The Dissertation Committee for Izumi Funayama Certifies that this is the approved version of the following dissertation:

Intercultural Experiences and Practices in a Chinese-Japanese Joint Venture: A Study of Narratives and Interactions about and beyond "Chinese" and "Japanese"

Committee:

Jürgen Streeck, Supervisor

Larry D Browning

Madeline M Maxwell

Elizabeth L Keating

Ann K Brooks

Intercultural Experiences and Practices in a Chinese-Japanese Joint Venture: A Study of Narratives and Interactions about and beyond “Chinese” and “Japanese”

by

Izumi Funayama, B.A., M.A.

Dissertation

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of

The University of Texas at Austin

in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Texas at Austin

May, 2002

UMI Number: 3077644

UMI

UMI Microform 3077644

ProQuest Information and Learning Company
300 North Zeeb Road
PO Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

Dedication

To *Otousan* and *Okaasan*, my father and mother

Acknowledgements

It is a great pleasure that, finally, I have come to this point at which I can express my gratitude to so many individuals who have helped me not only during the dissertation project but also during my graduate school life in the US.

Foremost, I would like to thank all members of Shanghai-BDK, for their understanding and help. I am especially thankful to "Kawamura-*san*," who kindly arranged my entrance to the field despite the fact that he had never met me before. Mitani-*san*, Makoto Mitani, introduced me to Kawamura-*san*; without this good *senpai*, my senior, I could have never written this dissertation. I greatly appreciate his friendship and help. I also owe my great appreciation to another *senspai*, Kawano-*san*, Masumi Kawano, for her help with my fieldwork and for being such a cool girlfriend of mine.

My academic adviser and dissertation supervisor, Jürgen Streeck, has inspired me intellectually and has greatly contributed to my development as a scholar and my dissertation. I am deeply grateful for his support in both intellectual and moral terms. I am very thankful to Larry Browning for his warm support as a graduate adviser, which eased my toughest days in the graduate school, and for his thought-provoking teaching of narrative analysis, which has contributed to the significant part of this dissertation. Madeline Maxwell has always impressed me with her intelligence. I have learned a lot from her, and I particularly appreciate her insightful comments during the discussions I had with her. Elizabeth Keating has demonstrated the role model I wish to become as a scholar, and I am really grateful for her sincere attitude and stimulating comments about my work. Ann Brooks has awaken me to the importance of caring about and being responsible for the outcome of what I do as an intercultural communication researcher in her class of Adult Education. Furthermore, through her own teaching and mentoring, she has shown me what a wonderful teacher should be like, and I am extremely thankful for that. I would like to thank Jens Allwood for helping me to regain the self-esteem in academia, during the hardest time of my life as a graduate student, by showing me his sincere and noble attitude in what he does as a scholar and a teacher. I would like to extend my gratitude to the late Robert Hopper, who not only showed me what a great scholar is like but also wholeheartedly educated and mentored me. Shonna Skarda has helped me the most with writing-up of this dissertation. Not only has she helped me to improve my English but also to think more deeply by her patient tutoring. I am grateful to her for being a great teacher and friend of mine.

Many friends have supported me in various ways since I came to the US as a graduate student in 1993. I would like to start with thanking my old buddies back at Ohio University. Liao (Liao Chun-Chin), Takis (Katsos Stamatis), Tammy (Lin Wan-Yuan), and Mimi (Jiramongkhollarp Jirapha)—their friendship

meant so much to me and I heartily thank them for their being my semi-family in my earliest days as a graduate student in the US.

I thank Kevin Smith for having been my friend from the earliest time of my life in Austin, Texas, and I am so thankful for his heartfelt encouragement when I was having a hard time. I would like to extend my gratitude to Kazuya Takigawa, for his support in various ways for an extended period of time; without him, my life in Austin could have been extremely difficult. I thank Shu-yi Huang for having been my great friend and for making my life in Austin much more fun and interesting. I am appreciative of the friendship I have shared with Jun Sawada; my life in Austin could have been very different without him. I deeply thank Peter Chi-tang Cheng for his encouragement when I was suffering from the lack of confidence in myself.

I have been very fortunate to have met great friends from my own department, with whom I could share the significant part of my graduate school life in Austin. I thank Senem Güney for her dedication and poetic way of sharing her friendship with me; her emotional support when I found myself totally devastated in the context of graduate school helped me to revive. I am so grateful that Kumi Tsutsui has been a part of my life in Austin; it almost could have been impossible to survive graduate school life without her. Her delightful personality has always invigorated my days. I thank Tomoko Ikeda, not only for her wonderful and special way of having been my friend, but also for her sincere and helpful advice and encouragement in both academic and professional domains. I wish to thank Juanita Handy Bosma and John Handy Bosma for their friendship,

kindness, and amusing nature which made for fun times; they have had me feel at home in Austin, Texas—far away from my home country. Kathy Zilkha also has contributed to making Austin home for me; I am so thankful for her kindness and warm friendship.

Before I extend my gratitude to my family, I would like to express my thanks to three individuals, who are very special in my life.

Naoya Tabu was the only one who trusted in my intellectual potential when nobody else did. He has been the one who understands me the most, and is as happy as my family for my achievement. I would like to thank him from the bottom of my heart for his unconditional, wholehearted, and true support in emotional and spiritual terms.

Maki Hatanaka is the person who has cried with and for me, who has got truly angry with and for me, and who has shared the biggest laugh with me—throughout my life in the US. I thank her for all that we share, for her selfless support, and for having been my best friend.

Katsunori Onishi has given me tremendous emotional and practical support. I know I could hardly survive through the last days of graduate school life and the dissertation project without him. I greatly appreciate his patient and considerate way of connecting with me and making my life delightful and meaningful. Thank you so much for being there for me—even in my worst times.

Finally, I would like to extend my gratitude to my family and relatives—especially to my grandparents and my parents. I wish to thank my grandfather and grandmothers, Tokio Funayama, Kikue Funamaya, and Hide Nakai, for having always been encouraging and understanding. My deepest thanks go to my parents: Tomikazu Funayama and Chizuko Funayama. They have been absolutely supportive of what I have aspired to do, despite the fact that they probably had no clue what I was doing in the graduate school. I do not know how to thank them for their unconditional love and trust in me.

Otousan (dad) and *Okaasan* (mom); I have been always proud of being your daughter and I will always be. I hope you are now proud of your daughter for her achievement. I dedicate this dissertation to the two of you.

Intercultural Experiences and Practices in a Chinese-Japanese Joint Venture: A Study of Narratives and Interactions about and beyond “Chinese” and “Japanese”

Publication No._____________

Izumi Funayama, Ph.D.
The University of Texas at Austin, 2002

Supervisor: Jürgen Streeck

This dissertation is a study of intercultural communication between Japanese and Chinese employees in a merger advertising firm comprised of a state-managed Chinese firm and a private-sector Japanese firm. In this study, I examine whether national-cultural factors are related or unrelated, or are made meaningful or meaningless by setting members, to particular communicative events and how, claiming that national-cultural factors are just one kind of influence on communicative events and that there are other kinds of important influence.

My focus is on understanding the setting members’ *experience* and *practice* of intercultural communication. In investigating these, I first examine,

through analysis of individuals' narratives, how individuals construct the meaning of particular intercultural communicative events as *experience*. Secondly, I examine through detailed discourse analysis of interactions how various situational and extrasituational factors become entangled, or untangled, in the process of actual interactions, shaping communicative *practice* in the intercultural setting.

Through the narrative analyses, I present that as much as various factors construct the Chinese-Japanese dichotomy and its meaning(s) within particular experiences of particular setting members, the Chinese-Japanese dichotomy also serves as a resource and rhetorical tool for the setting members to make sense of their intercultural experiences or to identify themselves as meaningful to such experiences. Through interaction analysis, I argue that interlocutors in intercultural settings can be *communicatively competent* despite their *linguistic incompetence* or language barriers; linguistic inability, or a lack of cultural knowledge, does not necessarily indicate communicative incompetence.

Based on my findings about setting members' experience and practice of intercultural communication, I state ideas regarding what we as individuals as theorists and practitioners of intercultural communication need to know to better live in the intercultural world and what we as intercultural communication researchers need to do in the future.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

List of Illustrations

Chapter 1. Introduction

This dissertation is a study of intercultural communication between Japanese and Chinese employees in a merger advertising firm comprised of a state-managed Chinese firm and a private-sector Japanese firm, Shanghai-BDK.[1] In this study, I attempt to study intercultural communication from a different perspective than that of conventional intercultural communication studies.

Theoretically, I attempt to deconstruct a predetermined and categorical determinism based on nationality that underlies conventional intercultural communication research. It is not my goal to measure or define the influence of Chinese and Japanese cultures, as something beyond interlocutors' control, on intercultural communication from a comparative point of view, but I also do not totally disregard national-cultural factors for my analysis. Rather, I attempt to examine whether national-cultural factors are related or unrelated, or are made meaningful or meaningless by interlocutors, to particular communicative events and how, claiming that national-cultural factors are just one kind of influence on communicative events and that there are other kinds of important influence. Methodologically, I employ qualitative approaches, using data I obtained through fieldwork as a participant-observer at Shanghai-BDK. My purpose is to gain a holistic understanding of the reality of intercultural communication at Shanghai-BDK, and to fulfill this purpose, I combine several tools of analysis: use of field

[1] All names of corporations and persons used in this dissertation are pseudonyms.

notes based on participant observations, interviews, and detailed discourse analysis of videotaped interactions.

In other words, I do not focus on identifying an abstract cause-effect relationship between “culture” and intercultural communication, and produce a model for prediction. Rather, I will focus on understanding the *experience* and *practice* of intercultural communication. In investigating these, I first examine, through analysis of individuals’ narratives, how individuals construct the meaning of particular intercultural communicative events as *experience*. Secondly, I examine through detailed discourse analysis of videotaped interactions how various situational and extrasituational factors become entangled, or untangled, in the process of actual interactions, shaping communicative *practice* in the intercultural setting.

This dissertation is organized in the following way. In the rest of this chapter, (i.e., introduction), I first explain my motivations for approaching intercultural issues as stated above, that is, why I focus on examining intercultural experience and practices rather than identifying and elaborating on cause-effect relationships between "culture" and intercultural communication. In this explanation, I touch on my own intercultural experience and my observation at Shanghai-BDK, so that readers may more easily envisage my project. Then I propose research questions for the study and state the significance of the study.

Following this introductory material, in Chapter 2 I will propose four additional contexts which should be incorporated into the analysis of intercultural communication, in addition to national-cultural contexts, explaining why these four contexts are important particularly for the analysis of intercultural communication at Shanghai-BDKI then review how issues of intercultural communication have been studied in the context of multinational organizations. Following my review, I set forth how I will approach the relationship between phenomena of intercultural communication and organizational factors in this study.

In Chapter 3, I will cover research settings and methodology. I will first give a general description about the field site, the city of Shanghai and Shanghai-BDK. I will also provide descriptions of its members. For the last half of the chapter, I will give a brief review of the methods used for the present study and discuss related issues, with considering their applications to the present study. I will include the explanation of the relationship between this author and Shanghai-BDK. In so doing, I will discuss the issues of participant observation and the identity of the researcher.

In Chapter 4, I will examine how members of Shanghai-BDK construct the discourse of the Chinese-Japanese cultural dichotomy through their narratives, attempting to identify when and how national cultural differences become related and unrelated to their experiences of intercultural communication. Through this effort, I will also examine how factors other than national culture, such as organizational hierarchy or members' professions, influence the discourse of the national cultural dichotomy in communication. These investigations will be done as I study the issues of identity and/or membership of the members of Shanghai-BDK; I will study how members of Shanghai-BDK evoke and shift membership through their narratives as situated in the context of particular communicative events/experiences.

In Chapter 5, I will investigate how members of Shanghai-BDK construct collective knowledge—with and without reference to cultural resources—in task-oriented interactions. This will be done with detailed interaction analysis regarding what kind of communicative strategies they use and how members of Shanghai-BDK successfully communicate or "get things done" across cultural and language barriers. I will extend my effort to consider how we should regard and define "intercultural communication competence" in the context of Shanghai-BDK.

Chapter 6 will be the concluding chapter. In this chapter, I will summarize contributions made by this dissertation to the field of intercultural communication studies. I will also summarize my findings from Chapter 4 and 5. Then I attempt to provide meta-analyses of the findings of Chapters 4 and 5, restating the benefits of using two different types of data. Finally, I will discuss what we as individuals need to know to better live in the intercultural world, and what we as intercultural communication researchers need to do in the future.

1.1 MOTIVATIONS

The real experience and practice of intercultural communication are always more complex than descriptions based on theorized relationship between "culture" and communication. In attempting to state motivations for studying intercultural communication as stated in the previous section, I would like to start with my own intercultural experience as a Japanese woman in the U.S., which indicates the need to reconsider about what has been generally believed about "cultural differences" and intercultural communication. This is about an experience I had with a female classmate I was working with for a class presentation. Observing that I did not speak as much as the other group members in a meeting, she warmly said to me, "Izumi, don't be too polite. It's not Japan. You don't offend people even if you disagree. You can say what you want to say." I was too ashamed to confess that I just could not understand the discussion because people spoke so fast; I had been in the U.S. for only a few months at that point, and I still had difficulty with listening comprehension. It is not fair to this classmate at all, but to be honest, I was offended then--not exactly by her, but by her conceptualization of what kind of person I am.

It should be noted, however, she was on the right track in terms of what is generally believed to be a "good intercultural communicator,"--someone who is mindful of "cultural differences." Most intercultural communication studies tell us that people from different cultural groups are different, and "cultural group" usually refers to a group of people with the same nationality or ethnicity. The literature tells us that since people from different cultural groups have different beliefs, norms, attitudes, and behaviors, we need to be mindful of these differences and refrain from making judgements about them. Along this line, my classmate was trying to be mindful of "cultural differences" between her and me based on her knowledge of "cultural differences" between the American and Japanese cultures. Rather than judging my silence as "having no opinion or willingness to discuss" from an American perspective, she tried to look at my silence from an alternative perspective, as a culturally different behavior, and encouraged me to behave in a more local way. Nevertheless, her strategy failed, because her mindfulness was off target. Her way of comprehending my communication style (i.e., being silent out of politeness) was not accurate, at least from my perspective. And as a result of attempting to be "mindful," her comments offended me. It was not because of "cultural differences," or me being polite, that I did not speak up; it was my linguistic incompetence that kept me silent during the meeting.

Scholars in intercultural communication have developed a body of knowledge regarding "cultural differences" and have helped us to function more smoothly when we encounter people from different cultural backgrounds. It can be said that my classmate was a well-intentioned practitioner of such knowledge. However, knowledge about people "different" from us frequently leads us to make generalizations about those people and impose our perception of "who they should be" on them, regardless of individual and situational diversity. Thus, knowledge about "differences" can mislead us when we try to understand what is happening in communicative events like the one described above. Focusing on identifying differences between the communication styles of myself and my classmate may lead one to attribute my silence to a "Japanese way" of communicating. That is, too much emphasis on "cultural differences" as the reasons for different communication styles makes it difficult for us to realize the reality of intercultural communication of the episode above. My experience shows that "cultural differences" do not necessarily shape communicative events in intercultural contexts and determine individuals' experience of intercultural communication; rather, it is individuals, or communicators, themselves who use "cultural differences" as a way, or a theory, to make sense of their own experience of intercultural communication. However, knowledge about "cultural differences" and their relation to different communication styles *per se* does not account for such constructive aspects of "differences."

While I have been inspired and educated by typologies and ideas embracing cultural differences as "differences," not as superior or inferior, I have also become dissatisfied with rather monolithic ways of viewing "cultural differences" and with oversimplifications of the relationship between so-called "cultural differences" and "communication styles." The gaps between what I have read and what I myself have experienced and observed about intercultural communication indicate that more research in this area is still needed.

I have also become dissatisfied with the fact that intercultural communication research frequently regards "cultural differences" as causes of communicative problems and/or obstacles in intercultural settings. It generally assumes that cultural differences make it difficult for us to communicate and function when individuals are in a different cultural environment from their own or when they are with people from cultures different from their own. Therefore, the literature says, individuals had better know beforehand the kinds of problems and obstacles that can occur as a result of cultural differences between themselves and the "other" and be prepared to adjust their emotional, attitudinal, and behavioral reactions to these differences. If individuals are encountering a new culture, they need to know as much about the culture as they can. For example, knowing the language (at any level) is one of the minimum "musts."

However, this approach does not explain why many members of Shanghai-BDK are competent professionals and communicators in various intercultural settings, despite the fact that many of them are not very knowledgeable about "different culture" from their own. For example, Kawamura, a Japanese account executive, is not a very sophisticated speaker of Mandarin, even after his four-year sojourn in China. Further, according to his comments, he has never been even interested in "Chinese culture." Kawamura has, nevertheless, made the most annual sales as an account executive and established the most successful partnership with local colleagues from Shanghai. Kawamura is not a unique example, however; he is a representative case. While there are 11 bilingual members of Mandarin and Japanese out of the 43 members of Shanghai-BDK, most of them are not sophisticated speakers, and members of Shanghai-BDK therefore constantly face difficulties due to language barriers. In addition, none of the Japanese employees from Toyo-BDK (the Japanese side of Shanghai-BDK) who occasionally participate in project meetings at Shanghai-BDK speak Mandarin at all, and it frequently happens that they are left alone with Chinese members without the aid of bilingual speakers. Also, members from Tokyo-BDK usually have little understanding of Chinese culture, society, and market. I have observed, however, that these members with limited linguistic and cultural resources frequently succeed in "getting things done." They utilize all possible and available resources such as extra-linguistic devices including gaze, gesture, and objects to communicate with each other, and often achieve the particular task at hand, overcoming language barriers, or "cultural differences." In other words, I have observed that individuals in intercultural settings can be *communicatively competent* despite their *linguistic incompetence*. This kind of practical capability of individuals as intercultural communicators, however, is not really examined in most intercultural communication research.

To recapitulate, there are gaps between prevailing ideas about intercultural communication and actual individuals' experience and practice of intercultural communication. By defining what is lacking in current intercultural communication studies and by offering an example of the kind of research and analysis that I believe facilitates a better understanding of intercultural communication, I hope to work toward filling in some of these gaps. In this way, I hope to contribute to making intercultural communication studies more capable of helping people to make the best out of their experience and practice of intercultural communication.

1.2. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

To fill persistent gaps in intercultural communication studies and achieving further understanding of intercultural communication, I propose the following:

1. We should not always regard individuals' native backgrounds as the most prominent influence or context for intercultural communication. We should consider other various situational factors, such as the particular task interlocutors engage in, as well as the local environments including objects, to be important contexts in shaping intercultural communication.

2. We should be aware that "cultural differences" are not necessarily the objective determinant but can be the production of discourse; they are constructed and deconstructed through individuals' communicative experiences and how individuals make sense them. We need to investigate how communicators strategically treat/create "cultural differences" and how this frames their communicative experiences and/or their identities as situated in particular experiences and practice.

3. We should not always focus on what interlocutors do not share in terms of native cultural background. We should not only attempt to examine communicative difficulties and failures due to differing native cultural backgrounds of interlocutors. We should also attempt to examine what interlocutors share *regardless of, in spite of, or because of* differing native cultural backgrounds. We should investigate the way in which interlocutors successfully communicate and/or "get things done" with the use of what they share (including present artifacts, shared task-oriented understanding, professional expertise), overcoming and/or waiving native cultural differences like language barriers.

Motivated by these ideas above, I identify the research questions for this study as follows:

1. How do members of Shanghai-BDK construct the discourse of the Chinese-Japanese cultural dichotomy through their narratives and interactions? When and how do national cultural differences become salient factors in their communicative experiences? When national cultural differences matter, or make difference, how do members at Shanghai-BDK evaluate the differences as related to their experiences of intercultural communication? How do factors other than national culture, such as organizational hierarchy or members' professions, influence the discourse of the national cultural dichotomy in communication?

2. How do members of Shanghai-BDK evoke and shift membership through their interactions and narratives? Which common ground do they use as a resource for constituting “us” and “the other" in communication? What kind of bond do they create to associate and dissociate themselves with/from others? How are organizational roles and power related or unrelated to such communicative construction of memberships?

3. How do members of Shanghai-BDK construct collective knowledge--with and without reference to cultural resources--in task-oriented communication? What kind of communicative strategies do they use? How do other

extrasituational and situational factors, such as native culture, organizational roles, local environments, and use of language, affect the construction of task-oriented and -situated knowledge?

4. How do members of Shanghai-BDK successfully communicate or "get things done" across language barriers? What kinds of resources are available for this and how are they appropriated into communication? Which context is important for examining such resources? How should we define "intercultural communication competence" in light of what I find?

1.3. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The present study is significant in several ways. First, a significant part of this study is based on the interaction analysis of videotaped data--naturally occurring interactions in real intercultural settings--the kind of data lacking in intercultural communication studies. Additionally, while there is an ethnographic tradition in intercultural communication studies and while the present study also follows this tradition in a way, there is not much ethnographic research that combines with interaction analysis of videotaped actual interactions.

Second, whereas previous intercultural communication studies frequently presuppose native (especially national) cultural backgrounds of individuals to be the most prominent influence on intercultural communication, my study regards native cultural attributes as one of many factors that influence intercultural communication. In this study, I argue the importance of situational-specific factors involved in particular communicative events for a better understanding of intercultural communication. I also argue that “cultural differences” are individuals' attribution of their communicative experiences, and thus can become ineffective as well, depending on the way in which individuals frame their communicative experiences.

Third, intercultural communication studies frequently and presumptuously set up "intercultural-ness" between "the West" (often the U.S.) and the "other," perpetuating the stereotypical dichotomy between the West and the "other" and limiting the range of studies and findings; for example, research abounds in intercultural communication between the U.S. and Japan. In its uncommon combination of national-cultural groups (Chinese and Japanese), my study provides both an exception to the stereotypical notion of who participates in intercultural communication (or “between whom” intercultural communication occurs) as well as a contribution to the expansion of intercultural communication studies.

The fourth, fifth, and sixth points are related to the fact that this study can also be characterized as a study of intercultural communication in the workplace, as well as in a multi-national organization. Fourth, the analysis of intercultural communication at Shanghai-BDK takes into account the fact that communication there is highly task-oriented and has specific goals to achieve. This will expand our understanding of both intercultural communication and task-oriented interactions, because emphasis on such practical factors involved in communication is uncommon in most of the intercultural communication research and also because research on task-oriented interactions have rarely take into account the intercultural factors involved in communication.

Fifth, as many scholars point out, English is a predominant business language in the contemporary world, and most intercultural communication research on multinational organizations (MNO) involve this *lingua franca* (Sunaoshi, 1999). In other words, most of the previous research on intercultural communication in MNOs is limited to cases in which interlocutors speak English, and especially to cases in which one party is a group of native English speakers and the other is a group of non-native English speakers. This is not the case for Shanghai-BDK, in which there is no *lingua franca*. It is important to study how language-related power dynamics might or might not change when individuals in a MNO do not share a *lingua franca*, as compared to when they do.

Sixth, in many institutional settings in previous research on organizations, those who hold more institutional power are also usually the members of the majority group in the society in which the organization is located. However, in my study, individuals who hold more institutional power (i.e., Japanese executives) are members of the minority group at Shanghai-BDK and in the local society of Shanghai, China. This condition urges the present study to investigate a complex power dynamic in intercultural and organizational terms.

