). Because such linguistic behavior on the part of CJs could be evaluated negatively by both the CJs themselves and by JJs, as it would indicate that CJs were still language learners and linguistically incompetent in Japanese (cf. Musmeci 1996), processes of CN which explicitly revealed CJs' incompetence in Japanese seemed to be highly restricted in the data. With JJs frequently downplaying their native linguistic competence in Japanese, and CJs often veiling their linguistic incompetence, both parties seemed to prefer to aim at minimizing actual differences, rather than revealing an asymmetry of power as native and non-native speakers of Japanese.

(6) This study identified some differences in the use of CN strategies among the three proficiency groups, that is, advanced, upper-intermediate and intermediate groups. All 10 CJs in the study demonstrated that they were capable of engaging in three types of CN appropriately and effectively, adopting explicit CN strategies. However, not all CJs of the upper-intermediate and intermediate groups succeed in interpreting implicit CN strategies used by JJs, and this at times resulted in misunderstandings in CN-IM.

9.3 Implications for further research

Possible topics for future research and areas to be explored with regard to conversational negotiation are as follows:

(1) Naturally occurring Japanese dyadic conversations between Japanese native speakers in social and workplace settings involving participants with a wide range of personal variables, such as sex, age, linguistic background (for example, native-speakers of a certain regional variety), occupations and so on, should be collected and analyzed as baseline data.

(2) Naturally occurring Japanese dyadic conversations between Japanese and Chinese participants in social and workplace settings, as in this study, involving participants with a wider range of personal variables, such as sex, age, cultural and linguistic background, educational background and so on, should be collected, analyzed, and compared with the present study and the baseline data (1).

(3) Naturally occurring conversations in social and workplace settings involving Chinese and Japanese participants in English and Chinese (Cantonese and/or Putonghua) should be collected, analyzed and compared with the present study, and with those proposed in (1) and (2) above. One of the interesting foci of analysis of the English and Chinese data in comparison with the Japanese data (2) can be how Chinese and Japanese participants negotiate by

utilizing their shared knowledge of ChB cognates, and whether, as identified in the present study, they use the *hitsudan* strategy.

(4) Naturally occurring conversations in social and workplace settings involving non-Chinese nonnative speakers of Japanese (for example, Spanish native speakers of Japanese) and Japanese native-speakers should be collected and analyzed. In particular, it is of importance to investigate how such participants would carry out CN-PM/ling resulting from ChB vocabulary, and whether they use the five ChB CN strategies identified in the study, including the *hitsudan* strategy (cf. 3.2.5).

9.4 Suggestions for Japanese language teaching (JLT) and for the training of Japanese businesspersons

As mentioned in Chapter One, the number of learners of Japanese as a Foreign Language (JFL learners) in the world who have the strong intention of using the language as a tool of communication in social and business situations in the future has increased. Many JFL learners now have a need to communicate in Japanese with native and nonnative speakers of Japanese in multilingual social and business settings. As discussed and analyzed in the present study, CN plays an important part in successful communication in intercultural situations in the multilingual workplace, where participants do not necessarily share knowledge with regard to linguistic, sociolinguistic and sociocultural rules. It is of great importance that both native and nonnative participants should be fully aware of potential communication problems in intercultural situations, be prepared psychologically and linguistically for them, and be able to eventually solve them.

As for JFL learners who will eventually become nonnative participants in Japanese interaction in social and business communication situations, JFL courses should be designed in such a way as to provide the students with training in order to effectively negotiate propositional meaning (CN-PM), expertise (CN-EX), and the interactional meaning (CN-IM) of the ongoing discourse.

The following points are strongly recommended in designing curriculum and syllabi for Japanese courses, in preparing teaching/learning materials and tasks, and in implementing and managing classroom activities:

(1) The curriculum and syllabi of Japanese courses, especially those of Japanese for specific purposes (JSP), should be designed on the basis of research on communicative situations, possible communication problems and the proficiency required for Japanese-speaking staff in a specific context. Such JSP courses should provide JFL learners with appropriate training to be able to engage in CN-PM, CN-EX and CN-IM through effective and appropriate interaction with their Japanese-speaking interlocutors (for example, guests, clients and co-workers).