Lastly, the present study is significant because of its interdisciplinary nature. Deriving from work in many disciplines such as intercultural communication, ethnography of communication, sociolinguistics, conversation analysis, and organizational communication, this study attempts to gain a multidimensional understanding of intercultural communication at Shanghai-BDK. Also, because of its multi-disciplinarity, it fills gaps in current research in these disciplines. For example, much work in language and social interaction (which includes conversation analysis, sociolinguistics, and ethnography of communication) does not aim to account for the influence of organizational factors on interlocutors' communicative acts. Conversation analysts tend to focus on English or mono-lingual settings. Intercultural communication studies and organizational communication studies traditionally do not look closely at discourse and actual interactions. In addition, scholars in intercultural communication studies and organizational communication studies often do not relate their research to each other's domain, despite the fact that the need for understanding of intercultural communication in (multinational) organizations is rapidly growing. In providing an understanding of intercultural communication at Shanghai-BDK that diverges from conventional perspectives, I hope to also provide a fresh perspective of each discipline.

Chapter 2. Contexts of Intercultural Communication

In the previous chapter, I explained my motivations for this project and showed—by identifying research questions—that this study examines how various factors other than individuals' national cultural backgrounds influence several experiential and practical aspects of intercultural communication at Shanghai-BDK. In the primary part of this chapter, I propose four situational contexts which need to be incorporated into the analysis of intercultural communication in addition to the conventional national cultural contexts and discuss their importance and applications to investigating intercultural communication at Shanghai-BDK. I then review how issues of intercultural communication have been studied in the context of multinational organizations. Following my review, I set forth how I will approach the relationship between phenomena of intercultural communication and organizational factors in this study.

2.1. SITUATIONAL CONTEXTS

Goodwin and Duranti (1992) discuss four dimensions of context; this implies that conceptualization of "context" in most intercultural communication research is very limited. They list: 1) setting, 2) behavioral environment, 3) language as context, and 4) extrasituational context. "Setting" refers to the larger activity and social space in which communicative events actually occur and includes the organization of participants' access to the environment. "Behavioral environment" concerns the way in which participants use their bodies to frame their talk. "Language as context" refers to the way in which "talk itself both invokes context and provides context for other talk" (p.7). "Extrasituational context" is comparable to the traditional notion of context in intercultural communication studies; it includes background knowledge of interlocutors that extends beyond the immediate talk and environment, such as the socio-cultural context in which the environment is situated and talk occurs.

Many other scholars besides Goodwin and Duranti also discuss the importance of contexts other than extrasituational ones. Hymes (1972; 1974), the founder of Ethnography of Communication, has given significant consideration to the notion of contexts. The notion of context in Ethnography of Communication originates in the SPEAKING model proposed by Hymes. In Hymes' (1972;1974) SPEAKING model, each letter of SPEAKING corresponds to an element to be considered as a context for the analysis of communicative events. S—*setting*—refers to when and where communicative events occur; temporal and spatial element of communication events need to be taken into account. P—*participants*—refers to who is participating in an communicative event; this also refers to the backgrounds of participants, such as age, gender, ethnicity, and race, as well as to the relationships between participants. E—*ends*—refers to why communicative events take place; the goal of communicative events needs to be defined. A—*act sequences*—refers to the way in which message form and content are coordinated to produce the meaning. K—*key*—refers to how verbal and non-verbal acts are carried out in terms of tone and manner.

I—*instrumentalities*—includes which language code, variety, or register, is being used. N—*norms*—involves the notion of common ground; shared knowledge and understanding among participants about their communicative acts should be addressed. G—*genres*—refers to categories of communicative events or texts; if it is poem, tale, riddle, etc. Types of contexts described above indicate the wide and diverse range of social phenomena that influence communicative practices.

Goodwin and Duranti (1992) maintain that researchers need to be aware of the vast range of contexts that influence communicative practice. However, most of the situational contexts described above have been ignored in most intercultural communication studies because of a focus on the extrasituational context, especially on the background knowledge about native characteristics of individuals. Inquiry of the generalization and prediction of phenomena based on an abstract, pre-determined categorization of cultures and individuals is incompatible with the emphasis on detailed and specific knowledge of a particular communicative event and the elaboration of the notions of contexts as such. This is associated with the paucity of empirical studies of naturally occurring interactions in intercultural settings (Sunaoshi, 1999). Such a paucity is both a result of and a reason for the fact that the importance of various situational contexts for intercultural communication has been devalued.

On the other hand, empirical and detailed analysis of actual interactions has been the primary course of analysis among scholars who specialize in the relationship between spoken language and society (e.g., sociolinguists, linguistic anthropologists, ethnographers of communication) and among those who focus on the sequential organization of talk (conversation analysts). Although these scholars vary in the methodologies they use (e.g., discourse analysis, ethnography of communication, conversation analysis), they share the philosophy that language should be studied as something embedded within the contexts of interlocutors' actions. They also share the philosophy that "culture" should be studied as something evoked by the use of language within the context of a particular communicative action, regardless of what "culture" might refer to in each context. For example, Carbaugh, an ethnographer of communication, (1996) regards linguistic discourse as the active embodiment of interlocutors' identities and the driving force for the salience of the "scene," or setting. He asserts that phenomena of socio-cultural identity are very much situated in particular practical scenes, such as basketball games, wedding ceremonies, and talk shows. As Agar (1986) posits, as individuals continuously embody their identity cast by the immediate environment, they also (re)create the meaning of the environment, leading to the creation and perpetuation of culture as the aggregation of such practices. Conversation analysts typically place more emphasis on talk than "culture." Schegloff (1987) argues that talk, as it actually occurring in interactions, is the first unit of society. In the paradigm of "interactionism," cultural structure and mind do not drive communication; rather, they are products of interactional processes (Kendon, 1990).

These scholars view culture as emerging through the process of communication, that constructs collective knowledge and identities of individuals as communicators; they do not regard culture as controlling psychological and behavioral trails of an individual. While knowledge and identity constructed through communication might derive from individuals' native backgrounds, it might be more related to what they are doing right then as interlocutors. For a better understanding of the knowledge and identity individuals are collectively constructing, we need to know the particulars of the communicative events they are engaging in. Although the majority of empirical, detailed studies of actual interactions are about monolingual settings, I consider such a view on culture should be applicable for examining multilingual and intercultural settings, such as Shanghai-BDK.

Therefore, with reference to the theories mentioned above, I would like present four important situational contexts which need to be incorporated into the analysis of intercultural communication in the workplace—with particularly attention to the fieldsite understudy—Shanghai-BDK. They are: task, local environment (bodily use of artifacts), language, and common ground (shared knowledge). In the following sections, I will briefly review what these contexts mean and explain why they are important in the context of intercultural communication at Shanghai-BDK.

2.1.1. Task[2]

I define the context of "task" as that which interlocutors, as professionals, attempt to achieve or are supposed to achieve in a particular interaction in a particular workplace at a particular time. In the context of Shanghai-BDK, "task" refers to joint activities of members, such as creating a new name for a new product, establishing a budget, persuading clients about ideas, modifying a poster, and so on. Identifying tasks in which interlocutors are engaging is important for analyzing communicative practices in the workplace, because the nature of the significant part of communicative practices in the workplace is task oriented (Drew & Heritage, 1992; Sunaoshi, 1999). The type of task indicates the frameworks that "provide for the interpretability and efficacy of performative utterance" (Austin, 1962, cited in Goodwin & Duranti, 1992, p.17). Tasks provide "the infrastructure through which the utterance gains its force as a particular type of action" (Goodwin & Duranti, 1992, p.17) and constrain and enable interlocutors' conducts (Drew & Heritage, 1992). It might be said that the type of task gives rationale to communicative acts which occur within its framework (Allwood, 1995). That is, since every specific task has a purpose, identifying the task also explains why certain communicative acts occur (which means identifying E--*ends*--in Hymes' SPEAKING model). In this regard,

---

2 In discussing task as a context, I draw on Levinson's (1979) "activity type," which he theorizes as "goal defined, socially constituted, bounded events with constraints on participants, settings, and so on, but above all on the kind of allowable contributions" (p. 368). I do not use "activity type" as a context to be considered for my study because this concept is too general, considering the range of communicative events I study. That is, one activity type, such as "creative meeting at an advertising firm" would account for almost all the data I have, making it impossible to distinguish more specific tasks interlocutors engage in each meeting.

communication in the workplace is different from other types of communication, such as conversations over dinner, chit-chatting among peers, small talk at a party, and so on.

Task is also related to the organizational roles of members, which frequently involve power relationships between members of different hierarchies or statuses, as well as between peers. Drew and Heritage (1992) characterize the communication between interlocutors of different hierarchies and positions as asymmetrical. They maintain that an important dimension of asymmetry stems from the "question-answer pattern" of interactions (p.49). Their theorization arises primarily from cases of medical consultation, in which individuals with more institutional power and/or knowledge ask questions of laypersons with less institutional power and/or knowledge. Because these individuals have more knowledge than the laypersons, and because they are in the position of question-asker, they are able to control the agenda of interactions. Accordingly, they argue that who is a more knowledgeable and informed participant is determined by "role-structured, institutionalized, and omnirelevant asymmetries between participants" (p.49). Simply put, who an individual is with respect to knowledge status in a particular organization determines the type of relation that individual has with other participants, and thus determines the way they interact with each other.

However, this rigid way of looking at interactional asymmetries is not applicable to understand communications occurring at Shanghai-BDK, for two reasons. First, it is not always the more knowledgeable person that asks questions at Shanghai-BDK. Rather, interlocutors become questioners more often when they are less knowledgeable about the particular topic or product under discussion. For example, Japanese employees (both resident employees working in the Shanghai office and those from the Tokyo headquarters) frequently ask Shanghainese employees about the people and society of Shanghai and China when they discuss marketing strategies or creative plans for advertisements. This does not necessarily mean that the Japanese employees have less expertise across any task-oriented situation in Shanghai BDK.

Second, being more powerful or maintaining a higher position within a theoretical hierarchy does not necessarily translate into holding more knowledge or expertise across any task-related situation. At Shanghai-BDK, members in higher organizational positions, such as the creative director or general manager, may have less expertise or knowledge about a particular product, market, or design under discussion, even though they have the authority to set agendas or make administrative decisions. Also, higher frequencies of polite language or honorific by members of socially powerless groups does not necessarily determine their communicative powerlessness; interlocutors can actually control conversation by their use of polite language (Buckely, 1997; Keating, 1999). It is crucial to remember that neither profession (e.g., designer, copywriter, account executive) nor organizational position (e.g., general manager, creative director, subordinate) alone determine the agenda of interactional practice and experiences. An interlocutor's profession or organizational position is an attribute and should be considered like other attributes, such as race, ethnicity, or nationality.

Although the professional or organizational attribute is more closely related to communication in the workplace than "native" background, it does not control the communication in the workplace. Rather, it is indexed by the communication occurring in context of a particular task.

2.1.2. Local environment

Local environment is referred to as "setting" by Goodwin and Duranti (1992) and Hymes (1972;1974). Goodwin and Duranti in particular include both social and physical aspects in their term "setting." Social setting seems to mean a unit of "community," such as school, workplace, church, in which every day communicative events occur. Physical setting indicates temporal and spatial dimensions—an immediate and local environment in which a particular communicative event is occurring. Although the two senses of "setting" cannot be precisely distinguished from each other, for the purpose of my argument, which is to demonstrate the importance of more specific and situational contexts, I will emphasize the physical aspect of "setting."

As Lebaron and Streeck (1997) state, communicative practices always occur in a particular, local, and physical environment. They claim that a local environment itself is "a constraint and a resource" for communicative practices; the spatial environment itself serves as a context (p.1). When considering the context of the spatical environment, it is important to know that it includes artifacts and the physical bodies (of interlocutors) present. Interlocutors' access to artifacts and others' bodies—whether directly or remotely—is included in the context. Engestrom and Middleton (1996) contend that artifacts mediate work practices and can make people "smart." That is, how interlocutors are able to access or use artifacts affects how they communicate with each other. As Engestrom and Middleton state, artifacts are "not just there" (p. 4). They matter for communication, including intercultural communication.

Studies by interactionist researchers explore ways in which interlocutor use artifacts in their local environment. For example, Lebaron and Streeck (1997) argue that by appropriating artifacts in particular ways, interlocutors can control their communicative territory and their bodily orientation to other interlocutors; this process becomes a metaphorical framework of the interlocutors' experience. Goodwin and Goodwin (1996) look at how interlocutors "see" objects. Through their analysis, they demonstrate that a particular lexical choice integrated with visual information of objects construct talks. By visually accessing objects, interlocutors can display a range of alternative attitudes toward the task in which they are engaging. Goodwin and Goodwin especially discuss how participants in a particular task-oriented setting (e.g., an operations room of an airport) resolve problems by including the information about the object into the talk. Coulon (1994) states, "social reality consists of cultural objects and social interaction" (p.5). All interactions, or communicative acts, in the contemporary world occur in an environment that consists of artifacts. They are so commonplace and almost invisible, buried in our everyday lives, that we tend to ignore the effect of the artifacts on our communication. Appradurai (1995) claims that artifacts have social lives as people do. Conscious attention to the social aspect of artifacts contextually related to communicative practices will deepen our understanding of intercultural communication as well.

Artifacts have great impact on the communicative practices at Shanghai-BDK for two reasons. One reason lies in the fact that Shanghai-BDK is an advertisement firm. Because the members of Shanghai-BDK engage in the production of advertisements, most of their communication involves task-related artifacts such as product packaging, posters, animated commercials, and so on. Such artifacts are inevitable, crucial resources for their task and focal points of their communication. Therefore, the way interlocutors appropriate such artifacts directly affects how they communicate with each other and collaboratively achieve their task at hand. The second reason is that Shanghai-BDK is a multi-lingual community. Since interlocutors do not always share a common language, artifacts frequently become the only medium to be equally shared among all interlocutors.[3]. Therefore, which artifacts are present and how interlocutors bodily access those artifacts frequently influence the way interlocutors communicate with each other beyond language barriers. When sharing no common language, interlocutors use objects to communicate and/or to "get things done." For example, they might point to a part of product to tell others what color they think is best, or draw a line on a poster to show they understand criticism. Noteworthy in these examples is that interlocutors succeed in communicating and/or "getting things done" at many times. Thus, when we focus on the interactional nature of intercultural communication, rather than the dichotomy

[3] Although translation is usually available to interlocutors at Shanghai-BDK, the language being translated cannot be considered a common medium among all interlocutors.

between two entities like Chinese and Japanese, the local environment surrounding communicative events, including artifacts and bodies, becomes a vital context. Duranti (1997) states that "the way in which we define the world around us is part of the constitution of the world" (p.19). Interlocutors, by appropriating environmental resources into their communication, (re)define the meaning of the environmental resources from being simple artifacts to being resources for communication.

2.1.3. Language

Emphasis on theorizing the relationship between individuals' cultural backgrounds and communication leads one to regard language as an outcome or reflection of culturally determined ways of viewing the world. Therefore, by studying the language that interlocutors use, researchers are supposedly able to reach an understanding of which worldviews interlocutors possess – the worldview determined by the interlocutors' native background. However, scholars such as Duranti (1992) and Basso (1992) sheds light on other aspects of language than the indication of native cultural backgrounds. That is, the way interlocutors use language (e.g., lexical choice) is a catalyst for the activity, social relationships, and social personae related to the ongoing communicative event.

For example, Duranti (1992) maintains that in Samoan society we cannot predict lexical choice, such as whether interlocutors will use respectful words or ordinary words, based solely on interlocutors' status or rank. Duranti shows that while such a lexical choice can be determined by interlocutors' social status or rank, it can also be an emergent pragmatic force that constrains interlocutors' behaviors. The use of respectful words by interlocutors with lower status or rank functions as evoking obligations that interlocutors expect from each other in their social relationship or in the activity in which they are engaging, thus controling subsequent behaviors. Basso (1992) maintains that by the use of subtle and semantically insignificant linguistic features in narratives, such as repetition, speakers influence how their stories should be interpreted by their listeners. The speaker's particular ways of using language contextualize the listener's construction of the story being told. Duranti proposes that "we are moving toward a different characterization of the relationship between context and language"--one in which, language not only defines context but also *is* context (p.87). Duranti also affirms that the use of language is certainly influenced by existing socio-cultural contexts as well. Duranti characterizes the relationshp between language and context as "reflexive," claiming that how interlocutors use language defines the relationship between interlocutors and the activity underway.

The reflexivity between language and context is illustrated by the code-switching that takes place at Shanghai-BDK. Shanghai-BDK is a multi-lingual community, in which the primary languages spoken are Japanese, Mandarin, and Shanghainese; interlocutors have, more or less, options for which language they speak. Similar to Duranti's (1992) findings about Samoan society, which language interlocutors use is not predictable based solely on their native background or fluency in the language. While the choice of language is shaped by specific task-oriented situations, it also frequently activates and deactivates social relationships between interlocutors and interlocutors' engagement in the (communicative) activity underway. For example, some Japanese employees do not speak Japanese with each other despite the fact that the conversation is occurring only between them, deactivating their national-cultural bond and activating other kinds of bonds among interlocutors. An interlocutor's language choice is not only the outcome of practical consideration for transmitting information but also an indicator of who is teaming up with whom and who becomes the "other" at particular moments. Code-switching is a context-defined and context-defining activity.

Conversation analysts also recognize the dual nature of language use as context-defined and context-defining. However, conversation analysts typically do not focus on interlocutors' expectations and interpretations of the way language is used when analyzing the relationship between language and context. Instead, they look at the sequential organization of utterances as they are situated in particular interactions. For conversation analysts, "context" means a unit of sequences and turns within sequences, both of which are units of analysis. According to Heritage and Atkinson (1984), every utterance occurs within a specific sequence, and whatever is said has to be said in a sequential context. They propose that the meaning of utterances is "determined by reference to what is accomplished in relation to some sequentially prior utterance or set of utterances" (p. 6). In this perspective, the sequential organization of utterances "provide[s] a powerful and readily accessible point of entry in the unavoidable contextedess of actual talk" (Heritage and Atkinson, 1984, p.6). Heritage states, "every utterance in conversation is doubly contextual in being both context-shaped and context-renewing" (p.242). For conversation analysts, the dual nature of language is recognized not because interlocutors have various interpretations of a particular utterance, but because every utterance occurs after and before another utterance in some particular sequence.

An example of tasks in which the sequentially-driven context-renewing nature of language plays an especially important role is the production of advertisements. The production of advertisements requires teamwork and it frequently occurs at Shanghai-BDK that an original idea by a designer or a copywriter is modified as a result of this teamwork. A word or a sentence originally used in a sequence to criticize the original idea under discussion becomes a resource for a new idea. The perspective taken by conversation analysts is also useful in understanding the process of such a joint creative activity; conversation analysis shows that contexts for the production of new ideas emerge from the talk interlocutors engage in *per se.*

To recapitulate, conventional approaches to intercultural communication studies, regard interlocutors as passive users of language; interlocutors' "cultural baggage," which is constructed apart from their actual use of language determines their use of language. Language is also regarded as a passive agent of cultural property that interlocutors possess. However, scholars who undertake empirical analyses of interactions demonstrate that language not only indicates but also constitutes contexts for the communicative event in which it is being used. By examining how interlocutors use language, these scholars attempt to not only confirm "who they are" about interlocutors in socio-cultural terms, but also to examine "what they do" within a specific communicative event. Although those scholars have different views as to whether or not language is related to extrasituational factors such as interlocutors' native background, it seems more beneficial for intercultural communication researchers to embrace such variety and not to be restricted in identifying what language does and what interlocutors achieve by language in intercultural communication.

2.1.4. Common ground

Most intercultural communication studies emphasize national and/or ethnic cultural differences, thus frequently begin at the point of identifying what interlocutors from different cultural groups do *not* share. Beliefs, norms, attitudes and communication styles are typically among the aspects of communication that interlocutors in intercultural settings do not share. But what might interlocutors in intercultural settings share, *in spite of*, *regardless of*, or *because of* their differing native cultural backgrounds?

Clark (1996) argues that it is impossible for interlocutors to coordinate communicative actions, meaning, and understanding without referring to their "common ground," which he defines as the sum of interlocutors' "mutual, common, or joint knowledge, beliefs, and suppositions" (p.93). He states that communication is more than "the sum of a speaker speaking and a listener listening" (p.3). It is a "joint action" in which speakers and listeners perform their individual actions in coordination with each other, as an "ensemble"; such joint action or coordination is possible only when rooted in common ground (p.3). Clark divides "common ground" into two categories: communal common ground and personal common ground. Communal common ground refers to what individuals share as members of a certain cultural group, system, or network--what Clark calls "cultural community." While communal common ground may refer to "native" attributes such as nationality, race, ethnicity, or language, it can also refer to attributes determined by what they do professionally, such as the creative team of, account executive team, or a project team of Shanghai-BDK. Clark defines cultural community as "a set of people with a shared expertise that other communities lack" (p.102). Expertise, according to Clark, not only refers to professional skills and knowledge but also to knowledge about the community, such as the geography of one's home country (e.g., where Tokyo is located in Japan), members' names (e.g. colleagues' names at Shanghai-BDK), or the location of artifacts in a office (e.g., where one can find new floppy disks).

On the other hand, personal common ground can be constructed only upon communal common ground and is primarily based on direct, joint personal experiences. Clark associates the degree of personal common ground among interlocutors with the degree of closeness of interpersonal relationships. He proposes four levels of interpersonal intimacy: 1. Strangers: no personal common ground; 2. Acquaintances: limited personal common ground; 3. Friends: extensive personal common ground; 4. Intimates: extensive personal common ground, including private information.

When considering the common ground in the context of Shanghai-BDK, however, the distinction between communal common ground and personal common ground does not seem very clear and useful. In the task-oriented settings and communication, the amount of direct and joint experiences does not necessarily indicate the intimacy of the interpersonal relationship. The primary part of the direct joint experiences occurring at Shanghai-BDK almost always involves task-oriented, or professional, communication. Shared knowledge constructed through task-oriented communication in professional settings is "communal" by nature, although it may at times be personal as well. Therefore, most of the direct and joint experiences between members of Shanghai-BDK serve not only as the basis for personal common ground but also as the basis for communal common ground.

Nevertheless, common ground itself is a significant concept to be incorporated into the study of communicative phenomena at Shanghai-BDK in that it helps us to realize that, despite the fact Shanghai-BDK is a multi-cultural and multi-lingual community, members of Shanghai-BDK share a fair amount of knowledge, experiences, and expertise with each other. For example, Kawamura is a Japanese member of Shanghai-BDK; Tang and Ning are Shanghainese. Therefore, Kawamura certainly does not share with Tang and Ning the common ground created by similar nationalities or ethnicities. This makes Kawamura a novice and other two experts when they discuss consumer trends in Shanghai. Yet, because both Tang and Ning are fluent in Japanese, conversation among the three frequently roots in the common ground of being able to speak Japanese. In contrast, when Kawamura mentions the name of cities in Japan in order to evoke a certain image, only Kawamura and Tang share the particular common ground of having lived in Tokyo (since Tang used to live in Tokyo). Another example is that of Oyama and Zhou. Oyama is Japanese, usually works for Tokyo headquarters, and speaks no Mandarin. Zhou is Shanghainese, works for the Shanghai office, and speaks no Japanese. In these respects, they have no common ground. However, as television commercial planners, they share professional expertise about the production of television commercials. This common ground frequently facilitates their interactions beyond cultural and language barriers. For instance, they both have knowledge of film editing devices, so one knows why the other would prefer to use a certain device. They are also familiar with various animation effects, and both can draw quickly and skillfully to illustrate what they have in mind.

To coordinate particular communicative acts, however, interlocutors do not need to refer to all of what they share (Clark, 1996). Sharing native-cultural background may be at times a communicative context and resource, but this is not always the case (it frequently is not at Shanghai-BDK). Likewise, shared professional expertise or knowledge about a community may be useful common ground, or it may not be required at all for communication underway, depending on what interlocutors are attempting to do. Therefore, identifying the necessary common ground(s) for particular communicative events also requires defining both extrasituational and situational contexts for the communicative events. Whether it is nationality, ethnicity, race, professional expertise, communal knowledge, personal experience, or something else, common ground is activated only via interlocutors' collaborative reference within the framework of a specific situation. For a better understanding of intercultural communication, and communication in general, researchers need to examine which common ground interlocutors are relying on and how that common ground functions as a resource for communicative coordination.

2.2. INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION IN MULTINATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Other than conventional national cultural contexts and the four situational contexts I just proposed, the fact that Shanghai-BDK is a multinational organization needs to be addressed; this project is also characterized as a study of intercultural communication in a multinational organization.

Multinational organizations (MNOs) have become increasingly important in the world economy. Many companies from the U.S., Europe, and East Asia have expanded their market through subsidiaries all over the world; international joint ventures have been growing as well. Especially the number of Chinese-foeign joint ventures has rapidly increased since 1990, one of which is Shanghai-BDK. As companies have become multi-national and have internationalized their operations, communication within and between organizations has become more troubled by intercultural issues. As the need for understanding intercultural issues and resolving the problems they raise has grown, the amount of research about MNOs has increased (Shuter & Wiseman, 1994).

Shuter and Wiseman (1994) identify two primary approaches in research and theory on MNOs. One approach emphasizes organizational universals, and the other emphasizes the influence of national culture on organizational behaviors. The organizational universals approach postulates that organizational behaviors can be studied regardless of national cultural differences. For example, leadership principles are frequently considered to be applicable across various national cultures. Studies by Howe (1971), Vroom and Yetton (1973), and Hersey and Blancherd (1982) show that these scholars attempt to define good leadership styles regardless of national cultures. In addition, effective leadership traits are considered to be universal (Sarros, 1992; Wittenberg-Cox, 1991; Thornton, 1990). Among these traits are flexibility, sense of humor, patience, resourcefulness. Abe and Wiseman (1983) and Ruben (1977) regard similar traits as necessary for intercultural effectiveness worldwide. Further, Shuter and Wiseman (1994) identify other aspects of MNOs toward which scholars frequently take the organizational universals approach. They are: elements related to successful sojourn, principles for effective communication between MNOs and their subsidiaries, and vital elements for successful global marketing. It is interesting to note, however, that some scholars criticize that evidence of organizational universals is shown only with respect to western countries, claiming that organizations in Asian countries, such as Japan or Hong Kong, have different organizational structures and behaviors (Donaldson, 1986; Lincoln & Kaleberg, 1990; Redding & Pugh, 1986).

In contrast, intercultural communication scholars typically focus on examining national cultural influence on organizational behaviors in their research on MNOs. Shuter and Wiseman (1994) divide the literature examining national cultural influence on organizational behaviors into two categories, namely "etic" and "emic" approaches. (Note that their use of "etic/emic" seems to be deviated and generalized from the original definition and use of these terms, which Kenneth Pike is responsible for.[4]) The "etic" approach assumes that national cultures can be categorized according to values that members of each culture have, and it frequently conducts cross-national examinations on various organizational dynamics for the purpose of comparing different cultural types. On the other hand, "emic" approach attempts to reach conclusions about organizational dynamics within a specific country and does not emphasize categorizing or comparing cultural types of organizations.

In the etic approach to organizations, cultural taxonomies such as individualism-collectivism are frequently used as scales to compare organizational behaviors cross-culturally. For example, Smith and Tayeb (1988) argue that individuals from collectivistic cultures, such as Japan, Taiwan, and India, are likely attracted by a single effective leadership style, whereas those from individualistic cultures, such as the U.S., regard various leadership styles as effective. Stewart (1985) maintains that national cultural values drive organizational decision-making. He states that individualistic cultures, such as the U.S. and Britain, use a technical and logical style of decision- making, in contrast with collectivist cultures such as Japan, which prefer a social-collective style of decision-making. Kim and Paulk (1994) investigate interview-based research of a Japanese subsidiary in the U.S., concluding that "culturally programmed differences" are actually played out in everyday interactions between American and Japanese co-workers (p.139). Other scholars, such as Bass,

---

[4] See, Kenneth Pike, Language in relation to a unified theory of the structure of human behavior (Glendale, CA: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1954).

Doktor, and Barrett (1979) or Adler (1991), also affirm the close relationship between national cultural values and organizational behaviors.

Conclusions gained from emic type of research frequently serve as guidelines for "how to do business" in a specific country, as well as add insight to the body of scholarly literature. Many scholars have conducted research in organizations in East Asia, especially in Japan. For example, Nonaka (1990) is among those who study Japanese organizations; he characterizes Japanese organizations as "redundant" and "overlapping," and identifies the Japanese style of managing innovation processes with these traits. Goldman (1994) examines the concept "*ningensei* "(=human beingness) as central to communication practices in Japanese MNOs, and emphasizes the importance of "cultural preparedness" for the success of international business (p.71). In contrast, Shutter and Wiseman state, organizational research in Latin America and Africa is scant, with most of the few research available on Mexico and Nigeria.

Having understood the two approaches in research and theory on MNOs (i.e., the approach which seeks organizational universals and the approach which examines influence of national culture on organizational behavior), I argue that researchers should not be restricted by either perspective as they pursue a better understanding of intercultural communication in MNOs. My study will show that how cultural differences, physical or cognitive, influence communications in MNOs depends on particulars of events and individuals' experiences. Organizational universals as well as cultural differences may or may not be applicable depending on the situation. I further intend to explore what kind of organizational factors may perpetuate or deconstruct national cultural differences in particular communicative phenomena, and how they do so. For example, when an organizational hierarchy plays a vital role in intercultural communication, how are national cultural differences related or unrelated to communication? Or, how and when does national culture become significant or insignificant to the notion and practice of membership or teamwork in MNOs? Dominance of either approach--seeking for organizational universals or cultural differences--would not help us to address these questions. Intercultural communication is a complex and dynamic phenomenon. Especially when it occurs in the context of MNOs, intercultural communications is intertwined with numerous organizational factors other than "intercultural" or "communicative" factors, thus increasing its complexity and dynamism. As Cooren (1999) states, "the 'organizational' story is always 'in progress'" (p.2). So is the "intercultural" story. With the realization of such complexity and dynamism, we need to abandon oversimplified ways of analyzing the relationship between organizational communication and national culture, moving beyond asking whether the relationship is there or not. Rather, we need to investigate the ways in which organizational stories and intercultural stories are influential or not on each other.

Chapter 3. Research Setting and Methodology

In this chapter, I first provide an overview of the fieldsite for the study, Shanghai-BDK, including description of its location and members. Secondly, I explain the research methods used for the study, considering their specific operation in my study.

3.1. Fieldsite: Shanghai-BDK, Shanghai, China

3.1.1. Overview

Shanghai-BDK is a joint-venture advertising firm comprised of a state-managed Chinese firm (Shanghai Advertising Design) and a private-sector Japanese firm (Tokyo-BDK) in Shanghai, China. It was established in the beginning of 1993, as one of the earliest Chinese-Japanese joint venture advertising firms in China. While the annual business volume in 1993 was 16 million *yuan* (which equals about 2 million US dollars), its business volume grew rapidly through 1998; its annual business volume reached 57 million *yuan* (which equals about 7 million US dollars) in 1996, and in 1998, 110 million *yuan* (which equals about 13 million US dollars). From 1993 to 1998, the business volume of the advertising industry in China grew four-fold, and the business volume of Shanghai-BDK grew seven-fold. Because of this rapid growth, Shanghai-BDK took its position among the top fifty advertising firms in China in 1995 and among the top ten advertising firms in Shanghai in 1999. Approximately 80% of Shanghai-BDK's clients are Japanese companies, which are developing and expanding their market in China.[5] Shanghai-BDK manages various products, including beer, canned beverages, instant noodles, confectionery, washing machines, cars, printers, female sanitary products, cosmetics, bathtubs, televisions, and air conditioners. When I conducted my fieldwork, in the summer of 1999, there were 43 people working for Shanghai-BDK, seven of whom were Japanese resident employees.

3.1.2. Shanghai and Shanghai-BDK

Shanghai is located on the east southeast shoreline of China. With the population of 14 million, it is the central city of the Special Economic Open Development Area of communist China, in which economic activities of (modified) capitalism have been practiced since 1990. Shanghai has been one of the most modern, international, and richest cities in China since the colonization by western countries began in 1930s. Its rapid economic growth in the 1990s, especially during the last few years of that decade, was accompanied by the creation of a rapidly increasing number of Chinese-foreign joint ventures and an increasing inflow of foreigners. Along with the economic development of Shanghai, many Chinese nationals have begun to relocate to the city of Shanghai. In China, individuals cannot, without administrative permission, freely move out from the place in which he or she was born and is registered as a resident. (There

[5] According to regulations by the government of the People's Republic of China (PRC), all foreign companies in China (PRC) must be joint ventures with Chinese companies, with a few exceptions. Therefore, all the Japanese clients of Shanghai-BDK are technically Chinese-Japanese joint ventures. However, most clients of Shanghai-BDK use or modify the name of original Japanese companies as their corporation names and have Japanese executives occupying the most important organizational position. More importantly, members at Shanghai-BDK practically regard these clients as "Japanese" companies rather than Chinese-Japanese joint ventures

are several ways in which individuals can legally move their residency to another place--one is to enroll in a college in that place.) Many of those that relocate to Shanghai become illegal residents whose economic status and living standard are usually lower than those of local Shanghai residents. The sharp contrast between these poor illegal residents and privileged foreigners is indicative of what Shanghai is like now. On one street, one finds a girl with bare feet and torn clothes selling fruits, and on another street, one finds a gorgeous mansion used as a restaurant, in which one meal costs more than the average monthly salary of the local Shanghainese. Clearly, there are individuals left behind in the economic growth of Shanghai; however, people working for Chinese-foreign joint ventures such as Shanghai-BDK have benefited from the growth.

Shanghai-BDK is located on one of the most lively, crowded, and fashionable streets in Shanghai. There are several five-star hotels, high-class department stores, and shops that sell imported goods nearby. The office of Shanghai-BDK is located on the seventh floor of a business building filled with other Chinese-foreign joint ventures. For example, in the room adjacent to the office of Shanghai-BDK is a Chinese-British joint venture based on a globally established real estate firm from Britain. It is not unusual to see people from Britain and Australia and to hear English conversations in the hallways and elevators of the building. As many people I met in Shanghai say, the area in which Shanghai-BDK is located is not representative of Shanghai, although it, in a way, symbolizes the current Shanghai. The local employees at Shanghai-BDK are not the richest people in Shanghai; however, readers should know that working for Chinese-foreign joint ventures is still uncommon and carries status.

3.1.3. Members of Shanghai-BDK

The fact that Shanghai-BDK is a joint venture provides for a naturally multicultural and multilingual environment. Among the 43 people employed by Shanghai-BDK, there are seven Japanese; five speak Mandarin as their second language and two speak only Japanese. The proficiency of Mandarin varies across the five bilingual Japanese members, from advanced to intermediate levels. Among the 36 Chinese members, five speak Japanese as their second language with varying proficiency. Most Chinese members of Shanghai-BDK are from Shanghai and natively speak the local language, Shanghainese, in addition to the official language of China, Mandarin. Mandarin is one of the five major languages (dialects) spoken in mainland China, and it is the official language of the People's Republic of China. All Chinese employees at Shanghai-BDK natively speak both Mandarin and Shanghainese with each other, and they speak Mandarin with Japanese members and frequently among themselves in task-oriented situations. While both Mandarin and Japanese are used for communication at Shanghai-BDK, which language is used is contingent upon the particulars of any situation (e.g., participants and occasion.) Sometimes participants use one or the other language exclusively, and at other times both languages are used with code-switching. However, not all of the members are bilinguals of Japanese and Mandarin. Bilingual members are either on international account executive teams or in the sales promotion department, and most of the bilinguals, who frequently play the role of translator, are not sophisticated speakers of their second language. Additionally, people from Tokyo-BDK, (i.e., the Japanese side, or headquarters, of Shanghai-BDK as a joint venture) with little or no knowledge of Mandarin frequently participate in projects in Shanghai. These people from Tokyo-BDK are important participants in the intercultural community of Shanghai-BDK and appear in my data as "Japanese members." As a consequence, members at Shanghai-BDK constantly face difficulties, whether major or minor, due to linguistic inability.

Except for Mori, the Japanese vice president, and Suzuki, the director of the sales promotion department, all Japanese members are working as account executives and are in the position of directly negotiating with Japanese clients. There are two international account executive teams; Kawamura and Goda, two vice general managers of Shanghai BDK, function as the director of each team (although their titles do not indicate this). Other Japanese members who are subordinate to either Kawamura or Goda hold titles such as manager or vice manager and, with reference to the organizational hierarchy, are positioned either equal to or higher than most Chinese members. According to Koyama, a Japanese female account executive, this is done so that Japanese members have the power to control Chinese members.

Sections other than international creative teams and the sales promotion department consist entirely of Chinese members. These sections are the creative team, the market research department, the media planning department, and the financial administration department; members therein are called "staff" as opposed to "AE," (i.e, account executive). Most often, an AE is responsible for client negotiation and leads a project team consisting of several staff members. Under the AE's direction and supervision, staff members produce actual materials such as ad-copies and poster designs. According to Chi-Tang, a Chinese copy writer, a primary distinction between an AE and staff is that an AE deals with Japanese clients while staff deal with Chinese consumers and the market. Chi-Tang states, "Only Chinese know what attracts Chinese . . . That's why they (Japanese members) need us (Chinese members) for creative work."

According to my observations, among the staff members, it is the members of the creative team who engage in more intensive communication with AEs; thus, they appear more in my data. The director of the creative team is Lin, who is also one of the vice general managers of Shanghai-BDK. She used to work for Shanghai Advertising Design, the Chinese side of the joint venture (the state-managed company), and joined Shanghai-BDK upon the merger. Except for Lin, who is a female in her 40s, all members of the creative team are in their 20s or early 30s. There are two female copywriters; all others are male.

Additionally, there are one Chinese receptionist, two Chinese drivers, and one Chinese janitor. Although they are not involved in the advertising work of Shanghai-BDK, they are characters in the intercultural society of Shanghai-BDK.

Figure 3.1: Organizational diagram with nationality

*Note 1: Numbers in parentheses indicate the number of the team / department, not including the vice general manager, who is also the head of the department.
*Note 2: JPN indicates Japanese members and CHI indicates Chinese members.

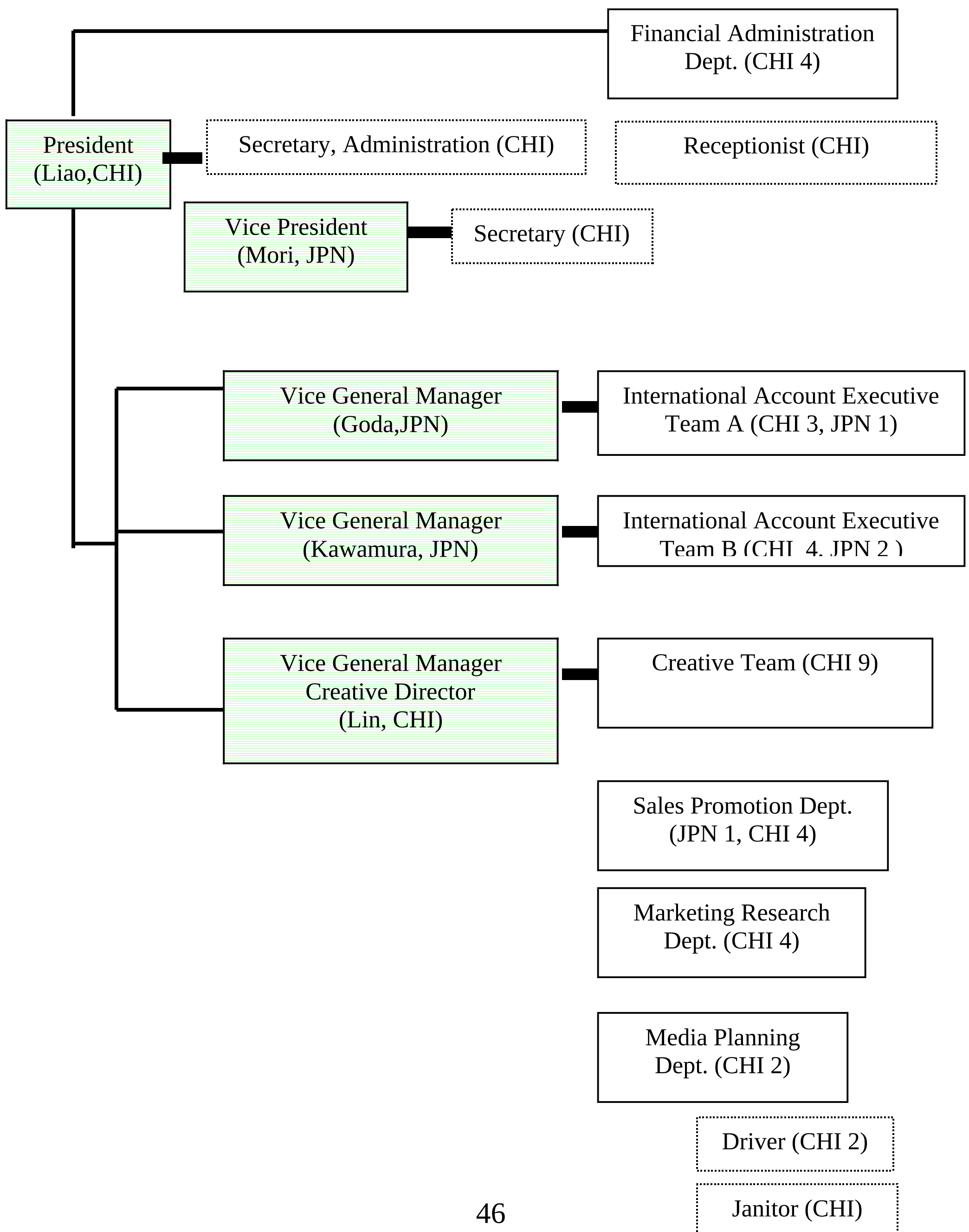

Table 3.1: Bilingual Members of Shanghai-BDK

*Note 1: Proficiency of the second language (L2) varies across members.
*Note 2: The data given concerning age is derived from both factual information and observer speculation.

International Account Executive Team A

Name (Nationality, Sex, Age)	Position	L1	L2
Goda (Japanese, Male, 40)	Vice General Manager	Japanese	Mandarin
Koyama (Japanese, Female, 36)	Vice Manager	Japanese	Mandarin
Guang (Chinese, Male, 40)	Vice Manager	Mandarin	
Gao (Chinese, Male, 35)		Mandarin	Japanese
Chu (Chinese, Male, 33)			Mandarin

International Account Executive Team B

Name (Nationality, Sex, Age)	Position	L1	L2
Kawamura (Japanese, Male, 40)	Vice General Manager	Japanese	Mandarin
Gin (Chinese, Male, 42)	Manager	Mandarin	Japanese
Tang (Chinese, Male, 40)	Manager	Mandarin	Japanese
Okano (Japanese, Male, 37)	Vice Manager	Japanese	Mandarin
Namino (Japanese, Male, 36)	Vice Manager	Japanese	Mandarin
Ning (Chinese, Male, 23)		Mandarin	Japanese
Shu (Chinese, Male, 31)		Mandarin	Japanese

Sales Promotion Department

Name (Nationality, Sex, Age)	Position	L1	L2
Suzuki (Japanese, Male, 43)	Manager	Japanese	
Yu (Chinese, Male, 35)	Vice Manager	Mandarin	
Hou (Chinese, Male, 32)		Mandarin	Japanese
Xu(Chinese, Male, 33)		Mandarin	
Jun (Chinese, Female, 38)		Mandarin	

3.2. RESEARCH METHODS

This study is based on fieldwork (which I conducted for two months—from Monday through Friday and on several weekends, generally from 8:30 a.m. to 6:00 p.m.) that includes participant observation followed by note-taking and interviews, and videotaping of interactions. I take multiple approaches to studying intercultural communication, combining participant observation, narrative analysis, and interaction analysis. I chose to combine these methods in an attempt to gain a holistic understanding of the intercultural communication occurring at Shanghai-BDK by investigating the phenomena of intercultural communication from various perspectives and by collecting various types of data. One type of data can compensate and/or counter-argue with another type of data; the use of multiple methods challenges me to extend, deepen, and reflect on my thoughts and analysis. To put it simply, what people do is often different from what people say, and also different from the insight I gain through observation. These factors can also, of course, be consistent with one another. Inconsistencies or contradictions, however, require a more complex understanding of the phenomena under study and prevent me from developing a monolithic view of the phenomena. In the following sections, I review these approaches, considering their application to my study.

3.2.1. Participant observation and identity of the researcher

As Adler and Adler (1987) state, it is important that the researcher knows his or her social role in the field site because it remarkably affects his or her perspective on the field and the kinds of information he or she can obtain. In my fieldwork, I took the role of "participant observer," which Adler and Adler consider the best and necessary role for the researcher to take for conducting empirical studies of the social world "from the inside" (p.10). This idea is based on the argument that theoretical statements about cultural and social life can be made best out of studying the subjects' own perspectives; therefore, the researcher needs to "go native" as much as possible in the field site (Blumer, 1969; Schutz, 1967). Other scholars such as Becker (1963), Poplsky (1969), Denzin (1970), and Schatzman and Strauss (1973) also support participant observation, maintaining that the researcher can gain the understanding of both ordinary and momentous events of the subjects' lives only by directly and naturalistically interacting with them. Adler and Adler rephrase this idea, stating that the researcher can obtain his or her subjects' perspectives only by "talking with them about the specific events" (p.12). They further maintain that only by becoming a participant observer is the researcher able to ascribe events as meaningful to his or her subjects and thus theoretically understand the social significance of events in the field site.[6]

[6] It has been a controversial issue whether "going native" hinder the researcher from remaining "objective" and "detached" from the setting and setting members, thus harming the data collection and fair account of the events (e.g., Becker & Geer, 1960; Blumer, 1969; Burgess, 1982; Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983; Lofland, 1971; Pollner and Emerson, 1983; Shalin 1986). To refute this concern, for example, Peshkin (1985) and Reinharz (1979) argue that it is not objective detachment that makes scientific analysis possible. Rather, it is the researcher's analytical self-reflection that should create theoretical statements about the social world under study, and self-reflection does not occur within the realm of objective detachment; self-reflection is a trait natural to some people and a cultivation to other people. Their argument is also to legitimate the researcher's own and subjective experience as an important resource for data of the fieldwork in order to include the depth and insightfulness in his or her theoretical account (Adler & Adler, 1987).

The role of participant observer is the function of several factors. Junker (1960) considers two factors as important: 1) conditions inherent in the setting existing prior to the researcher's arrival in the field, and 2) demographic and/or personal characteristics of the researcher, including the researcher's prior knowledge of or involvement with the setting or setting members. He notes, however, that both setting conditions and the researcher him/herself may change as the fieldwork proceeds, thus affecting the role of the researcher. In other words, the role of the researcher may shift as his or her fieldwork proceeds. Also, the role of the researcher in the field site can be complex and pluralistic, as is society or the field site *per se*, and the researcher may have problems dealing with his or her different memberships. For example, whereas being an insider of one group or being closer to particular individuals can penetrate the group's or individuals' "front," it can simultaneously make the researcher an outsider to other groups or individuals and thus minimize his or her access to other resources.[7]

The memberships I held in the field site, whether as a condition inherent in the setting or as my individual characteristic, were also complex and multiple. Five factors seem to have especially affected the roles and/or memberships I took in the setting and the ways I communicated with setting members: nationality and native language, background as an ex-employee of Tokyo-BDK, bilingualness, presentation as a researcher, and status as a graduate student. By shifting across

[7] This idea is based on Erving Goffman's theory. That is, individuals manage the impressions (i.e., front-stage) that they give off to others depending on situations. For more, see Erving Goffman, The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life. (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1959).

different memberships, I also practiced mixed strategies to communicate with and gain the trust of setting members.