(2) JSP courses, which aim to train Japanese-speaking personnel for tourism, hospitality, catering, business, management and engineering should introduce practical and basic CN strategies for CN-PM in the multilingual workplace. More concretely, various explicit and implicit CN strategies to successfully and appropriately carry out CN-PM/ling and CN-PM/fact should be incorporated into JLT classroom activities and tasks. If JFL learners are native speakers of Chinese, it would be beneficial for them to learn how to use appropriately the five ChB CN strategies identified in this study.

(3) The findings in the analysis of CN-EX processes suggest that authentic tasks in which JFL learners can participate as experts encourage and facilitate their participation in interacting with native speakers of Japanese. Authentic tasks in which JFL learners play the role of non-experts also develop learners' interactive competence in CN-EX. Therefore, it would be beneficial to include in JFL classroom activities these two distinctive types of tasks in which JFL learners play either an expert or non-expert role, in order to train them in how they should use explicit and implicit CN strategies to successfully attain their goals in the processes of CN-EX in WRT as well as in NWRT. In particular, CN-EX processes involving small talk among co-workers in NWRT contain routines and patterns, and it is vital to include

such information in the JLT syllabi which would prepare JFL learners to actively and successfully participate in Japanese interaction as co-workers, as well as to establish their mutual rapport and solidarity with other co-workers.

(4) Various implicit CN strategies adopted by JJs for CN-IM involving the speech acts of requests/invitations, disagreements and complaints are highly conventionalized and too subtle for low proficiency speakers of Japanese. In order for JFL learners at the intermediate and upper-intermediate proficiency levels to become familiar with such CN strategies, it is strongly recommended that authentic tasks be designed and introduced. In particular, those implicit CN strategies which have a high possibility of leading to misunderstandings and pragmatic failure in WRT should be included in the tasks for JLT classrooms:

(a) JJs' highly conventionalized subtle CN strategies, such as the discourse markers (*demo, yahari/yappari/yappa, toriaezu...*), sentence-final particles (*ne, yo, sa, yo ne, kana, na...*), formulaic speech and conversational routines (*jikan ga attara, ato de ii kara...*), speech style shift and changes in prosody, which function as *contexualization cues* to indicate change of frame and interactional meaning in the ongoing discourse.

(b) JJs' use of requestive hints, such as those referring to a *higher authority, official events*, and *engagements of the company in the near future* in order to persuade their interlocutors to carry out their requests urgently and successfully.

(5) In addition, it is also of great importance to introduce to JFL learners conversation routines of CN-IM in NWRT, which aim to realize the speech acts of compliments, griping/trouble telling and joking in small talk. Acquisition of such conversation routines would give JFL learners greater confidence to participate in authentic interaction in Japanese, which in turn would further enhance their confidence professionally as businesspersons in the multilingual workplace.

This study revealed that communication problems in Japanese found in the multilingual workplace resulted not only from linguistic deviations made by the nonnative participants, but also from various implicit CN strategies adopted by native speaking participants. This is because Japanese native speakers are accustomed to

implicit CN strategies in intra-cultural communicative situations, characterized by subtle contexualization cues, conversational routines, and discourse markers. It is of great importance for them to be aware that their nonnative co-workers may be incapable of decoding such subtle cues and CN strategies. In order to avoid misunderstandings in the multilingual workplace or other intercultural situations, Japanese participants are strongly encouraged to use explicit CN strategies, especially when they interact with low proficiency speakers of the Japanese language. To conclude my thesis, therefore, I would like to strongly recommend that appropriate training or induction courses be designed and offered for those Japanese native-speaking businesspersons who are currently working or will work in the future in a multilingual workplace, so as to prepare them to effectively negotiate the meaning of ongoing discourse with their nonnative co-workers.

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