My nationality (i.e., I am Japanese) and inherent linguistic ability (i.e., I speak Japanese natively, Mandarin non-natively, and Shanghainese not at all) clearly made me an "insider" of the group of Japanese people and an "outsider" of the group of Chinese people at Shanghai-BDK. One of the indicative phenomena was that I could talk with Japanese employees without letting Chinese employees present know what I was talking about, unless they knew Japanese. On the other hand, Chinese employees could speak Shanghainese, the local language of Shanghai, to each other in my presence without letting me know what they were talking about. Such language affiliation/disaffiliation does not necessarily decide who is an insider or outsider, but it indicates who *can* be an insider or outsider.

Other factors, beyond inherent linguistic ability, facilitated my insider-status with Japanese members. Because of global economic differences, I went to Japanese or Western food restaurants for lunch with some Japanese employees more often than Chinese employees do with their Japanese colleagues. What Japanese members could afford as usual price was often expensive for local people in Shanghai, including eating in Japanese or western restaurants. I was also a convenient listener for some Japanese employees because, in addition to the fact that I myself am Japanese, 1) I had an overall understanding of what is going on at Shanghai-BDK by working and being there, yet 2) I am still an "outsider" to Shanghai-BDK; I do not have direct interests with (anybody of) Shanghai-BDK. Despite the fact that I was working for Shanghai-BDK for only two months, for some Japanese employees of Shanghai-BDK, I was in a way "closer" and "easier to hang out with" than Chinese employees, because I shared nationality and native language with them.

My background as an employee of Tokyo-BDK was another factor that enhanced my rapport with Japanese employees. Although it had been seven years since I left Tokyo-BDK, I and Japanese members of Shanghai-BDK still had common acquaintances at Tokyo-BDK. More importantly, my background as an ex-employee of Tokyo-BDK enabled me to have contacts with clients from a very early stage in my fieldwork. When I was allowed to observe meetings with clients, explanation about me given by the account executive in charge of the meeting always started with this phrase: "She used to work with us in Tokyo-BDK . . . " This fact and phrase seemed to have functioned as the warrant for allowing my presence. There are many confidential matters discussed in project meetings of advertising companies, and unless the participants could be sure that I know what should be kept secret and what can be public, they would never allow me to see and hear what was going on. Especially for account executives, giving an impression to their clients that they are not careful in dealing with confidential matters can be critical; it can harm the clients' trust in them and destroy their business relationship. Nevertheless, both account executives and some clients allowed me to sit in on important project meetings with them. While my attempt to show that I and my research pose no threat to their business by making our rapport as pleasant as possible may have helped, their trust in me seems to have stemmed from the fact that I used to work for Tokyo-BDK.

The fact that I speak both Japanese and Mandarin was one of the reasons why I was allowed to enter the setting. At Shanghai-BDK, by offering assistance, whether required or voluntarily, I could demonstrate my commitment to the setting. My main tasks were translation or assisting translation of documents and attending Japanese persons from Tokyo-BDK who came to Shanghai to participate in projects in Shanghai with no or little knowledge of Mandarin. Engaging in these tasks necessitated task-oriented interactions with setting members, which became resources for data. Engaging in (assisting) translation tasks was especially beneficial because it allowed me to spend intensive time with Chinese bilingual members; we needed to take advantage of each other's linguistic native ability and compensate the gaps in each other's non-native language in completing strategic documents. In addition to having intensive first-hand experience of working in the setting, both report and rapport talks I had with Chinese bilingual members through engaging in the task became an important resource for increasing my understanding of the setting and setting members.

As mentioned above, Japanese members were easier for me to establish rapport with than Chinese members. However, this does not mean that I had less rapport or conversations with Chinese members; this only means that I needed to make more effort and be more conscious to establish rapport with Chinese members than I did with Japanese members. Materials I used as a researcher in the setting became helpful tools for developing rapport or having conversations with Chinese members. For example, I decided to demonstrate my intention of videotaping anytime if possible; to familiarize people with this attitude I kept my video camera on my desk. I also sometimes reviewed what I videotaped at my desk. Setting members who talked to me at my desk as they passed by frequently asked about the video camera and what I had been taping. Their questions were various, such as whether the video camera was mine or not, why I was videotaping, and so on. Their talk often then shifted to questions about me; why I can speak Mandarin, where I studied it, where and how long I was staying in Shanghai. Although it was me who initiated getting acquainted with them using the "name card strategy" at first, some of them afterwards attempted to develop rapport with me, and the materials I had with me seem to have helped them do so.

The fact that I was just a "student" who did not have the high income other Japanese people had facilitated my rapport with the Chinese members. Japanese resident employees of Shanghai-BDK live in spacious apartments that are exclusively for foreigners, which local employees could never afford; I rented a room from a Chinese family. Japanese resident employees commute by a taxi paid for by the company; I commuted by public transportation, as the local employees do. Complaining about crowded buses and talking about the luxurious life of Japanese resident employees created a kind of affiliating ethos between me and the younger Chinese members, making it easier for them to "open up" about how they were feeling and about how they were doing with their Japanese colleagues.

Participant observation was followed by note-taking. The quantity of what I recorded based on my participant observations (including what I wrote down during videotaping and interviewing as well as my reflections written after the videotaping and interviewing) equals about 120 pages of typed, single-spaced text in font-size 12. I do not cite all the information I obtained from this note-taking in this dissertation; however, it serves as an important resource for exploring and constituting the ideas which appear in this dissertation.

3.2.2. Interview and narrative analysis

Interviewing can contribute a wide range of information about the community and community members under study. Researchers can obtain content knowledge, such as community events and descriptions of encounters among members in different contexts, which itself constitutes a significant part of our knowledge of the community and its members. However, a more significant aspect of interviewing that researchers can have access to "ways" in which members see particular events and relationships. This part of interviewing becomes most available when we succeed in letting members "tell their stories" or engage in personal narrative. Through personal stories, or personal narratives, about particular events and relationships, we can see how interviewees (i.e., community members) order experience through the construction of texts; we can see how they make sense of particular events and relationships as meaningful to their lives (Riessman, 1993). Therefore, narrative can be defined as a situated sense-making of experience (Riessman, 1993).

Interviewing is not the only way of accessing the individual's sense-making, and I will include other types of data (e.g., conversations) as resources for narrative analysis in this study; however, as a "highly unusual speech event," an interview can often be one of the best occasions for individuals to tell their stories or engage in personal narratives. "A primary way individuals make sense of experience is by casting it in narrative form," and an interview is one of the most legitimate situations in which an individual can do so (Riessman, 1993, p. 4).

I began interviewing in the sixth week of my stay. I wanted to begin interviewing as late as I could because I felt I needed to have established rapport with members/interviewees beforehand. However, because I wanted to have three weeks for interviewing, the sixth week was the latest I could begin interviewing members. I interviewed nearly half of the setting members, twenty two employees of Shanghai-BDK, including six Japanese resident employees. About one third of the interviews were not tape-recorded because I believed some interviewees would speak more freely in the absence of the formality that can accompany tape-recorded interviews.[8] I also interviewed three Japanese employees of Tokyo-BDK, who visited Shanghai frequently to participate in project meetings (two of them happened to be in Shanghai at the time of my fieldwork, and I met the other in Tokyo after my fieldwork).

Interviewing took from 30 minutes to three hours, depending on the rapport I established with the interviewees at the time of interview, or situations in which interviews took place. For the interviews which were tape-recorded, I transcribed the most part of them after I came back to the US; the quantity of the transcriptions equals to about 95 pages text typed in single-space. I do not

[8] In some cases, I was afraid of introducing tension or a sense of distrust into our conversation by tape-recording it. In other cases, interviewing took place in a very informal situation such as over drinks in a bar, and it was pragmatically very difficult, if not possible, to bring in a tape-recorder.

include all the interviews, thought, in this dissertation; the part which appears in this dissertation equals to about one fifth of the text I have from the interviews (both tape-recorded and not tape-recorded). An important reason for my selection of the interviewers to appear in this dissertation is because some members more intensively and frequently interact with other members who do not share their national-cultural background than others, and they thus had relatively more to offer as informants. However, all the interviews I conducted have contributed to my understanding of how members of Shanghai-BDK experience intercultural communication at Shanghai-BDK.

Selecting informants is a critical issue; Saville-Troike (1989) points out the concern that members who are willing to be interviewed are often marginal to the community and therefore deliver inaccurate or incomplete information. This is not a concern for the present study, as I tried to include members who were participants of my interaction data. My informants were often involved in intercultural projects and thus were not marginal members of the joint venture. I tried not to conduct interviews during working hours and several interviews occurred during the lunch time or after working hours. However, members were more flexible than I had expected and many interviews occurred during working hours (some members actually preferred having an interview during working hours). All interviews were one-on-one, with one exception. While I conducted most interviews outside of the office, such as in a tea shop nearby (and I usually paid for their cup of tea), four interviews occurred in a meeting room separated from the main floor of the office.

It should be noted that interviewing is a highly cultural and interactional practice between two conversationalists, an interviewer and an interviewee (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995). That is, an interview is not (always and only) an occasion for transmitting knowledge. The interviewer should also be aware of aspects other than the transmission of knowledge during interviews, paying attention to what can be indicated by topic avoidance, impression management, outright incomprehension, and so on. This is also relevant to the issue of "developing sensitivity," which Saville-Troike (1989) points to as a critical part of ethnographic interviewing. That is, the interviewer needs to be sensitive to signs of acceptance, discomfort, and resentment, which are revealed as interactional features of the respondent.

Because of the highly cultural and interactional nature of interviewing, an interview and/or interviewer provide(s) a context in which a respondent defines and contrives his or her role, or identity, as related to what is being asked and answered (Holstein and Gubrium, 1995).[9] Thus, the type of identity I define as the interviewer during a particular interview affects the role/identity of the interviewee, influencing the construction of his or her narrative. As Holstein and Gubium state, "all knowledge is created from the action taken to obtain it" (p. 3). The knowledge that the respondent calls on during an interview is always "knowledge-in-making" and does not reflect a simple historical fact (p. 31). In other words, the respondent activates and/or deactivates different parts of his or

---

[9] Scholars, however, disagree on the importance of the interview context. For example, according to Riessman (1993), Labov leaves out the relationship of interviewer and interviewee from his theorization of narrative. In Labov's theory, narrative occurs within a set of relations among linguistic clauses rather than in an interaction among participants.

her stock knowledge of past events depending on what is being made meaningful to the present and depending on the role the respondent takes in *that* interview.

Holstein and Gubrium maintain that the researcher needs to therefore view the respondent as the active "narrator" of experiential knowledge. In Goffman's (1974) words, the researcher needs to view storytelling as a kind of "performance"--a storyteller is fundamentally trying to persuade a listener, or interviewer, about something the listener does not know or has not experienced. Riessman (1993) also emphasizes that it is human agency that determines what gets included and excluded in narrativization. "Nature and the world do not tell stories, individuals do" (p. 2). When analyzing personal narratives obtained in interviews, the researcher needs to not only study *what* is being told but also ask *why* the respondent tells his or her story *that way*.

In analyzing personal narratives, scholars seem to agree on the importance of "sequence"; "sequence is necessary, if not sufficient, for narrative" (Riessman, 1993, p. 17). Riessman argues for the validity of a thematic sequence of narrative--an episodic narrative ordered by theme rather than time.[10] In this way, two utterances scattered in the sequence of storytelling can be narratively stitched together (Cooren, 2000, p.70). Thus, one event can be the cause of another although the links may not be chronologically clear (Yong, 1987). The researcher needs to identify what the sequence is when analyzing each narrative; it may be chronological, but, and most often, it may not be. Identifying the sequence, or

[10] However, there is much disagreement with respect to what "sequence" is. One conventional perspective, presented by Labov and Waletzky (1967), is that stories (should) follow the chronological order of actual events and that a change in the order suggests a change of interpretation (by the narrator).

links, between events or utterances means identifying the order the respondent has created for their sense-making of experiences.

Some of the conversations I had with Chinese members seem to be accountable based on the ideas above, for example. Chi-Tang, a rookie copywriter said, "You know, there are lots of intercultural problems in this company." Zhou, a TV-commercial creator in his late 20s, after my observation of a project meeting in which he was participating, said to me, "You haven't seen *real* intercultural communication; you have only seen good versions." It seems that their comments driven by their desire to talk with me as a researcher about intercultural communication at Shanghai-BDK. In other words, if they had not known that I was in the setting for studying "intercultural communication," they would not have talked me that way, attempting to educate me about intercultural communication at Shanghai-BDK. It is also important that the two members were actually revealing what is intercultural communication is like in their experience through their attempt to educate me about intercultural communication; intercultural communication is considered something difficult and problematic for them. This seems to be related to the fact that they at other times attribute communicative failures to "cultural differences" between Chinese and Japanese culture. That is, different accounts at different times can be considered sequential across their narratives, such as "intercultural communication is difficult, and thus is the cause for failure events."

3.2.3. Interaction analysis

Interaction analysis is based on field notes and videotapes of actual interactions, which comprise the majority of the data I collected at Shanghai-BDK. I use the term "interaction analysis" as distinguished from ethnographic observation in the sense that this term is more concerned with micro-analytical investigation of actual interaction (both verbal and non-verbal), such as turn-taking, body movement, gaze, use of objects, and so on. Garfinkel (1967) maintains that social knowledge is revealed and constructed in the process of interaction. Affiliated with this idea, I use interactional analysis in order to discover and demonstrate how participants in a face-to-face interaction use language to create and understand the meaning of communicative experience (Roy, 2000; Garfinkel, 1967).

Interaction data from my fieldwork can be divided into two main categories: interactions on the main floor of the office and interactions in meeting rooms. The former includes everyday conversation, whether task-oriented or not, which occurs in a less planned and structured manner. The latter includes project meetings, which occur in a more planned and structured manner; members get together at a certain place at a certain time with specific purposes, and usually, one member is in charge of the meeting.

I have videotaped about sixteen hours of interactions. After I come back to the US, I reviewed all the videotapes and selected moments or durations that somehow attracted my attention, and described what is occurring and why I thought they are interesting. I have collected 87 examples of moments or durations; the length of the description of examples varies from half a page to two pages (typed in single space). Then I sorted out the examples into several sections according to the similarities of the points I identify in examples, such as "use of non-verbal languages beyond linguistic gaps," "inclusive use of a common language, in which interlocutors do not speak their shared native language," or "teaching and learning of cultural knowledge during the interaction." This work has not only helped me to organize my data, but it has also helped me to grasp overall characteristics of intercultural interactions that I observed at Shanghai-BDK. Accordingly, although I use only three segments of interactions as the data of my interaction analysis for the present study, my selection of the three examples is based on the work I have done as above. That is, the three examples are representing important characteristics I have identified about interactions at Shanghai-BDK and my findings about the three examples also mean those about interactions occurring in the context of Shanghai-BDK.

I approach the analysis of interaction data from my fieldwork in two ways. One approach—interactional sociolinguistics—was developed by sociolinguists such as Gumperz (1982) and Tannen (1984). This approach focuses on the relationships among language, culture, and society. Based on the description of interactions, this approach emphasizes the analysis of how interlocutors interpret their conversation partner's way of using language, with reference to the interlocutor's socio-cultural background. Cues by which interlocutors attribute meaning to the use of language by their conversation partner are termed "contextualization cues" and include lexical or phonological choice, syntactic patterns, intonation, stress, pitch, rhythm, and volume.

The other approach I take analyzing interaction data is conversation analysis, which has been most notably developed by Harvey Sacks, Emanuel Schegloff, and Gail Jefferson. Conversation analysis is a specific application of ethnomethodology to conversation, and according to Gumperz (1982), it is the first systematic attempt to study conversation as "a naturally organized activity" and to examine the process of conversation *per se* without referring to the socio-cultural background of interlocutors (p. 158).[11] Conversation analysis aims to identify the mechanism of interactional management between/among interlocutors and to demonstrate the nature of conversation as such. The assumption is that conversation is rule-governed and conversation analysis attempts to discover or create a universal model of the conversational mechanism, a project which need not refer to the socio-cultural background of interlocutors. One of the key elements of the universal model is turn-taking organization, which Sacks (1992) considers as obligating interlocutors to show to each other their understanding of the talk in preceding turns.

Although both approaches, interactional sociolinguistics and conversation analysis, are based on detailed description of interactions, they are distinctive from each other in terms of how they treat interlocutor's socio-cultural backgrounds and interpretations. An important assumption underlying interactional sociolinguistics, or the Gumperzian approach, is that interlocutors

[11] See, Harold Garfinkel, Studies in Ethnomethodology (Los Angels: Polity Press, 1967).

with different socio-cultural backgrounds do not share a conversational style. Another assumption is that communicative flounders or problems in intercultural events are due to interlocutors' different socio-cultural backgrounds; thus, researchers need to identify and study segments in which communication seems to be problematic in order to understand the reality of intercultural communication. On the other hand, a vital assumption underlying conversation analysis stems from this philosophy of ethnomethodolgy: "the analysis of action must take account of the actor's use of *common-sense knowledge*" (emphasis added, Heritage, 1984, p. 6). Related to this point, Sunaoshi (1999), based on the argument Bremer, Roberts, Vasseur, Simonot, and Broeder (1996) give, points out that conversation analysis assumes "shared understanding" and "shared and equally distributed communicative resources" between interlocutors. In other words, conversation analysis does not give culture-specific consideration to the notion of "common sense," which is defined as the basis of practice and analysis of interactions. Sunaoshi proposes that conversation analysis is thus insufficient for analyzing discourse data collected in multicultural and multilingual environments.

It is true that conversation analysis lacks in cross-cultural perspective so that there is a paucity of research based on data with languages other than English, including native-nonnative and nonnative-nonnative interactions. As Schegloff (interviewed in Wong & Olsher, 2001) acknowledges, it is more challenging for conversation analysts to work on the data of a non-native language, which, in this study, is Mandarin. However, it seems premature to determine that we cannot employ conversation analysis to study intercultural interaction in such instances.

One of the most widely held assumptions regarding intercultural communication is that interlocutors with different socio-cultural backgrounds (e.g., nationality) do not (equally) share common ground for communication thus have difficulties to reach "shared understanding." However, as will be shown later in this study, members of Shanghai-BDK frequently share common ground other than shared socio-cultural knowledge as communicative resources. Professional knowledge or expertise, personal history, local environments including objects, and non-verbal communicative devices such as gaze, gesture, and drawing are among such available communicative resources. Additionally, interlocutors with different socio-cultural backgrounds *do* share the very fact that they do not share socio-cultural background, including their native language. They therefore share the need to count on communicative resources other than socio-cultural background in order to interact with each other and "get things done."

Conversation analysis, because of its tendency to examine interactions based on "what is shared" between/among interlocutors, sheds light on aspects of intercultural communication that other approaches (e.g., interactional sociolinguistics) which focus on “what is not shared” between/among interlocutors fail to illuminate. Conversation analysis thus enables us examine the process in which members of Shanghai-BDK make use of the communicative resources other than socio-cultural knowledge and reach "shared understanding" regarding particular task underway, beyond differing socio-cultural backgrounds.

Roy (2000) states that conversation analysis is effective for generalizations of "typical activities." That is, when we attempt to consider intercultural communication as recurrent phenomena and identify what may be common in intercultural interactions across diverse episodes, settings, and (socio-cultural backgrounds of) participants, conversation analysis is useful (Wong & Olsher, 2001). According to Schegloff (interviewed in Wong & Olsher, 2001), however, such an application of conversation analysis becomes valid when based on a collection of extracts. He states that a collection of extracts can demonstrate the way interlocutors conduct certain actions in "a certain sequential or interactional context"; claims on a collection of extracts can be thus analytical and defensible (p. 117). As to how to make (valid) claims on a *collection*, Schegloff states that one way is to "lift the level of analysis from definitive explication of a single fragment to the fragment set *in the context of certain practices in interaction*" (emphasis added, p. 117).

To show how this might work in my study, suppose I find that by duplicating gestures, participants in a meeting (i.e., in a certain interactional context) confirm and show their understanding (i.e., interlocutors achieve particular action) when they do not share a common language. In order to make a valid claim, say, "Interlocutors who do not share a common language may duplicate each other's gestures to confirm and show their understanding," I need to make the claim empirically grounded by returning to my data for the search of other such instances. By setting notions of categories of actions (e.g., duplicate gestures, confirm and show understanding), conversation analysis enables us to look at intercultural communication in terms of *recurrent* communicative practices rather than in terms of *abstract* "intercultural" relationships between participants.

Although conversation analysis servers as a useful tool in certain aspects, I do not intend to disregard interlocutors' socio-cultural backgrounds for my interaction analysis. I am skeptical of the premise that interlocutors with different socio-cultural backgrounds communicate differently, but I agree with Duranti (1997) that information on the interlocutor's socio-cultural background enriches the researcher's account. In fact, the phenomenon of code-switching, which constitutes a significant part of my interaction data, cannot be examined appropriately without such background knowledge. Also, for fulfilling the ethnographic part of my study, background knowledge about members is necessary. However, as Duranti warns, the relevance of such knowledge to analysis needs to be referred to as "an empirical question" in each particular interaction (p. 66). Some parts of interactions may be explicated the most warrantably with reference to interlocutor's attributes, but other parts may not.

For example, when Japanese members speak Japanese with each other at a particular moment, this phenomenon cannot be necessarily accounted as the outcome of their "shared socio-cultural background" due to the same nationality. Considering the fact that they also speak Mandarin with each other in the setting, the reason why they speak Japanese with each other needs to be inquired as an empirical question in light of other situational factors, such as who else are there, what kind of task they are engaging in, what they are talking about, which language has been used before that, and so on. They might be enhancing, consciously or unconsciously, their bond as in-group members of Japanese resident employees toward Chinese employees, or they might be responding to questions uttered in Japanese by Chinese members. Terms of address need to be examined from both socio-cultural and empirical concerns, as well. Members of Shanghai-BDK often call each other's name or refer to other members both in Chinese and Japanese pronunciation, and which language they pick up are very situational. (For readers' note, most Japanese and Chinese names can be pronounced in both Japanese and Chinese sounds) Sometimes, Chinese members who do not speak Japanese at all call another Chinese member's name by its Japanese pronunciation, while he or she at other times may call the same person by its Chinese pronunciation. This kind of phenomenon cannot be explained solely with reference to the members' socio-cultural background or members' knowledge of languages; it needs to be addressed empirically, but such knowledge is also necessary for understanding the phenomenon.

In either case, the driving force of interactions is complex. It sounds paradoxical, but sociolinguistic inquiry of how interlocutors' attributes are intertwined with the phenomena of intercultural interactions needs to be carried out independently from such intercultural attributes. For the purpose of interaction analysis, such relevance needs to be identified within the context of each interactional practice. In addition to the fact that conversation analysis allows us to investigate what interlocutors can collaboratively achieve when/as they are driven by certain conversational mechanisms regardless of their socio-cultural attributes, conversation analysis can also sustain an empirical rigor in analyzing the relationship between interlocutors' attributes and interactional practice. For the reasons stated above, I will combine a sociolinguistic approach and conversation analysis for analyzing the interaction data of this study.

For transcribing interaction data in Chapter 5, I will refer to the transcript notation developed by Gail Jefferson.[12] (Notes for transcript notation will be provided at the end of the study). I have simplified/modified the notation for the present study, mainly because some of Jefferson's notations assume English utterances and are not applicable for the languages of my data. For example, in Mandarin utterances, rising and falling shifts in intonation cannot be indicated as in English utterances; Mandarin words have four tones with meaning determination, and rising/falling shifts within a word can frequently be related to the tones of the words. As to my methodology of describing non-verbal phenomena (e.g., gestures), I have devised ways of describing that are appropriate to my analysis, and I will explain them prior to my analysis of examples in Chapter 5. Because two languages, Mandarin and Japanese, are used in the transcripts, Chinese utterances will be shadowed. *Ping-ying* will be used for writing down Chinese utterances and *roma-ji* will be used for Japanese utterances; both *ping-ying* and *roma-ji* are systematic usage of English letters that describe

[12] For detailed explanation of the transcript notation developed by Gail Jefferson, see J. Maxwell Atkinson and John Heritage, ed., Structures of Social Action (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994) ix-xvi.

phonemes in the respective languages. Both Mandarin and Japanese utterances will be accompanied by two kinds of English translation: word-by-word translation and semantic translation.

Chapter 4:Intercultural Experiences at Shanghai-BDK: Construction and Significance of the Chinese-Japanese Dichotomy

In this Chapter, I focus on studying intercultural *experiences* of members of Shanghai-BDK by examining their narratives. That is, I investigate how their intercultural experiences are interpreted and thus revealed in their narratives of intercultural communication and events at Shanghai-BDK. In other words, I examine *what they say*, and even more importantly, *how they say* what they say about their communication, relationships, and lives with individuals who do not share their national-cultural background within the particular context of Shanghai-BDK. I would like to stress that my purpose is not to ratify dichotomization of Chinese and Japanese nationals. Rather, this chapter is founded on the idea that national-cultural differences among individuals are just one of the factors which influence communication in intercultural settings. However, at the same time, it is my observation that we (both researchers and social actors, including members of Shanghai-BDK) frequently make sense of our experiences in intercultural settings as "culture"-laden. Therefore, by examining narratives about experiences with members who do not share one's national-cultural background, I attempt to shed light on the importance of factors other than national-cultural factors, examining how such factors may influence the ways in which members of Shanghai-BDK understand the meaning of "Chinese" and "Japanese," as well as the "Chinese-Japanese" dichotomy.

I begin by introducing the narratives of "intercultural communication" related by members of Shanghai-BDK. In the first section of this chapter, 4.1. *Folk theories: What intercultural communication is like*, I will offer the most telling examples of setting members' experiences. I then elaborate on the significance of individuals' experiences of the binary for understanding the hybridity and complexity of a multicultural community in the second section, 4.2. *Experiences of the binary*. In the third section, 4.3. *Discourse of differences and (in)competence*, I look at narratives in which Chinese members are characterized as "Chinese" and Japanese members are characterized as "Japanese" when (the quality of) work is problematic. In other words, I focus on narratives in which the Chinese-Japanese dichotomy based on individuals' nationality is (re)constructed and perpetuated, and thereby used to make judgments about individuals who do not share one's national-cultural background. In the fourth section, 4.4. *Shift of membership and multiple meanings of "Chinese" and "Japanese,"* I analyze narratives in which self-identification or membership does not conform precisely to national-cultural identification or membership. I examine narratives in which members of Shanghai-BDK dissociate themselves from their own national-cultural group and narratives in which they relate themselves to other national-cultural groups (i.e., Chinese members with Japanese-ness, Japanese members with Chinese-ness). In so doing, I maintain that members of Shanghai-BDK construct the Chinese-Japanese dichotomy based on factors that differ from those upon which the geopolitical or national-cultural dichotomy is based, by constructing particular aspects of Chinese-ness and Japanese-ness as essential to their intercultural experiences. Then in 4.5. *Chinese-Japanese dichotomy as related to organizational orders,* I study the influence of the organizational order of Shanghai-BDK on how members experience the Chinese-Japanese dichotomy. In 4.6. *Cultural dissimilarities as rationales for tolerance and cultural similarities as resources for discord*, I look at individuals' experiences of the Chinese-Japanese dichotomy from an angle different from the conventional perspective of intercultural communication studies, hoping to expand the perspective on cultural similarities and dissimilarities. I examine narratives in which conflicting experiences with members from other national-cultural groups are tolerated because of supposed cultural differences and narratives in which cultural similarities are reasons for discord. Finally in 4.7. *When "culture" becomes insignificant*, I focus on narratives which downplay the significance of "Chinese" and "Japanese" culture, and thus deconstruct the binary world.

4.1. FOLK THEORIES: WHAT INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION IS LIKE

> *"Ni meiyou kandao zhengde yiwenhua goutong. Ni zhi you kandao haowan de."*
>
> "You haven't seen *real* intercultural communication. You have seen only fun stuff."

This comment—one of the most remarkable comments I heard from members of Shanghai-BDK during my fieldwork—was made by Zhou, a Chinese television commercial planner employed by Shanghai-BDK. The following is the context in which this comment was made: One afternoon, a project team of

Shanghai-BDK held a meeting. Zhou was one of the participants, which included one other Chinese member and two Japanese members of Shanghai-BDK. The meeting began in an unusual way; previously, I had noticed that Okano, a Japanese account executive, seemed to be having a troublesome telephone conversation. In addition to his words and manner of speaking, his facial expressions indicated that he was involved in a conflict of some sort. After the phone conversation, he called what appeared to be an unplanned meeting. I asked Okano if I could observe the meeting; I had already observed several meetings with his permission. This time, however, he said in an irritated and blunt manner, "*Iya, kyou wa chotto muzukashiin de*," which means, "No, because it's a bit difficult today." I sensed it was a matter of emotion rather than a matter of confidentiality, so I just excused myself and withdrew. The meeting lasted approximately two hours. When the participants came out from the conference room, I left my desk in order to be in their path as they returned to their own desks. It was at that time that Zhou found me and came to me to talk. He shook his head in a dramatic way, exhibiting his fatigue, and said, "*Ni meiyou kandao zhengde yiwenhua goutong. Ni zhi you kandao haowan de.*" which is "You haven't seen *real* intercultural communication. You have seen only fun stuff." Then he added, "*Dajia dou* happy happy, *bushi zhengde de*," which is, "Everybody is happy, that's not true."

Before I proceed with my discussion of this statement, readers should know that this incident occurred during the latter half of my fieldwork, after I had established a certain degree of rapport with Zhou. The comment was made within the context of that rapport. As I stated in Chapter 3, presenting myself as a researcher was an effective way to facilitate conversations with Chinese members, as well as to establish rapport with them. Regarding me as somebody who is studying intercultural communication between Chinese and Japanese, several Chinese members were willing to talk to me about their thoughts concerning the intercultural communication as much as to educate me about it. As I also stated in Chapter 3, my student status and age (i.e., I was the youngest among the Japanese) facilitated conversations with the large constituency of younger Chinese members – those in their late 20s to early 30s. Intercultural communication was indeed one of the primary topics of discussion between me and these younger members. I have no way to know how much they actually "opened up," but I do know they spoke with me about topics they rarely discussed with their Japanese colleagues. Partially due to my outsider status, I believe that I was the most accessible Japanese to them when they wanted to talk about their intercultural experiences, which are their experiences with their Japanese colleagues. Or perhaps my admitted interest in their intercultural experiences triggered their desire to talk about them. Zhou and I shared an ethos in which it is easy and natural to talk about intercultural experiences – that is, his experiences with Japanese colleagues. When he was tired and stressed after a long, discordant meeting with Japanese colleagues, our needs matched: he wanted to complain about the meeting with the Japanese colleagues, and I wanted to hear his narrative about intercultural communication.

After the comment by Zhou, I asked what happened. He did not give me any factual explanations, however. All that he told me was that Okano did not know how to carry out his work. I could not obtain information about what really happened in the meeting. However, I observed from their facial expressions that the meeting was exhausting and frustrating for all the participants. It was also clear that Zhou was not satisfied with Okano in some regard. Additionally, it should be noted that Zhou and Okano were both among the participants of several meetings I had previously observed, and Zhou was aware that I had not observed that particular meeting. Given this, his comment implied that intercultural communication during that meeting that had just taken place was not as "fun" or "happy" as other meetings that I had observed.

What is remarkable about this comment is what it reveals about Zhou's perspective on intercultural communication. To repeat, Zhou's comment was, "You haven't seen real intercultural communication. You have seen only fun stuff." In other words, as far as this narrative is concerned, "fun" or "happy" communicative events are not real intercultural communication, even if the communicative setting (e.g., participants, language used) can be considered intercultural. His comment suggests that Zhou considers communicate events to be (real) intercultural communication only when they are *not* fun or happy.

Interestingly, I had similar conversations with other members of Shanghai-BDK. To make my point clear, I will describe another telling example. On another day, I was in a conference room, waiting for a meeting to start; as usual, I was there about fifteen minutes earlier than the planned starting time. Makimura, a Japanese designer from Tokyo-BDK,[13] arrived before the others and we began a conversation. Knowing that I was there to study "intercultural communication" and to observe meetings for data collection, Makimura said to me that the meeting he had attended the previous evening, one that I had not observed, would have been a "*sugoi ii*," which means, a "very good" one for my research.[14] Among the reasons he offered for why I should have observed that particular meeting as a researcher, the following caught my attention: the meeting, according to Makimura, was very tense and chaotic because dissonant opinions were voiced by people in various organizational positions. He also stated that he himself was in disagreement with a Chinese creative director, and he further added that Namino-san (a Japanese bilingual account executive) did not translate really agitating things he said probably because Nagai tried to avoid offending the Chinese creative director. He concluded, "*Aaiuno wa honto omoshiroi to omou yoo. Kinou mitai no wa sugoi omoshiroi ke-su dato omou naa,*" which means, "I think something like that can be really interesting. A meeting like yesterday's can be a very interesting example."

Although the words Makimura used were different from Zhou's (i.e., Makimura said "interesting" whereas Zhou said "real"), his point is similar to

[13] Makimura had stayed in Shanghai for six months to teach skills to young members of the creative team . After that, he had frequently been to Shanghai to attend projects as both designer and supervisor of young Chinese project members. This time, he was staying in Shanghai for about a month to be involved in a new project, for which the meeting he mentioned was held.
[14] While I was allowed to observe meetings with this client before, this particular meeting involved members of partner companies from Hong Kong and Singapore. I speculate political sensitivity involved in the meeting (i.e., they would not have quickly understood the context of my presence and thus could wonder or even be suspicious of me) was the reason why I was not invited to the meeting.

Zhou's. They were proposing that particular types of communicative events are more worthy of my research than others. Neither of them elaborated their points; however, it seems reasonable to speculate that the kinds of communicative events they had in mind as "real" or "interesting" intercultural communication would be characterized as inducing or including fatigue, stress, disagreements, disputes, difficulties, and chaos. In other words, both Zhou and Makimura had and demonstrated theories, consciously or unconsciously, about what intercultural communication is like, or what *real* or *interesting* intercultural communication is. And in response to my questions, they sorted out their communicative experiences according to these personal theories.

It is important to remember, as we try to understand individuals' experiences with intercultural communication, that it is not only scholars who conceptualize phenomena of intercultural communication. Individuals living in an intercultural community also likely hold certain notions about what intercultural communication is and proceed to make sense of their communicative experiences with individuals who do not share their cultural background in relation to these notions. Therefore, we can assume that many members of Shanghai-BDK construct their experiences as "intercultural communication" only when the communicative event is characterized with traits such as those I listed above. Therefore, we can also speculate that members of Shanghai-BDK might make sense of many communicative events occurring in intercultural settings as something other than "intercultural communication," or at least that when a communicative event cannot be characterized in a certain way, members tend to focus on aspects other than those that are "intercultural" in making sense of the communicative events.

As I will show in the rest of this chapter, the issue is not simply whether members of Shanghai-BDK regard particular events as "intercultural" or not, or whether communicative events have been problematic when they do. While such dichotomization is one tendency I have observed, a number of other factors influence and complicate individuals' experiences of intercultural communication. These two conversations, however, foreshadow what I will discuss in the rest of the chapter. When we attempt to examine what members of Shanghai-BDK are experiencing and how they are doing so, they as residents of an intercultural community are not merely under the influence of the interculturalness of the setting; the very meaning of "intercultural communication" itself can be given different connotations by individuals. Members actively and practically theorize their own environments and experiences. When they do so, they generally do not question the subjectivity, objectivity, rightness or wrongness, completeness or incompleteness of their *experiences*. The most important thing is what meaning they assign to their particular experiences.

4.2. EXPERIENCES OF THE BINARY

As I mentioned earlier, many intercultural communication studies have attempted to explain the differences between cultures. With respect to the two national-cultural groups of Chinese and Japanese in particular, however, as Nadmitsu, Chen, and Friedrich (2000) point out, most of the literature in the US tends to categorize them as belonging to one group, “Asian” or “East Asian” (e.g., Kim, 1994; Scollon & Scollon, 1995; Ting-Toomey, 1998), and thus has focused only on similarities between the two groups, failing to effectively examine their differences. In Japan, on the other hand, there are numerous publications that discuss how different Chinese and Japanese are and why. The studies center mostly on historical, geographical, political, economical, and religious domains; however, issues of communication have also become a popular topic. Most of these scholars analyze differences in communicative practice between Chinese and Japanese cultures and explain such differences as outcomes of historical, geographical, political, economical, and religious factors (e.g., Sankei Shinbun Gishin-bu, 1995; Inagaki & Kaji, 1999; Li, 2000; Wei, 2000). Often, their purpose is to provide a “how-to” guide for communicating with Chinese people. I believe that the varying foci of the work published between the two countries (i.e., the US and Japan) have to do with the differing relationships that the US and Japan have with China in various aspects, such as history, geography, politics, and economy. This itself is an interesting point, although out of the range of the current study. On the whole, as far as Chinese and Japanese are included as subjects of intercultural communication studies, researchers have focused on differences and similarities between two national-cultural groups.

Powel (1999), editor of *Beyond the Binary*, is among the scholars who offer a caveat to such a binary perspective based on conventional socio-cultural categories. In his introduction to the book, he stresses the importance of “hybridity” for understanding multicultural communities and related identities.

This book posits the problem of "biology-is-identity" and elaborates on the ways in which researchers should consider multiple factors—class, gender, race, nationality, sexuality—in examining individuals' identities and relationships in multicultural communities. Powel states, however, that it is not enough to simply include these factors into our analysis; we also need to include the hybridity and complexity of the relationships among such factors as part of a multicultural matrix.

Mitchell's (1999) work in the book that Powel (1999) edited is one of the successful incorporation of the hybridity and complexity of relationships across various factors. In exploring the issues of trans-nationality and hybridity of immigrants' lives, Mitchell analyzes different narratives by which members of one family make different points about the same novel, using the term "multiperspectivity" to describe such a phenomenon. Holland (1999) addresses the complexities of queer identity, arguing that self-identification is not determined by an individual's biological identification. Powel maintains that it is important to study the dialogical relation between different cultures when researchers attempt to understand multicultural communities and emphasizes the need for the "theoretical transformation of historically and culturally indistinct 'Others' into fully constituted 'Selves'" as well as the need for the "expansion of the definition of 'culture'" (p. 5). I agree with Powel's approach to understanding multicultural communities, and his perspective is an important theoretical backbone of this study and especially this chapter.

However, it cannot be presumed that such theoretical transformation as Powel describes always leads to the deconstruction of existing categories, especially when examining how individuals experience the world. Even a "binary" perspective, when regarded as an individual's experience, can be a part of the "multiperspectivity" existing in a multicultural community. As Price Herndl (1999) states, for example, historical reality has clearly constructed a black/white binary in the US, and this cannot and should not be ignored. As to the current study, I have observed that members of Shanghai-BDK frequently look at their world from a binary, Chinese/Japanese perspective; they experience their communicative events based on a binary perspective and in so doing perpetuate the perspective, although this is not always the case. Also, as described in Chapter 3, it was impossible for me to forgo dealing with my Japanese-ness in relation to Chinese-ness as I explored and determined my role and identity in the field site. In terms of the experience of setting members, including myself, the Chinese-Japanese dichotomy is real at Shanghai-BDK: "*We* are Japanese and *they* are Chinese" as much as " *We* are Chinese and *they* are Japanese." This is a fact, although, as I have repeatedly and carefully noted, it does not determine everything. That is, within the context of Shanghai-BDK, the Chinese-Japanese dichotomy is *one* way, yet one important way, in which individuals make sense of phenomena and thus shape their experiences.

Therefore, what I intend in this chapter is not to dismiss the Chinese-Japanese dichotomy in favor of an emphasis on the hybrid and complex nature of intercultural communication; rather, I would like to shed light on the dichotomy as an important part of the setting members' experiences and examine how narratives about the experiences of the dichotomy are constructed or deconstructed in particular contexts. In my attempt to examine individuals' experiences related to the Chinese-Japanese dichotomy, I give my attention to several particulars, or contexts of narratives, which I consider to be significant for understanding the individuals' intercultural experiences.

4.3. Discourse of differences and (in)competence

Knowledge of cultural differences (or similarities) between Chinese and Japanese may help us when we study communication between them, yet, what would transpire if protagonists of intercultural communication themselves have "different" perspectives about "cultural differences"? Can we still trust our knowledge about "differences" in understanding their perspectives? The example below indicates that even "cultural difference" is an intangible notion when situated in individuals' experiences of intercultural communication.

Example 1: Unsuccessful recording

The participants of this case are Tanaka, Weiru, Okano, and Chi-tang. Tanaka is the client, a Japanese executive member (a resident employee) of Aoyama Beer Shanghai. Weiru is a Shanghainese employee of Shanghai-BDK, who introduced Shanghai Radio to Okano. Okano is a Japanese account executive with Shanghai-BDK who is a resident employee. Chi-tang is a Shanghainese copywriter at Shanghai-BDK.

The Aoyama Beer project team from Shanghai-BDK and the client (Aoyama Beer) met in a state-run radio station, Shanghai Radio, to supervise the recording of an upcoming radio advertisement for a product of Aoyama beer. I was there as an observer. The recording of the narrator's dialogue went fine; both the project team and the client were pleased. However, when the technician in the radio station started to record the sound of opening a beer bottle, the day took a turn for the worse. Tanaka, the representative of Aoyama Beer on that day, was not satisfied with the work done by the technician at all and became very displeased with Shanghai-BDK, complaining that Shanghai-BDK should be in better control of the quality of the recording. During the recording, Tanaka said, "*Kore wa shiroto dana* " (=It's amateur's [work]). Then Tanaka, after stating, *"Kuoriti ga sagaru kara yamemasho"* (=We'll get low quality work, so, let's quit [now]) and "*Deta besu ga aruhazu desukara dokoni douiu taimingu de otowo ireru ka benkyo shite kudasai*" (=There should be a database [of similar advertisements] about when and how to insert the sound, check it out.), then abruptly left the room. The project team from Shanghai-BDK was stunned. Weiru said in an upset tone, "*Wo jue de haikeyi. Women Zhongguoren ganjue buyiyang*." (=I thought it was ok. Our Chinese [way of] feeling((hearing)) [the sound] is different). Okada responded, "*Kending buxing*" (=No, it's definitely not ok). This was troublesome to Okada, a Japanese AE (account executive) on the project team, because he would have to take responsibility for the poor quality of work. Shortly after this conversation, the project team left the station and waited outside for a car to go back to the office of Shanghai-BDK. During the wait, Chi-tang said to me, "*Ganjue buyiyang. Women ganjue buiyang*" (=[How the sound is] felt is different. Our [way of] feeling ((hearing)) [the sound] is different).

Note that the two Chinese participants attribute the unsuccessful outcome (i.e., Tanaka, the client, was displeased with the recording work and abruptly left) to (cultural) differences between *us* (Chinese) and *them* (Japanese) regarding how to the sound is felt, whereas the two Japanese participants characterize the problem as a matter of (poor) quality of work. The former state, "(Our) feeling is different," while the latter state, "It's amateur's work" and "No, it's definitely not ok." These comments show that although they participate in the same unsuccessful event, how they experience or make sense of the event varies across participants. These comments further indicate that it is not that culturally different ways of "feeling" the sound construct different views of the event, thus determining individuals experiences; rather, what shapes individuals' experiences is whether the participants think difference in the way Chinese and Japanese people hear the sound make differences, or what factor (e.g., competence) participants consider to be most salient to the event.

It should be carefully noted, however, that this does not mean there is no cultural difference between Chinese and Japanese in terms of how particular sounds are conceptualized, including the sound of opening a beer bottle. Indeed, such a difference seems to exist when the sound is heard in the context of radio advertisements. Advertisements are new phenomena in China, and most Chinese people are not as familiar with the sounds used in advertisements as Japanese people are. Advertisements for beer have been common in Japan; the sound of opening a beer bottle is a key element in the advertisements and included.[15] Therefore, it may be that many Japanese people, including the client and members of Shanghai-BDK, have a specific conceptualization of what it sounds like when a beer bottle is opened in advertisements, whereas it is likely that many Chinese people do not yet have such a conceptualization. Nevertheless, when attempting to understand how the two Japanese members experience the event described in Example 1, such a difference is not applicable in the construction of their own meaning of the event. In this example, the Chinese members incorporate "cultural differences" into their narratives whereas the Japanese members do not and instead bring the issue of (in)competence into making sense of the unsuccessful event.

[15] This is based on my knowledge gained from working experience in an advertisement agency. I also heard such a comment from the client during the episode.

Despite their awareness of “cultural differences,” it does not follow that individuals choose to be different from other national-cultural group members. For example, Ribak (2000) maintains that individuals’ focus on "cultural differences" is frequently related to a negative aspect of their experience of intercultural events. Ribak’s study shows that "cultural differences" can be used to stress a negative aspect of the event or experience in individuals' narration. She studies how a historical event, *Intifada*, is narrated by Israeli Jews and Arabs, and how a sense of Self is constituted therein. Ribak maintains that individuals' citation of negatively conceived events likely serves to emphasize differences between (supposedly) opposing parties—between the Jewish and Palestinian members. She does so by pointing out the fact that in his/her comments an Israeli Jew negatively depicts the Arabs as "substantively distinguished" from the Jews (p. 308). While the situation at Shanghai-BDK is not as serious as that of *Intifada*, when Chinese participants give accounts of a negative event (e.g., the unsuccessful recording), they also draw a line between *us* (Chinese) and *them* (Japanese) in terms of cultural differences.

It is also important to realize, on the other hand, that even though the Japanese members affirm the problem of professional incompetence, this does not necessarily mean that they are indifferent to the cultural Self and Others. One’s evaluations of a particular phenomenon can be related to other phenomena that he or she has observed or experienced. (Duchan, Maxwell, and Kovarsky, 1999). Gumperz’s (1982, 1992a, 1992b) work indicates that detecting differences about others is likely related to (negative) evaluations made about them.[16] Indeed, as I will discuss later with reference to specific examples, evaluation and differentiation seem to be closely intertwined in individuals' experiences of intercultural communication. While individuals' focus on "cultural differences" does not necessarily preclude their evaluation of the other party, individuals' evaluations of competence do not occur independently of the way in which they perceive the relationship between *us* (i.e., cultural Self) and *them* (i.e., cultural Others). In the following two sub-sections, I will examine the interdependence between evaluation and (national-cultural) differentiation as observed in the accounts given by members of Shanghai-BDK of intercultural experience.

4.3.1. Differentiation as evaluation

Making a distinction between *us* and *them* in cultural terms is typically connected to making an evaluation of professional competence, as implied by the following comments made by Chinese members about Japanese advertisements targeted at the Chinese market.

Example 2: Yang—"We don't like it, they think it's good."

> *Konai,you de chuangzuo, women juede hen exing, tamen ribenren juede hen hao.*
>
> Konai, some creative work [advertisements], (whereas) we don't like it, they thik it's good.

[16] Although his findings are based on studying interactions between native and non-native speakers of English, they seem to valuable to support my argument because Gumperz focus on individuals' interpretations about intercultural interactions, which is to say how individuals make sense of phenomena they experience.

Example 3: Zhou—"I don't think Chinese people like this kind of thing very much."

> *Long, nage pianzi cong Riben guolai de. Wo juede Zhongguo ren butai shihuan zhezhong donxi de. Ta, oh, ziran, ni yiding yao zuo yundong ma. Buyiding de. Wo juede zhe ge hen qikuai. Ta jian dao jiankang, yiding shi yungdong.*
>
> That advertisement for Dragon is made in Japan. I don't think the Chinese people like this kind of thing very much. It's like, oh, it's very natural that you want to exercise for your health. Not necessarily. I think this is very strange. If someone wants to talks about health, it's always about exercise.

In the two examples above, both Yang and Zhou criticize Japanese-made advertisements as not suitable for Chinese consumers by stating their view—and the Chinese view generally—of Japanese-made advertisements. In doing so, they identify with Chinese viewers; they are not simply stating their preference toward the advertisements. They are implying that the advertisements are not good work, at least when targeting Chinese consumers, which include themselves – because they themselves as targeted consumers of the advertisements do not like them. On the other hand, they state that Japanese people like such advertisements or think such advertisements are normal. That is, they are presenting differences between Chinese and Japanese as the key factor determining the validity, or quality, of the advertisement.

The following comments by Zhou and two other Chinese members personalize the issue, relating the problem of "Japanese-made" advertisements to the Japanese members themselves. They imply that Japanese members lack in understanding and state what they need to do in terms of their relationship with Chinese members.

Example 4: Zhou—“ Who will see this advertisement?"

> *Zhege dongxi shei kan de? Zhongguo ren kande. Wo juede ingai shuo Riben ren lai shuo, ingai xian, xian liao jie Shnaghai ba. Ni xian liao jie Zhongguo ren cai de zuo shi.*
>
> Who will watch this advertisement? It's Chinese people who will see the advertisements. I think, I should say that as far as Japanese people are concerned, they should first understand Shanghai, right? You have to understand Chinese people first. Then you can do your job well.

Example 5: Chi-tang—"The consumers are Chinese."

> *Inwei ni zezi ye shi zai shehuei ze. Ni pingshi zai shehuei danzhong, ni kenen yao mai, ni ye hui xiang, wo buxiang yao mai zhege paizi, zhe ge brand bu hao, wo weishengme wo yao qu yao mai nage, “why.” Danshi ta chuangyi shi Riben ren. consuemr shi Zhongguo ren.*
>
> If you are a Chinese working for an advertising agency, you are also living in Chinese society. Being in Chinese society as part of your daily life, you may want to buy, or you may think you don't want to buy, this brand or that brand. If you are a Chinese working for an advertising agency, you extend your thoughts to why you want to go and buy that. But in some cases individuals in charge of the creative work are Japanese, while consumers are Chinese.

Example 6: Ning—"They don't understand Chinese."

> *Ta zuida de quedian jiushi ta buliaojie Zhongguo shichang. Buliaojie Zhongguoren de shinli. Dueba? Bushidao Zhongguoren xiuan shengme, taoien shenmge. Zhege jiushi hen da de quedian. Suoyi wo juede ruguo zhengde yao yige creative de hua, yingai shi Zhonguoren gen Riben ren*

hexian goutong. Zuiyao, zhegene shihou, zhege shihou, zuoye lundao de Riben ren, yingai xingxing tingqu Zhongguo ren zhengme jang.

Their creative team's biggest shortcoming is that they don't understand the Chinese market. They don't understand the psychology of the Chinese people. Isn't that right? They don't know what Chinese like and what Chinese dislike. This is the biggest disadvantage. I think if they want to do real creative work, the Chinese and Japanese should communicate with each other. The most important thing is, at this time, that Japanese members of the creative team should sincerely listen to what Chinese members say.

The three Chinese members claim that knowledge about Chinese people (or consumers) and the Chinese market is necessary for making good advertisements and that unless individuals are Chinese, they have critical gaps in their knowledge and understanding of the Chinese people and the Chinese market and are thus incompetent. Zhou and Ning also state clearly that Japanese members should learn (more) about Chinese consumers and the market in order to do a "good job."

Evaluation of Japanese members' professional competence also arises from non-task oriented conversations or observations. See the two excerpts below.

Example 7: Yang—expensive lunch

*Note 1: Takaya is a department store based out of Japan. Things sold there are relatively expensive and luxurious.

*Note 2: Huating Road is one of the popular shopping alleys in Shanghai, in which one can find cheap clothes, bags, and so on. This alley is also well-known as the place for selling faux products of famous European brands.

Xiang nege Kawamura-san, wo tingshuo hao xiang, ta youshihou ta zeji ye shuo de, jiushi, youshijou wo gen ta yiqi chifan, hoaxing, ta pingshi dui Shanghai guanjie de ye bijiao shao. Haoxian jiu tingshuo ta gen ta wuren jiu shi chi nage Takaya <laughing> Takaya, Takaya wo juede, Zhougguo chichang shi yige bijiao bijiao kou de difang. Takaya qu de ren de hua, xianzai bijiao kaifan le, xiang nezhong, tade shaheiguang bijiao gao de. . . Dnashi, haishi bijiao nage zhonggao de yige defan de hua, dui shanghai shichang de yige liaojie de, haishi hua bijiao buxing de. Ta keneng hue qu Huating-lu, bijiao luixing de yixie de dui yixie fanmian de yixie liaojie de hua, wo juede keneng tamen gun Zhongguoren zaiyiqi jiaoliu de yixie, Ribenren dui Zhongguo shichang liaojie jiu gun jia, shengru yidian.

For example, Kawamura-san, I hear and he himself also says at times when we occasionally have lunch together, that he usually does not hang out in Shanghai a lot. It seems like he goes by himself to Takaya for lunch. <laughing> While the Chinese market is pretty big, people who go to Takaya hold relatively higher social status . . . If he sticks with one place, his understanding of the Shanghai market will be incomplete. He could go to Huating Road, a pretty popular place . . . to understanding certain aspects of Shanghai. I feel that if they [Japanese] get together with Chinese and communicate about certain things, the Japanese members' understanding of the Chinese market would increase and deepen.

Example 8: Sha-fei– "They have different eating habits."

Riben ren yinshi xiguan gen women Shanghai de buyiyang. Tamen bu xihuna chi hefan, duibudui, shi hen zhengchang….wo juede tamen chule gonse zhiwai, tamen ingai pingchang shi hen shao zuo women zuode shi zuo, qu women qu de defang. Tameng ye shenghou zhe ju de fanze ye shi. Tamen qu mai donxi de difang, yinggai duo gen women pingshi de shengho shang you de bijiao hao. Zheyangde hua, tamen shichang de liaojie keneng shao yidian. Zhiyou Jiushi tamen gonzuo shi kan shichang, danshi pingshi shenghua zhong keneng shi shao yidian. Ta, Okkano-san keneng duo yixie (lauging) Yinwei ta gen women yiqi chi hefang. Guangao ye, zhe fangmian de liao jie yingngai shuo bijioa zhongyao.

Japanese people have different eating and drinking habits from us. They don't like eating Chinese-style box lunches with us. It's normal, I think, except when they are in the company, they [Japanese members] hardly do

> any of the things we do or go to the places we go. The houses they live in are also like that. The places they go for eating and shopping have to be a little better than those we go to. In this way, their understanding of the market is lacking. They only go to take a look at the market for work, but in their personal life, they do that quite a bit less. Okano-san's understanding might be better <laughing>, because he eats box lunches with us. In the advertising industry, this kind of understanding is more important.

Although their comments are not in direct reference to the advertisement production itself, Yang and Sha-fei also state that Japanese members' understanding of the Chinese market is incomplete. Noteworthy is that they both refer to the eating habits of Japanese members as "foreign" and as part of the reason why their understanding of the Chinese market is not sufficient. Yang particularly mentions Kawamura's habit of eating lunch, and Sha-fei points to Okano as an exception—because Okano eats like and with Chinese members, he has a better understanding of the Chinese market. Yang also says that Japanese members should communicate with Chinese members in order to obtain knowledge about Shanghai and its market; Zhou (Example 5) and Ning (Example 6) make similar suggestions. Yang's negative evaluation about and advice for Kawamura stems explicitly from the fact that Kawamura is not acting like the local people of Shanghai, whereas Sha-fei's positive evaluation of Okano's understanding of the Chinese market is based on her observation that he acts (i.e., eats) like the Chinese. In Yang's perspective, as long as Kawamura continues to frequent the expensive department store, which only wealthy people and foreigners can afford, he will never really understand Chinese consumers and the

Chinese market. She implies that he should go more native in order to have a better understanding of the Chinese market.

A common theme in Examples 4, 5, 6, and 7 is that Japanese members lack in their understanding of Chinese consumers and the Chinese market and that they therefore need to actively learn about them from their Chinese counterparts. However, an even more important underlying premise in these examples is that Japanese members are incompetent to carry out a certain type of professional task—understanding Chinese consumers and the Chinese market. Because they are not Chinese, they cannot and do not feel, think, or act like the Chinese.

When individuals make competence judgments, they frequently situate them in the discourse of their stories (Kovarsky, Duchan, and Maxwell, 1999)—as members of Shanghai-BDK do during interviews. In the examples above, it is a discourse of differentiating Japanese members that enables the Chinese members to make competence judgments about Japanese members. The more the Japanese are different from *us*, the less competent they are; the Chinese interviewees make competence evaluations by laying out examples or events which they believe show how "Chinese" or "Japanese" the individuals are.

In the next portion of my discussion, members of Shanghai-BDK make sense of their experiences in a manner that differs from that examined in this portion. Narratives examined in this sub-section use individuals' national-cultural backgrounds or the degree of cultural assimilation as a point of departure for making judgments about professional incompetence. Narratives to be examined in the next sub-section begin with judgments about professional (in)competence and then generalize the judgments into a comparison of national-cultural backgrounds.

4.3.2. Evaluation as differentiation

When members of Shanghai-BDK talk about professional competence, they do not simply make judgments about competence itself. The national-cultural dichotomy between "Chinese" and "Japanese" frequently influences the way in which members conceptualize competence. The next example is an excerpt from an interview with Makimura, a Japanese designer from Tokyo-BDK.

Example 9: Makimura—"I don't trust Chinese designers."

> *Boku wa hakkiri itte shinyoushite masen. . . Dezaina ga douiukoto wo suru noka tteiu koto mo mada wakatenaishi. Moji o oite eo oite oshimai. Ki o tskau tokoro ga chigau. Souiu imi dewa dakara shinyou shtieinai. Chuugoku no koukoku toka dezain ga mada seijuku shieinai. . . Nihon no hou ga koukoku wa gijutsuuteki niwa susunde masuyo. Chuugoku no koukoku no reberu tteiu nowa harukani hikui. Mou daigakusei to shougakusei kurai no. Sekai teki ni iuto, nihon ga koukou haitta kuraide amerika ga daigakusei toka shakaijin. Chuugoku wa hotondo youchien kurai.*
>
> To be honest, I don't trust Chinese designers . . . They haven't yet understood well what designers are supposed to do. They place letters and pictures, that's about it. The points they care about are different from what I care about. In that regard, I don't trust them . . . Regarding Chinese advertisements, the designs are not sophisticated yet . . . Japan is more advanced than China in terms of skills of advertisements. The quality of advertisements in China is really low. It's like Japan is a college student and China is an elementary school student. Worldwide, it is like while Japan has just entered high school, America is in college or already working after graduating from the college. China would be almost in kindergarten.

Makimura is clear in that he does not have faith in the credibility of Chinese designers because of the poor quality of their work. However, in elaborating on his explanations, he comes to compare China to Japan, positioning the former lower than the latter, projecting a hierarchical relationship between Chinese and Japanese designs and designers in his evaluation of the professional competence of the Chinese designers he knows.

Oyama, a Japanese television commercial planner of Tokyo-BDK, makes a similar distinction, indicated by his use of the Japanese deictic word *kocchi*, which literally means "this side," when stating his concerns about the work to be done in Shanghai (for the reader's benefit, I will underline the deictic word in both the original and translated versions).

Example 10: Oyama—"Here, it would have been troublesome."

*Note: *Shizru* is a technical word used in the Japanese advertising industry that indicates the visible or audible sensibility of something to eat or drink. *Shizuru katto*, or the *Shizuru* scene, refers to the moment in which the product is presented and usually marks the highlight of the commercial.

> *Totoeba Peco no shizuru katto mo yosan no tsugou de nihon ni aruno o tuskau koto ni natta kedo, moshi <u>kocchi</u> de toru,tte koto ni nattara taihen data to omou. Shizuru katto tte teihen nandesu. Ooishisou ni toranai to ikenai. Demo <u>kocchi</u> dato maa kore de iijan te kotoni narisou.*
>
> For example, about the *shizuru* scene of Peco, I am worried about something. Due to budget restrictions, it has turned out that we'll use the *shizuru* scene we already have in Japan. But if we had decided to shoot the television commercial <u>here</u>, it would have been troublesome. It's very difficult to shoot *shizuru* scenes. You need to shoot it to make the food look tasty. But <u>here</u>, I am guessing that they would just do it like 'Well, that should do,' without paying great attention to what the food really looks like.

Oyama shows his concern for shooting *shizuru* scenes “here” in China. He is afraid that Chinese members of the creative team of Shanghai-BDK would not pay enough attention to the skillful details required for the successful shooting of *shizuru* scenes. By the use of the deictic word “*kocchi*,’ or “this side,” however, he is also simultaneously presenting the Chinese creative team as different from the Japanese creative team. Japanese deixis, which literally indicates a relational location, can also refer to persons who belong to the location, in terms of the relationship to the speaker. Note that the interview occurred in Shanghai and that Oyama mentions “what we already have in Japan” and implies that “what we already have in Japan” is satisfactory work before uttering “*kocchi*.” Since Oyama is a member of the Japanese creative team in Tokyo-BDK, while “*kocchi*” indicates where he is actually presenting at the time of the talk (i.e., Shanghai, China), more importantly, it signifies the creative team of Shanghai-BDK as opposed to the creative team of Tokyo-BDK, of which he himself is a member. When Oyama shows his concern for the quality of work done by the Chinese creative team, he does so not only by distancing himself and the Japanese creative team from the Chinese creative team, but also by evaluating the latter as inferior to the former.

Komura, a Japanese AE of Shanghai-BDK, also refers to the “Japanese” quality of work when she complains about the quality of designs done by a Chinese member of Shanghai-BDK.

Example 11: Koyama—"Japanese design companies are totally different."

> *Hasshoku no chigai kurai kangaete kureyo tte kanji. Nihonjin no yatteru gaichuu, zenzen chigau yo. Heimen toka, saigo no tsume ga amai. Hasshoku no chigai toka made, rogo no hiritsu toka, iro toka ookisa toka, kangae nai no. Nihonjin wa sugoku komakai.*
>
> It's like, come on, think about something basic, like differences between original colors and printed colors. Japanese design companies are totally different . For example, say, posters. Chinese members of the creative team of Shanghai-BDK don't really polish up their work at the final stage. Something like differences between original colors and printed colors, the ratio of the size of logo, colors and size—the Chinese members don't think enough. Japanese take great care with the details of their work . . .

Her complaints are about the unsatisfactory quality of work done by a Chinese designer she is working with. In her opinion, the designer did not think enough about the fact that colors would look different once printed on a particular type of paper made exclusively for posters. In her perspective, a professional designer should take this into account as he is producing his work. As her narrative continues, her complaints about and dissatisfaction with the product by the designer become generalized into complaints about "Chinese" designers as opposed to "Japanese" designers. Contrasting "Japanese" designers' work and "Chinese" designers' work, she negatively evaluates the particular design and designer as *totally different* from "Japanese" work.[17] In other words, her competence judgments about the particular work done by a particular designer become generalized into judgments about "Chinese" by making distinctions between "Chinese" and "Japanese."

[17] The Japanese designers she mentions are not those of Shanghai-BDK or Tokyo-BDK. She refers to those of partnering companies in Shanghai with which she places an order for designs.

4.3.3. Interdependence between differentiation and evaluation

In my analysis of Example 1, I have presented members' different ways of constructing intercultural experience; Chinese members relate the unsuccessful recording to cultural differences while Japanese members relate it to professional competence. One point I attempted to make was that it is not that so-called cultural differences as a super-structure determine intercultural communication, but rather what individuals regard as meaningful constructs their intercultural experiences—cultural differences or professional competence.

However, as analysis of examples in the previous two sub-sections has shown, it should be noted that individuals' focus on either cultural differences or professional competence does not necessarily decrease the significance of the other. That is, when individuals emphasize cultural differences, this does not mean that they do not ascribe (in)competence evaluation to the differences they observed, while when individuals make (in)competence judgment, this does not mean that they make judgments only about professional performance regardless of who is the performer. Indeed, the two kinds of narratives, i.e., the narratives about professional (in)competence and narratives about Chinese-Japanese disparities, are intertwined and perpetuate each other in the context of Shanghai-BDK.

Accordingly, Example 1 may deserve further thought. In my initial analysis of Example 1, I demonstrated contrasting narratives between Chinese members and Japanese members; the former emphasizes cultural differences and the latter emphasizes professional competence. However, Chinese members' attribution of the unsuccessful event to “cultural differences” may become a way in which they blame the Japanese incapacity to understand the differences between the two cultures. Likewise, Japanese members’ competence judgments about the quality of recording work may be related to a judgment about the work done by *Chinese* professionals as opposed to *Japanese* professionals. I cannot elaborate on this speculation, because I have not recorded concrete evidences which ratify this speculation. However, the point is that, at Shanghai-BDK, the discourse of Chinese-Japanese disparities is not independent of members’ making judgments about the professional competence of the other national-cultural members, while discourse of (in)competence likely produces Chinese-Japanese disparities. Whether explicitly or implicitly, the interrelatedness of these two factors is influences how members of Shanghai-BDK experience intercultural communication.

.

4.4. SHIFT OF MEMBERSHIP AND MULTIPLE MEANINGS OF “CHINESE” AND “JAPANESE”

In the previous section, I have discussed how Chinese and Japanese members construct and present national-cultural disparities between each other while simultaneously making competence judgments about each other. However, it should be emphasized that such a line between “Chinese” and “Japanese” is not always drawn between actual Chinese and Japanese people . As McPhail (1997) states, rigid insider-outsider borders based on existing categories (e.g., nationality, ethnicity, gender) are often challenged and questioned. For example, Moon’s work (2000) concerns the “fragmentation of traditional ideas of ‘culture as nation-state'" (p. 216). Positioning herself as a critical intercultural scholar, Moon studies women's perceptions of their social class membership focusing on everyday communication as the primary way in which their culture and membership are expressed and constructed. She claims that the idea of "culture as nation-state" has been predominantly employed by "mainstream" intercultural research and needs to be modified.

The notion of what is "Chinese" or "Japanese" *per se* entails multiple meanings other than national-cultural references, beyond actual individuals' native national-cultural background, in individuals' experiences. Work by Nadamitsu et al. (2000) shows that national-cultural differences and similarities are not fixed notions in individuals' experiences. Nadamitsu et al. demonstrate that whether Chinese and Japanese people perceive similarities and differences in each other depends on contexts of daily activities and social interactions, and they claim that meanings attached to differences and similarities are multiple. As Shaw (1994) suggests, "official meanings of things" are open to modification across individuals' interpretations (p.93). For example, modified meanings can indicate emotion, excitement, psychic movement, while modified meanings can refer to loyalty to pre-existing status domains. Accordingly, members of Shanghai-BDK do not necessarily associate themselves with their national-cultural group (e.g., Chinese or Japanese) and rather shift their membership across various kinds of situations, (re)constructing the meanings of "Chinese" and "Japanese" into something other than the expression of national-cultural background.

In this section, 4.4, I discuss the multiple and conditional identification observed at Shanghai-BDK. In the following sub-section, I will first describe what occurs right after the event described in Example 1. For the reader's benefit, I will repeat the last part of Example 1 in parentheses.

4.4.1. Chinese members' dissociation from "Chinese"

Example 12: Chi-tang—"It's different from us, *we* are in the private sector."

(Shortly after this conversation, the project team left the station and waited outside for a car to go back to the office of Shanghai-BDK. During the wait, Chi-tang said to me, "*Ganjue buyiyang. Women ganjue buyiyang*" (=[How the sound is] felt is different. Our [way of] feeling ((hearing)) [the sound] is different).) I suggested to him that it might be the quality of sound rather than the kind of sound which displeased Tanaka, the client. (I knew this was the case, at least from Tanaka's perspective, because I could understand his Japanese comments). Responding to my remark, Chi-tang said, "*Tamen buhao, inwei tamen shi guoying de jigou; gem wemen buyiyang, women shi siying*." (=It's bad because it's a state-run radio station; it's different from us, we are in the private sector).

As shown in the beginning of this excerpt (in the parentheses) and described in my earlier analysis of Example 1, Chi-tang is originally attributing the unsuccessful outcome to cultural differences between *us* (Chinese) and *them* (Japanese) regarding how to "feel" the sound. However, responding to my suggestion that the reason why the client was displeased may be the quality of recording work rather than the different ways of "feeling" the sound between Chinese and Japanese, Chi-tang now attributes the cause of failure to the incompetence of the state-run sector (i.e., the radio station) as opposed to the private sector (i.e., Shanghai-BDK), of which he is a member. He states, "*Tamen* *buhao, inwei tamen shi guoying de jigou; gem wemen buyiyang, women shi saying,"* which means, "It's bad because it's a state-run radio station; it's different from *us*, we are in the private sector" (emphasis added). That is, differences which shape his narrative as well as his experience of the event at one point now become ineffective in response to my remark. Instead, Chi-tang now draws another line—this time between employees of state-run institutions and those of the private sector. It is interesting that Chi-tang is now affiliating himself with Shanghai-BDK itself, not with the Chinese members of Shanghai-BDK, by identifying as the one who works in the private sector, as opposed to those who work for the state of China.

In an attempt to examine the shifting way in which Chi-tang constructs his membership across different narratives, it seems important to study how "we"-ness is expressed in his use of the pronoun "*women*" (*we, us,* or *our*) in both types of narratives.[18] (For the readers' benefit, I will underline the pronoun in both the original and the translation).

From Example 1

> "*Ganjue buyiyang.* <u>*Women*</u> *ganjue buyiyang*"
>
> (=[The way of] feeling [the sound] is different. <u>Our</u> [way of] feeling [the sound] is different).

[18] The Chinese word *women* by itself can be translated as *we* or *us* depending on the position of the word in a sentence, but it itself cannot be translated as *our*. (*Women de* is translated as *our*.) However, when semantically translating a sentence which includes *women*, the best translation may include the English word *our* rather than *we* or *us*.

From Example 12

> "*Tamen buhao, inwei tamen shi guoying de jigou; gem wemen buyiyang, women shi siying*."
>
> (=It's bad because it's a state-run radio station; it's different from us, we are in the private sector).

As Brown and Gilman (1960) state, the use of pronouns enables a speaker to belong to a category. In the two examples above, what the pronoun usage indicates differs across each statement. "*Women*" indicates "Chinese" when Chi-tang emphasizes the difference in the way of feeling the sound between Chinese and Japanese; in contrast, he uses "*women*" to refer to "the members of Shanghai-BDK" when he says that the recording work was deficient because it was done by a state-run radio station. By the use of the pronoun "*women*" in the former statement, he speaks from and represents a Chinese perspective as opposed to Japanese; in the latter, he identifies with Shanghai-BDK as a private company as opposed to the state-run radio station. Chi-tang shifts his membership across the kinds of experiences he constructs in his narratives, and vice versa; he constructs different kinds of experiences out of the same events as he shifts his membership. When he identifies himself as "Chinese," he gives cultural differences between China and Japan as a reason for the unsuccessful outcome, whereas when he identifies himself as a member of the private sector, he gives something other than cultural differences, such as the professional inferiority of the state-run ration station, as the reason for the unsuccessful outcome.

Elements other than national-cultural identity play significant roles in shaping memberships. Identification with the private sector as opposed to the state is one such element, especially for Chinese members. Chinese members do not only employ this membership as opposed to those who actually work for the outside state-run institution, but they also emphasize this membership when they take pride in their hard-working attitude toward their profession or in the high(er) quality of their work. Below is an excerpt from the interview with Fei-ming, a Chinese female copywriter, followed by a dialogue between this author (interviewer) and Ning.

Example 13: Fei-ming—"Chinese people are just like this."

> *Birushuo, zuo gonzuo hen xixi….Wo you yiqian zai yige Chongguo gonsi gonzuo guo, bushi feichang xixi de. Wo jiu hue gun tamen xuede. Yinwei, wo jiu tamen de xixin shi dui de wo de cuxin shi budui de. Na wo hui gaizheng ziji….Birushuo, gonzuo de xiaolu, hai you ni de jinsheng jizhongli, rugou zai Zhongguo de gonsi de limain, ta keneng, ba ta yige sinqi zuo de shi, keneng zai zhebian yitian jiu wanjue de. Cunzai zheyang de wenti, suoyi Zhongguo xianzai zheyangze. Yinwei Zhonguo, Yuanlai Zhongguo-ren, ta jishi zheyang.*
>
> For example, Japanese companies [or employees] care so much about the details of the work . . . I used to work in a Chinese company. They do not care so much about details. I can learn from the Japanese. Because I think their detail-orientedness is right, my rough way is wrong. So, I can change myself . . . For example, the efficiency of work, also the degree of concentration. In a Chinese company, something they'd do in a week, they [people in Japanese companies] finish in a day. This kind of problem exists in Chinese companies, so China is like this now. Because Chinese people are originally-, they are just like this.

Fei-ming is comparing Japanese companies and Chinese companies, with particular mention of the Chinese company she previously worked for. She lists three aspects which she thinks are better about Japanese companies than Chinese companies: orientation to detail, efficiency, and concentration. The inferiority of Chinese companies in these respects is these reason why China is "like this" now and the nature of Chinese people is "like this." "*Yuanlai Zhongguo-ren, ta jiushi zheyang*," which means "Chinese are originally-, they are just like this."[19] It is interesting that she uses the third pronoun, "*ta*," which means "she," "he," or "it," in rephrasing "Chinese" in this sentence, despite the fact she herself is Chinese. This indicates that she distances herself from "Chinese" in her narrative; however, notice that she uses the word "*yuanlai*," or "originally," in describing the nature of Chinese people. What she distances herself from exactly is "what Chinese people are *originally* like," in her definition, such as not paying attention to details, not efficient, and not concentrating in work. Therefore, it is important to note that she clearly sates in the middle of her narrative above that she can learn and change, adopting Japanese ways which she believes are better than Chinese ways. In mentioning the three differing aspects between Japanese and Chinese companies, she states, "*Wo jiu hui gun tamen xuede*" and "*Na wo hui* gaizheng ziji," meaning "I can learn from them[Japanese]" and "I can change myself."[20] Identifying herself as somebody who will and can learn from Japanese work

[19] It is not clear what Fei-ming means by saying "like this." However, since she is comparing Japanese and Chinese companies with defining problems of Chinese companies, it seems reasonable to assume that she means a negative aspect of China in comparison with Japan, such as economic status.

[20] "*Hui*" is an auxiliary verb of Chinese and can be translated into "will" or "can." "Hui" implies that the action indicated by the following verb is "possible and thus will be carried out."

habits and who can change her bad Chinese habits, Fei-ming distinguishes herself from "Chinese" who keep to their traditional bad work habits. I do not mean to claim that Chinese people have bad work habits. I am stating that, however, this is the way in which Fei-ming describe "Chinese" as different from herself in this particular narrative.

Likewise, Ning distances himself from being "Chinese" by identifying himself as somebody who practices better work ethics. See an excerpt from the interview with him. Since the context of the interview seems to be important for understanding his narrative this time, I include my questions in the excerpt.

Example 14: Ning—"I am not like the Chinese."

*Note: The interviewer is indicated with "I."

1. Ning*: Chuangyi bu de juguan shi, riben gunjia hao. Chuangyi de hua wo jude zhengde haishi ran Zhongguo ren zuo lai de hao. Birushuo copywriter, zhege doush ran Zhongguo ren zuo lai de hao, inwei Zhongguo wenzi de fanmian de wenti. Danshi guanli fanmian, wo jue de caishi Riben shi de bijao hao. Wo chengren zhege guanri fanshi de hua, Riben hao.*

As for the administration of the creative team, the Japanese way is better. As for the creative work itself, I really think that it is still better to let the Chinese do it. For example, the copywriting. It's better to let the Chinese do this, because it is a matter of Chinese letters. But as for the aspect of administration, I feel the Japanese way is better. I admit that about the administration. The Japanese way is good.

2. I: *Yingye bu ne? Ruguo you bijioa duo de Zhongguo ren de hua, ni jude huebuhue bian hao, houzhe,*

How about the account executive team? Do you think it is better to have more Chinese members on the team, or,

3. Ning*: Bian de gen huai.*

It can become worse.

4. I*:* *Huh?*

Huh?

5. Ning: *Gen huai* <laughing>.

Worse<laughing>.

6. I: Gen huai? <laughing with confused tone>

Worse? <laughing with confused tone>

7. Ning: Dui.

Right.

8.I*:* *Xianzai yijing huai ma*?<still laughing with confused tone>

Is it already bad now? <still laughing with confused tone>

9.Ning*: Xianzai, xianzai shuo hai keyi, Xianzai yinye bu hai keyi.*

No, now you can say it's ok. Now, the account executive team is ok.

10.I*:* *Weishengme hui huai ne?*

Why would it be worse?

11.Ning: *Wo juede taide buyiyang. Wobutai xiang Zhongguo ren. Danshi, wo yexu wo buzhidao, wo yexu cuo le, danshi zai wo guannian danzhong, Zhongguo ren, tebie shi zhong yiquian neizhong "kokueikigyo" guoying renja donshi, duoshi bugan shiqing de, geiwo neizhong ganjue. Danshi wo jude, wo xihunag de, wo xihuan de jiushi xiang Kawamura-san de "yarikata," gonzuo taidu.*

I think attitudes are different. I am not like the Chinese very much. But-, I may not be knowledgeable, I may be wrong, but in my view, the Chinese, especially the kind who work for old state-run companies, don't work. They give me this kind of feeling. But I think, what I like is something like Kawamura-san's way, his work attitude.

12.I: *Ni shuo, Zhongguo ren de huai de taidu jiushi "kokueikigyo" de Zhongguo ren de taidu, shibushi?*

When you say Chinese people's bad attitude, you mean the attitude of Chinese people who work for state-run companies, right**?**

13Ning: *Danshi, xianzai jiushi haishi neyang. Inwei wo juede, qitade ren duoshi jibenshang wudian duo le wudian ban dou bijiao qu de.*

But, it's still like that now. Because I think other people of Shanghai-BDK all basically leave the office at 5:00 or 5:30.

Note that the interviewee of Example 12, Ning, is the same as that of Example 6. In Example 6, he is stating that Japanese members should learn about Chinese consumers and the market from Chinese counterparts, as below.

Example 6: Ning—"They don't understand the Chinese."

> Their creative team's biggest shortcoming is that they don't understand the Chinese market. They don't understand the psychology of the Chinese people. Isn't that right? They don't know what Chinese like and what Chinese dislike. This is the biggest disadvantage. I think if they want to do real creative work, the Chinese and Japanese should communicate with each other. The most important thing is, at this time, that Japanese members of the creative team should sincerely listen to what Chinese members say.

On the other hand, in Example 12 Ning, as shown in his first turn, clearly states that the "Japanese" way of managing administration is better while he still insists that the creative work should be done by Chinese. Ning is clear about which aspects of advertising work should be done in the Chinese or Japanese way.

More significantly, Ning himself makes a negative, but humorous, comment about Chinese people in response to my question in turn 2; he expresses his thought that having more Chinese members on the account executive team would make the team "worse," or "*gun huai*," implying something negative about Chinese people or Chinese-ness. As the dialogue proceeds, he elaborates on this and specifies the target of his negative feeling; it is people of "state-run companies," or their work ethic, that he evaluates negatively. It is interesting to note that, as he does so, he noticeably distances himself from Chinese people in more general terms; he states, "I am not like the Chinese very much" or "*Wo butai xiang Zhongguo-ren*" in turn 11. Whereas he makes the target of his criticism specific (i.e., employees of state-run companies) at one point during the interview (in turn 11 of Example 14), the target of his criticism still includes Chinese people in general, and he dissociates himself from Chinese people as well as from state-run companies.

Note that Ning's dissociation from Chinese-ness is closely related to his valuation of a good work ethic as well as to how he positions himself with respect to that valuation. The key point which makes somebody "Chinese" or not, in Ning's narratives, is their attitude toward work. As Ning reveals especially in turn 11, he clearly makes a distinction between Chinese and Japanese values or individuals with respect to work ethics; he states, "I think attitudes are different," or "*Wo juede taidu buyiyang*." In turn 13, Ning rejects my assumption that the

Chinese people he is evaluating as having a bad attitude are those of state-run companies, not those of Shanghai-BDK. He associates other people of Shanghai-BDK with state-run companies because they leave early (and do not work as much as he does or thinks they should). That is, whether working for private sectors or for the state, insofar as they do not work as much as he thinks they should, they are "Chinese." As he states in the end of turn 11, he likes Kawamura's attitude towards work, which he himself shares but "Chinese" people do not share.

Chi-tang, Fei-ming, and Ning have one important thing in common. All of them, despite the fact that they *are* Chinese in national-cultural and ethnic terms, dissociate themselves from other Chinese people in terms of professionalism. Within the context of these narratives in particular, meanings attached to "Chinese" or Chinese state-run companies refer to a low(er) quality of work and a less motivated attitude to work. A kind of lifestyle, or "habits," of working serves as "symbolic capital" to Chi-tang, Fei-ming, and Ning and functions to differentiate themselves from "Chinese" others, presupposing their abilities, motives, and credibility (Bourdieu, 1991). Thus, in their narratives, this particular kind of Chinese-ness does not apply to themselves.

4.4.2. Chinese members' identification with "Japanese"

It should also be noted, however, that the three Chinese members' ways of dissociating themselves from Chinese-ness diverge at a critical point.[21] Chi-

[21] Besides the point dicussed in this sub-section, their different professions and related memberships (i.e., Ning is an account executive in the account exeutive team and Chi-tang is a copywrite in the creative team) seem to be also an important factor of why they have different

tang's dissociation does not necessarily lead him to an association with Japanese members of Shanghai-BDK. In contrast, Fei-ming's and Ning's dissociation is related to her and his solidarity with Japanese members of Shanghai-BDK; in their perspectives, it puts them closer to the Japanese because they like (and perhaps themselves assume) the Japanese attitude toward working. The excerpt below, which is from the same interview as that of Example 14, noticeably demonstrates Ning's identification with the Japanese work ethics and members as well as his dissociation from the Chinese work ethics and members.

Example 15: Ning—"My way of thinking is closer to the Japanese way."

> *Ruguo, ni zhengde yao wo shuo shihua de hua, wo juede wo gen tiqing Riben ren, bushi gen kaojin zuze de Zhonguo ren. Wo juede wo de xiangfa bijiao kaojin Riben shi. Birusho, zhe zhong gonzuo de taidu, jiu bijiao jiejin Riben ren. Yinwen wo xihuan zhege. Wo bushi shuo wo ijing xiguan le, danshi, wo bunlai cong neixin de, jiu wo juede, zhezhong xiguan shi haode. Zhezhong, ruguo dao le wudian, dagai jiu dou xiaban de hua, wo jude de zhe ge shi "kirai." Shi zhe yang.*
>
> For example, you really want me to say real things, I think I will tell my opinions to the Japanese, not to the Chinese, which I am originally close to. I think my way of thinking is closer to the Japanese way. For example, this kind of working attitude is more like the Japanese people. That's because I like this way. I am not saying that I am already used to it, but I, originally, from the bottom of my heart, I feel this way is good. This kind of, I mean, if everybody leaves the office when it's five o'clock, I think I don't like that.

---

identification with Japaense-ness. For more discussion, see 4.5. *Chinese-Japanese dichotomy as related to organizational orders* in this Chapter.

Note that Ning refers to "*gonzuo de taidu*," or "working attitude," again in this excerpt as a reason why he thinks he is "closer" to Japanese than to Chinese. Le Page and Taboret-Keller (1985) state that identification with particular groups involves adoption of the "supposed rules of those groups one perceives to be socially desirable" to the extent that "one wishes to be identified with them" (p. 184). For Ning, a hard-working attitude (e.g., to not always leave the office at 5:00) is a supposed rule for Japanese people, or Japanese members of Shanghai-BDK, that he regards as desirable. Therefore, by identifying with "Japanese" who supposedly practice this desirable work ethic, Ning positions himself as one who practices this desirable work ethics as well. His work ethic functions not only to dissociate himself from the Chinese way and Chinese members but also to associating himself with the Japanese way and Japanese members.

However, such apparent freedom to "choose" identification is not free from constraints of social order (Shaw 1994). According to Shaw, meanings individuals select from experience and identities they desire tend to be consistent with social structures both in historical and institutional terms. Hall (1996) claims that the constitution of identities occurs by the use of the resources of history, language, and culture. That is, individuals construct their realities "within limits defined by the imperatives of the social system" and also to meet such social arrangements (Shaw, 1994, p.113). According to Le Page and Tabourte-Keller (1985), motivations for group solidarity and personal individuality are among such social constraints. Likewise, Schiffirin (1996) emphasizes potentially conflicting dimensions of solidarity and distance embedded in social relationships as strongly related to individuals' management of (various) identities at both interactional and institutional levels.

Therefore, it is also important to notice that Ning mentions Chinese people as natively "closer" to him; he says, "*wo juede wo gen tiqing Riben ren ,bushi gen kaojin zuji de Zhonguo ren*," which means "I think I will say my opinions to the Japanese, not to the Chinese, which I am originally close to." This shows that Ning's dissociation from "Chinese" is based on the very fact that he *is* Chinese, in his narratives. Ning's solidarity with Japanese members is related to his individuality among Chinese members in terms of how he defines his work ethic, and the multiple relationship between solidarity and distance is also related to the dual (or multiple) meanings attached to Chinese-ness in Ning's narratives—"Chinese" as a reference to national-cultural background and "Chinese" as an indication of a certain type of work attitude or work ethic . It is not only that the meaning of "Chinese" shifts across the memberships individuals construct, but also that various meanings attached to "Chinese" co-exist, each enabling the other to be meaningful in the construction of experiences and identities.

Tang's narrative below also demonstrates that solidarity, or identification, with a particular national-cultural group is not a monolithic phenomenon in intercultural experiences. Tang is a Chinese account executive manager who used to live and work in Japan for an extended period of time, and he is proficient in Japanese. Although he is Chinese, he associates himself with Japanese-ness,. While he is not exactly identifying with Japanese as Ning does, he represents and speaks for the Japanese based on his knowledge of and experiences with Japanese people and culture. The excerpt below, which is conducted in Japanese, shows how he affiliates with the Japanese *as* a Chinese member of Shanghai-BDK.

Example 16: Tang—"I always tell them about Japanese things."

> *Saisho wa nande Tang-san, Nihon jin mitai ni sonna teinei nanda tte itteiru keredomo,iya, sore jibun no shuukan desu. Boku Nihon ni iku mae to itta ato de, jinsei sukoshi kawatta tte iuno aruno ne. Sorewa yappari jibun no keiken to shite aru. Boku itsumo Chuugoku no sutahhu to issho ni ite, Nihon no koto itte run desu. Nihon jin wa naze souiu koto o suru noka setsumei suru. Sore o minna ni rikai shite moratte, wareware no shigoto o rikai shite morau.*
>
> At first everybody asks why Tang-san is so polite like the Japanese, but it's my custom. It's like my life has changed since I went to Japan. It really serves as an important experience. When I am with Chinese staff, I always tell them about Japanese things. I explain why Japanese people do certain things. By increasing their understanding about [Japanese ways], I am trying to increase their understanding about our work.

Tang is clear that his experience of having lived in Japan is influencing the way he treats the relationship between Chinese and Japanese members of Shanghai-BDK in communicating with other Chinese members. For Tang, his acquired knowledge about Japanese people and culture as a foreigner is as important as his solidarity with Chinese members in identifying himself as the liaison between Chinese and Japanese members and in constructing his intercultural experiences as related to such identification. In this regard, his Japanese-ness cannot have significance without his Chinese-ness and vice versa. As far as Tang's membership in the context of Shanghai-BDK is concerned, meanings attached to Japanese-ness and Chinese-ness are complementary to each other.

4.4.3. Meanings of Chinese-ness for Japanese members

Japanese-ness plays a vital role for Chinese members in identifying themselves in the context of Shanghai-BDK. As well, Chinese-ness entails various meanings for Japanese members in their making sense of experiences. I have observed, however, that when Chinese-ness grants significance with experiences of Japanese members in their narratives, it occurs within a larger context of their sojourn in China rather than in the limited context of Shanghai-BDK. Being away from the home country, or working as a foreigner, the meaning of their intercultural experience seems to overlap, to a significant extent, with that in China itself. Japanese members are sojourners in China; therefore, working at Shanghai-BDK significantly means working as "cultural strangers in a foreign land" to them; thus they likely make sense of their personal and professional experience as being part of being in a foreign society—China (Kim & Gudykunst, 1987, p.8). In this section, I will show three examples of Chinese-ness that influence how Japanese members construct particular aspects of their experience and China, presenting a particular meaning attached to Chinese-ness in so doing.

Goda, a Japanese account executive and a vice president of Shanghai-BDK, related an aspect of his adventurous sprit to Chinese-ness. The excerpt below is from the conversation I had with him about his sojourn in China.

Example 17: Goda—“I fit in here.”

> *Atterun dayone. Chi ga sawagu tte iuka. Ore yamakke ga aru kara sa.*
>
> I fit in here. It’s like I tingle with excitement. I am into gambling.

In order to understand this comment, readers should remember that China is a new market in general, and specifically for the advertisement industry. It is unpredictable and, while it has more potential, doing business in China is considered tougher and more challenging than doing business in Japan. Goda is implicitly contrasting here (i.e., China) and there (i.e., Japan) in terms of the excitement he feels in business situations, and he is saying that he likes working in China better than in Japan because it is more exciting and fits his personality better. That is also to say that, to Goda, things ‘Chinese” represent excitement within this particular narrative. He told the author in another part of the conversation that he prefers working in China over Japan.

For Koyama, a female Japanese account executive, the meaning of working in China is related to gender issues in professional environments, as reviewed below.

Example 18: Koyama –“In China, women are strong.”

> *Chuugoku wa onna no hito tsuyoi yo. Zenzen byoudou damon. Uchi mo Lin-san toka kanri shoku no hito iru janai. Nihon to zenzen chigau. Nihon wa yappari onnna wa otokono hito no ashisutanto mitai na shigoto shika yarasete moraenai . . Nihon ima keiki warui kara sa, yosan kezuurarete chicchai shigoto yattetara yappari tsuman nai jan. Kocchi wa ima nobiteru kara, ookii shigoto yarerushi omoshiroiyo.*

> In China, women are strong. Women are equal to men. In our company, there is also a female executive like Ms. Lin. It's very different from Japan. In Japan, women are only allowed to work as an assistant to men, after all . . . Japan is now in recession, so budgets for advertisements would be decreased and I would have to deal with small accounts. It's boring. The industry is growing here, so it's more interesting to work here.

Koyama is comparing Japan and China in terms of working environments, and she regards China as the place where she as a female professional has more opportunities. She lists concrete examples such as budgetary differences, and especially notes the different environments for female professionals in Japan and China. As in Goda's narrative, in Koyama's narrative Chinese-ness becomes a positive part of her experience when gender issues and job interest are concerned.

Kawamura, another account executive and vice president of Shanghai-BDK, constructs the meaning of "Chinese" in a different way from the two examples above. Unlike Goda and Koyama, who construct the meaning of Chinese-ness in the domain of their professional career as ad-man/woman and also at an emotional level, "Chinese" for Kawamura seems to have the connotation of carrying out his duties within the organization. See below.

Example 19: Kawamura—"I wasn't interested in China and Chinese things."

> *Chuugoku toka souiuno zenzen kyoumi nakatta no. Souiu no suki demo nakatta shi. . . fudan wa chuuka ryori ikanai no, Chuugoku-jin no hito to issho no toki toka shinnen kai toka souiu toki janaito.*

> I wasn't interested in China and Chinese things. I didn't even like it . . . I don't usually go to Chinese restaurants unless I am with Chinese members or for special occasion such as the New Year's party.

Kawamura's narrative shows that his experience at Shanghai-BDK and China is constructed by making himself as an individual distant from Chinese things such as Chinese culture or food. The excerpt shows that, to Kawamura, going to Chinese restaurants is not something he is willing to do unless he is with his Chinese colleagues or he needs to do so when attending organizational events. To Kawamura, relating himself to something "Chinese" is carried out only as his organizational duties require.

While the three particular individuals define their relationship with "Chinese" in different ways in my description above, I do not mean to claim that they are the only way these members associate themselves with things "Chinese." Nor do I mean to suggest that, for example, Kawamura never considers his experiences in China as challenging or opportunity-laden. I have indeed heard that Kawamura was talking about how dramatic the Chinese market was when he came to Shanghai and how he survived it. It should be stressed that Japanese members of Shanghai-BDK construct various meanings of Chinese-ness as a way of identifying Self, contingent upon particulars of the event they experience. Yet the three kinds of meaning of Chinese-ness presented in the three narratives above seem to be ubiquitous, as well as typical, of how most Japanese members of Shanghai-BDK define their relationship with things "Chinese." Or, various meanings that Japanese employees attach to "Chinese" through their various experiences seem to be likely covered by the three kinds of meaning set out in the examples above: challenges, opportunities, and obligations. I was indeed expecting, before entering the setting, that "hardship" may be a big part of Japanese members' experiences working in a foreign country. However, through interviews and conversations, I have noticed that they frequently make sense of difficulties they experience with terms such as "challenging" and "obligation" when they associate "Chinese" with themselves, whereas they refer to "cultural differences" or "incompetence" when they associate "Chinese" with Chinese members.

4.4.4. Japanese membership as signifying discord

On both socio-cultural and institutional levels, being Japanese nationals makes up one important aspect of Japanese members' experience. It seems generally believed that when individuals are in-group members, regardless of what kind of group they might be members of, they have solidarity among themselves—especially if they are members of a national-cultural group in intercultural environments. However, when Japanese members of Shanghai-BDK identify *as* "Japanese" members, this does not necessarily indicate solidarity among Japanese members. I have observed that Japanese members of Shanghai-BDK sometimes create distance among themselves with the reference to the very fact that "they are Japanese members of Shanghai-BDK." First see Koyama's story.

Example 20: Koyama—"Japanese members are not really getting along well among themselves."

> *Ningen kankei ga fukuzatus de tsukareru yo. Nihon-jin doushi kesshite naka yokunai. Ookina kaisha no naka no rokunin, janakute tokushu na kankyo no naka no rokunin dakara iroiro aru. Sutoresu mo ooishi sorezore ni taishite hankan motteru. Uriage ni taisuru netami toka. Hitori dake josei dato yappari taihen. Ohiru no toki no kaiwa toka doko no shaojie ga doushita toka, hotondo sekuhara.*
>
> The relationships among Japanese members are complicated here and tire me. Japanese members are not really getting along well among themselves. We are not six in a big company, but six within a special environment, so lots of things are going on among us. We all bear lots of stress and have ill feelings toward each other. Something like jealousy about others' sales. It's really hard to be the only woman. Like when we have lunch together—they talk about how it's going with Chinese women; it's almost like sexual harassment.

Note that she refers to the number of Japanese members of Shanghai-BDK twice in her story. She says, "We are not in a big company, but six within a special environment" (in Japanese, "*Ookina kaisha no naka no rokunin, janakute tokushu na kankyo no naka no rokunin dakara*"). By mentioning this number Koyama situates her experiences with Japanese members as singular to Shanghai-BDK, not as occurring anywhere else. Within this particular situation of Shanghai-BDK, where she is one of the six Japanese people in the intercultural setting, what is distinctive about her relationship with other Japanese members is not the solidarity among the same nationals in the intercultural environment but rather the dissonance among the same nationals. Or, it may be said that, to Koyama, her membership as a Japanese entails discord more than a sense of unity.

Goda also has a story about what it is like being a Japanese member. Readers should know that in the excerpt below, he is actually referring to a particular Japanese member.[22] He is more explicit than Koyama in stating the discord between himself and this Japanese member about " what Japanese members should do."

Example 21: Goda—"It's no good that we sweat with them."

> *Orewa mukashi Sasaki-san tte hito ni iwareta no. Isshoukeimei yatte kureru no wa ii, to. Demo anata wa kaeru ndesu yo, sorewo wasure nai de kudasai ne, tte. Dakara sa, oretachi wa Chuugoku jin to issho ni asae kaite yatte tann ja dame nanda yo. Ima kaettara kuraianto ni okorarechai masu kara ne,tte sa, soreja inaku natta ato nokosareta Chuuugoku-jin dousun dayo. Kawaisou jan. Oretachi wa sa, shikumi zukuri, sore wo shinakya ikenai wake. Oretachi wa sa, douse izure inaku narun dakara, oretachi ga inaku natta ato mo Chuugoku-jin no yatsura ga jibun tachi de yatte ikeru youna shikumi wo iruaida ni tsukunnakya ikenain dayo. Issho ni ase kaite yatte cha dakenan dayo.*
>
> I was once told by somebody called Sasaki-san: It's good that you work hard, but remember, you'll go back to Japan eventually. Remember that, he said. I mean, it's no good that we sweat with them. Another Japanese member says that if he went back to Japan now, he'd be scolded by the client, but come on, then what would the Chinese members who are working with him for the client do after he's gone? It's a pity. What we have to do is to make the framework, we have to do that. We'll not be here forever, so in order to enable Chinese members to handle things by themselves after we're gone, we have to engage in structuring the framework while we're here. It's no good that we sweat with them.

[22] This is not clear from the excerpt itself, but based on what he was talking about and whom he was talking about, it was very clear to me, the interviewer, that he was referring to the particular person without mentioning the name.

Note that in iterating his policy as a Japanese resident member, he is referring to another Japanese member in a critical tone. Note also that his criticism about this Japanese member is based on the fact that they are both Japanese resident employees, who eventually will go back to Japan, and his related assumption of what they as Japanese members of Shanghai-BDK should do. From Goda's perspective, this Japanese member is not acting the way Japanese members should; this member is "just sweating" with Chinese members and is not engaging in making the framework in which Chinese members can function without him after he's gone back to Japan. Goda regards this Japanese member as somebody who shares the same status with him in national-cultural terms and also as somebody who will eventually go back to Japan. Yet, Goda simultaneously regards this Japanese member as separate from him because this Japanese member is not fulfilling duties as a Japanese member of Shanghai-BDK, which Goda believes is important. Goda's membership as a Japanese member of Shanghai-BDK, in his narratives about the relationship with this Japanese member, is thus characterized more by separation or discord rather than by solidarity.

Another Japanese member, Suzuki, the director of the sales promotion department of Shanghai-BDK, also relates his version of dissociation from other Japanese members.

Example 22: Suzuki—"People in other companies are not like that."

> *Shanghai-BDK no hito wa minna mamorateru janai. Kaishaga minna yatte kureru. Motto chiisai kaisha no hito wa soujanai yo.*

> People who are working for Shanghai-BDK are protected, the company takes care of them a lot. People in other companies, in other much smaller companies, are not like this.

It is important for readers to know that while Suzuki is working as the director of the sales promotion department for Shanghai-BDK, he came to Shanghai originally as an employee of another small Japanese company. Suzuki is comparing his experience as an employee of a smaller company to his experience with Shanghai-BDK. Some joint venture treats their resident employees better than others. The common background of coming from Japan indeed serves as the basis on which differences are identified.

Through the analyses of the three examples above in this sub-section, I have attempted not only to illustrate the variety of experiences, but also to demonstrate that same nationality serves as a context in which narratives of discord are constructed. In all three narratives, indexing the same national-cultural background (i.e., being Japanese) does not contribute to the construction of solidarity among them; rather, it highlights discord. Generally, when discord and difference in intercultural communication are discussed in the literature, it refers to individuals' different national-cultural backgrounds, or to their different expectations as the outcome of differing backgrounds, whereas sharing national-cultural backgrounds tend to be regarded as the reason for solidarity. However, as the narratives above show, shared national-cultural identity can highlight differences in other dimensions, such as professional orientation. In other words, their shared national-cultural background allows them to have discord in domains other than “culture”—discord cannot be conceptualized as “cultural” when individuals share their cultural background; it must be something else. This suggests the importance of looking at the complexity of sharing background, regardless of what kind of background it may be, for obtaining a better understanding of intercultural communication. (This issue will be discussed again in this chapter in 4.6.2.)

4.4.5. Chinese-ness and Japanese-ness

I have demonstrated that members of Shanghai-BDK do not necessarily identify with their native national-cultural background. Chinese members sometimes dissociate themselves from other Chinese members and identify with Japanese members. Shared nationality among Japanese members serves as a context in which they experience discord with each other, while they relate things “Chinese” to an important and positive part of their professional experience. Yet, this does not mean that members of Shanghai-BDK relate their experiences randomly with things “Chinese” or “Japanese,” without any social constraints. Rather, even more significantly, the meanings of “Chinese” and “Japanese” are modified across different kinds of experience constructed in individuals’ narratives, and such various meanings attached to Chinese-ness and Japanese-ness play vital roles for members’ identification and intercultural experiences.

In comprehending Chinese-ness and Japanese-ness in members’ experiences and identities, it is important to be clear that it is “not an abandonment or abolition of ‘the subject’ but a reconceptualization” (Hall, 1996, p.2). That is, the issue of “Chinese/Japanese” in the narratives above is a matter of process rather than entity. Whether they are Chinese or Japanese or where they come from is not as important as what they become through their experiences; more important is how individuals are represented by “Chinese” or “Japanese” and how that bears on how they might represent themselves (Hall, 1996). For members of Shanghai-BDK, “Chinese” or “Japanese” is one important code for representing themselves as well as other members, regardless of who they are or where they are from. What is represented through the code is intertwined with the meaning attributed to “Chinese” or “Japanese” in such a process; various meanings attached to “Chinese” or “Japanese” do not only imply the fluidity and variability of such a label but also signify various experiences and ways of representing such experiences as related to who individuals become.

It is important to remember that the “Chinese” or “Japanese” code involves two dimensions of “personally valued attributes” and “membership in a particular status category” (Shaw, 1994, p.85). According to Shaw, the former differentiates an individual as Self from Others in moral and essential terms, while the latter (re)produces relations with Others in indexical and metaphorical terms. Shaw seems to mean that individualization occurs through reflection of what characterizes Self, while solidarity occurs through indexing social position. By representing themselves and others with the fluid use of the “Chinese or Japanese” code, thereby shifting membership, members of Shanghai-BDK are actually matching their personal attribution of Self and the social significance of their membership.

4.5. Chinese-Japanese dichotomy as related to organizational orders

In the previous two sections, I have focused on the fluidity of cultural differences when constructed as a component of the way in which members of Shanghai-BDK make sense of their intercultural experiences. In 4.3. *Discourses of difference and (in)competence*, I have explained that individuals' attribution to cultural differences can be the disguise of their evaluation of somebody with a cultural background different from their own. In 4.4 *Shift of membership and multiple meanings of "Chinese" and "Japanese,"* I have discussed how members of Shanghai-BDK shift their membership as they construct different kinds of intercultural experience and vice versa. I have also argued that members of Shanghai-BDK attach various meanings to Chinese-ness or Japanese-ness in so doing. One important point in my argument in the last two sections is that individuals actively (re)construct cultural differences, and what "Chinese" or "Japanese" means is relative to such meanings in (re)constructing their experiences through personal narratives.

As I have already mentioned, this does not mean that such construction of meanings, dichotomy, and experiences are totally free of social constraints. Individuals also refer to and (re)construct the social order involved in their communication life in making sense of their experience. I do not intend to say that social order determines individuals' experience; however, it is an important resource for individuals as they construct their experiences. Even though individuals have agency in determining how they deal with the social order in the context of personal narratives, this does not mean that they have the freedom to change the actual social order, such as who is your boss or subordinate in organizational terms. In this regard, Chinese-ness or Japanese-ness is also among the resources that members of Shanghai-BDK utilize—by modifying its meaning beyond mere national-cultural categories—for making sense of their experiences. And sometimes, by affirming particular social orders, members of Shanghai-BDK construct and perpetuate the Chinese-Japanese dichotomy as a component of their intercultural experiences.

Among various aspects of social orders, I give special attention to two organizational features which seem to greatly influence the members' experiences as an intercultural workplace. First, in the following sub-section, 4.5.1., I discuss how different organizational positions of members can influence experiences of the Chinese-Japanese dichotomy. Chinese-ness or Japanese-ness is also attributed to organizational positions, like the account executive team and the creative team, and organizational tasks and roles. Then in 4.5.2., I discuss how organizational hierarchy influences the ways in which members of Shanghai-BDK conceptualize the relationship between "Chinese" and "Japanese." In sum, I discuss how the discourse of the Chinese-Japanese dichotomy of Shanghai-BDK is intertwined with the salience attributed to organizational factors of Shanghai-BDK.

4.5.1. Two speech communities: The account executive team and the creative team

As previously mentioned, the fact that most major clients of Shanghai-BDK are Japanese companies,[23] whereas the targeted consumers and market are Chinese, determines the languages that members of each division need to speak. Language-related contrast is most distinctive between the two divisions which interact most intensively, the account executive team and the creative team. Thus, these divisions feature most prominently in this study. One of the important tasks for the account executive team is to interface with Japanese clients, whereas the primary task for the creative team is to produce actual advertisements and related materials in Chinese for Chinese consumers. Most Japanese members of Shanghai-BDK (five out of seven) work for the account executive team, and most Chinese members on the account executive team speak Japanese with varying proficiency. Two of them lived in Japan formerly, studying or working. Additionally, the directors of the two account executive teams of Shanghai-BDK are both Japanese. On the other hand, all the members of the creative team, including the creative director, are Chinese and none of them speak Japanese.[24] Consequently, in addition to Chinese (only Mandarin), Japanese is often spoken among account executives, whereas only Chinese (both Mandarin and Shanghainese) is spoken among the members of the creative team.

---

[23] They are actually Chinese-Japanese joint ventures. However, in most such clients, CEOs are Japanese, and orders are originally from the headquarters in Japan, so, Chinese-Japanese joint ventures are regarded as "Japanese" company rather than joint ventures.

[24] Although some of them have studied Japanese or know Japanese words, none of them are proficient enough to communicate.

Besides the languages spoken, another indicative phenomenon that shows that the two divisions are different speech communities are the different practices of addressing individuals. To note, Japanese and Chinese share many Chinese characters although they are pronounced differently in each language. Therefore, many Chinese names can be pronounced in Japanese, and most Japanese names can be pronounced in Chinese. Theoretically, most members' names can be pronounced in the both languages. However, as Ngashima's (1998) study indicates, rules governing terms of address are community-specific. Terms of address in actual communication practice seem to be determined by division-based membership. I have observed that, in general, members of the account executive team and the creative team are addressed in different ways.

For example, Zhang, a Chinese bilingual account executive is addressed as "*Chou-san*" by the Japanese members of the same account executive team. *Chou* is the Japanese pronunciation for the Chinese letter for *Zhang* and *–san* is a Japanese suffix which means "Mr.," "Mrs.," "Miss," and "Ms." Sometimes, other Chinese account executives also address him by this Japanese version of his name. Chinese members in divisions other than the account executive team, however, address him with the Chinese pronunciation, without any suffix, more often than with the Japanese version of his name. Tang, another Chinese bilingual account executive, is frequently addressed as "*Tou-san*." *Tou* is the Japanese pronunciation of the Chinese letter for *Tang* and *–san* is the same Japanese suffix used for addressing Zhang. In addition to Japanese members, Chinese members frequently address and refer to him with this Japanese version of his name, regardless of the division the addresser belongs to. Even some Chinese members who do not know Japanese call him "*Tou-san*."

Ning's case is a bit different from the two members above. The Chinese letter for his name does not exist in the Japanese writing system, yet members of Shanghai-BDK, regardless of his or her profession, often address him in the Japanese way; they call him "*Ning-san*," Chinese pronunciation for the name followed by the Japanese suffix *-san*. In sum, different degrees of Japanese influence are observed in the three terms of address, yet the three examples represent the powerful presence of the Japanese language and communicative practice as far as the members of the account executive team are concerned.[25]

In contrast, as far as the members of the creative team are concerned, as well as of other divisions, there is much less Japanese influence in terms of address. The members of the creative team practice various Chinese terms of address with each other. For example, they address some of the members by their full name without any suffix (which is one of the common ways of addressing peers and subordinates in the Chinese language), or with the Chinese suffix after the last name (which is considered polite). Chinese members of the account executive team also address members of the creative team in such ways. Japanese members often address Chinese members of the creative team in the Chinese manners, although they seem to choose polite ways (e.g., with Chinese suffix after the last name).

---

[25] There are more terms of address in Japanese language and how to use terms of address are not only community-specific, but also context-specific. For more, see Yukako Sunaoshi, "Collaboration On Reaching Understanding: Interactions and Negotiations In Japanese Manufacturing Plants," diss., The University of Texas, 1999, 227-240.

Accordingly, it seems reasonable to state that different language requirements and related cultural experiences and knowledge influence the two divisions as (speech) communities, and more significantly, influence members' perceptions of the two divisions and the members. The comments below show such perceptions.

Example 23: Ning—"The account executive team is basically Japanese."

> *Wo kenung gen tamen you yidian bu yiyang, yinwei yingye bu jibenshang jiushi Riben.*
>
> I am a little different from those on the creative team because the account executive team is basically Japanese.

Ning separates himself from members of the creative team, not exactly because he is on a different team, but rather because the account executive team he belongs to is "basically Japanese."

Example 24: Yang—working style of AE

> *Riben-ren de hua jibenshang doushi AE ye. AE de hua jibenshagn doushi yige dandan de. Yigeren dandan houzhe duli xin bijiao qian. Wo gandao juuede jiu shuo Roben-ren gen xinke yige ren gongzuo, Zhongguo-ren de hua, xianfan, wo juede, tuantijinsehng bijiao duo yixie. Yingwei wo hoaxiang meiyou kanjian xiang, xiang Zhongguo-ren youde shihou jiushuo gonzuo yihou hui zai dajia yichi liaotian, danshi wo juede meiyou Riben-ren hao xian zhege ren zhangzai neige ren panbian shuhua, meiyou kandao guo.*
>
> With the Japanese, they are all AEs. AEs all basically work alone. They work alone or they have strongly independent mind. I have felt that Japanese people have a harder time working alone. With the Chinese, it's

> the opposite. I think the team spirit is stronger. That's because it's like I haven't seen, like Chinese people sometimes chat after work, but I feel like no Japanese are like that. This person goes to that person's desk and talks—I haven't seen that.

Yang describes how AEs, including Japanese AEs, work; she says that they work alone. Then she generalizes this AE's working style to that of Japanese people, and compares it to that of Chinese, describing how Chinese talk with each other whereas Japanese do not. In sum, as shown in Ning's and Yang's narratives above, the account executive team is likely identified by "Japanese" characteristics as compared to "Chinese" ones, rather than by division- or profession-specific aspects.

It is also important to remember, however, that the two divisions of the account executive team and the creative team are different speech communities in large part because of the different expertise and focus they have. To list simple examples, the account executive team tends to be keener on meeting the client's needs; thus, interfacing with the client is one of the most important tasks for them. The creative team likely has more emphasis on the task itself of producing advertisements, and thus needs to be more knowledgeable in technical aspects of advertisement production. This difference in expertise and focus concerns not only what members in each division need to do within their division, but also how they interact with members from the other division.

Generally in most Japanese and Chinese-Japanese joint venture advertisement firms, an AE plays the role of project leader and is supposed to give orders to the staff, including members of the creative team, based on his understanding of what clients need and want. Members of the creative team are expected to present the most appropriate ideas, plans, and product based on their understanding of the market and consumers. Such teamwork in advertisement production is an important factor for shaping how communications between the two divisions take place. Zhang, a Chinese account executive, is actually well aware that problems between divisions are different from those between cultures, as described below.

Example 25: Zhang—"These two division basically create conflicts easily."

> *Cong gonzuo de tesixing zhe rai shuo ne, jiushi, yingye bu de quanbu shi zhong fang de, zhangyi bu ye shi quanbu zhong fang de hua, ye kenung you maodun. Zheshi tese gonzuo de guanxi. Yingwei yingye bu de shi duimian kehe de, kehe de yaoqiau, yingye bu de ren hen hui hen zhijie de hen ruqing de shi manze kehe de. Danshi, chuangzuo bu zenma chuanzuo chulari manyi de donxi, buran tamen nabuchu bijio manyi de dongxi, houzhe shijian shang, houzhe tuice le,houzhe bu nenggou hen zhijie de peihe. Zhe bensheng hiu changsheng maodun. Zhe linage bumen bensheng you rongyi chengzheng maodun. Tongyang shi doushi Zhongguo-ren de ba, ye kenung cheng changsheng mao dun. Suoyi zhege birushuo xianzai yingyye bu bijiao duo de shi Ri-fang de. Dan, souyi buneng jiandan de shuo, e, zhege liange Zhong-fang he Ri-fang de. Zhishi, paichu naga quanbu shi Zhong-fan de hua, ye kenung. Zhege yingse yao paichu diao….Shi gonzuo fanmian changchu de maodun, dan bu shang, Zhongfang he Rifang de.*
>
> As far as the characteristics of work are concerned, I mean, if all of the account executive team is Chinese and all of the creative team is Chinese, they can still have conflicts. This concerns the characteristics of their work. Because the account executive team is the one that interfaces with clients, they will try very actively and enthusiastically to satisfy clients. But many things can be reasons for conflicts between the account executive team and the creative team, for example, how the creative team produces satisfactory work, they fail to produce satisfactory work, matters of time, making excuses, or not actively working. These factors can

> produce conflicts. These two divisions basically create conflicts easily. Even if everyone were Chinese, they still would have conflicts. So, this, for example, now the account executive team has more Japanese, but you can't easily say that, "Oh, these two sides are the Chinese and Japanese sides." That is, even if everyone were Chinese, they still could have conflicts. This is the factor you want to get rid of. It's the conflicts that exist in the domain of work, you can't just say it's the conflict between the Chinese and Japanese sides.

As he clearly states, conflicts may occur because members are working for different divisions and are specialized in different areas, rather than because they are from different countries like China and Japan.

Nevertheless, as is paradoxically also shown in Zhang's narratives, the cultural attributes of each division can be reinforced as well as invoked in members' communicative experiences. That is, despite the various factors that characterize the two divisions as distinctive speech communities, it seems easier for members of Shanghai-BDK, especially at difficult times, to look at their cultural aspects. As Zhang himself admits, communicative issues between the two divisions are likely conceptualized by members of Shanghai-BDK as intercultural issues rather than inter-division or professional ones, due to the national-cultural characteristics of each division, including members' national-cultural backgrounds.

4.5.2. Japanese superiority in organizational hierarchy

Another organizational factor which is intermingled with the meanings attached to the relationship between "Chinese" or "Japanese" is the fact that all Japanese members have titles and are organizationally positioned higher than most Chinese counterparts. Whereas seven out of the seven Japanese members hold titles in terms of organizational hierarchy, only eight out of the thirty six Chinese members—about one fifth of all the Chinese members—hold titles. Below is a list of Japanese and Chinese members who hold titles.

<u>Japanese members and their titles</u>
Mori – Senior vice general manager
Kawamura – Vice general manager
Goda – Vice general manager
Suzuki – Manager of the sales promotion department
Namino- Manager of the international account executive team
Okano – Vice manager of the international account executive team A
Koyama – Vice manager of the international account executive team A

<u>Chinese members and their titles</u>
Liao – General manager
Lin – Vice general manager, Creative director
Tang – Manager of the international account executive team A
Jun – Manager of the marketing research department
Huang – Vice manger of the international account executive team B
Yu - Vice manager of the sales promotion department
Zhou – Vice manager of the creative team
Chin – Vice manger of the creative team

Cooren (2000) has suggested that "a social organization is structured like a narrative" and hierarchy is one of its central organizational features (p.3). Therefore, in attempting to understand the Japanese-superior-hierarchy in term of members' experiences, it needs to be clear that such a hierarchy comes to have meaning in members' intercultural experience in and through their narratives. In this particular section, I will discuss how members of Shanghai-BDK situate the

Japanese-superior-hierarchy in their intercultural experience, positioning "Chinese" and "Japanese" in communicative and emotional terms.

For example, Koyama, a Japanese female account executive (titled as vice manager) regards such organizational structure as necessary for "Japanese" members of Shanghai-BDK, as her comment during the conversation with this author shows.

Example 26: Koyama—better control of Chinese members

> *Nihonjin ni minna yaku ga tsuiteru tte iu nowa, yappari Chuugoku-jin o osaeru tame tte iunoga arukara*.
>
> All Japanese members hold titles. It is after all to enable Japanese members to be in better control of Chinese members, you know.

On the other hand, for some Chinese members, the Japanese superiority in the organizational hierarchy has a different meaning in their intercultural experience with Japanese members, which contrasts with Koyama's perspective. Remarks by Zhang and Zhou demonstrate this.

Example 27: Zhang—"It's not balanced."

> *Rifan lai de doushi lindao, kanbu. Tatoeba sa, buchou toka kachou toka. Soudesho? Rifang pailai de ren dou you zhi, nage, bijiao diwei gao de. Suoyi, Zhongfan-ren bukenung duii tamen zhudongYinwei tamen zhihui tamen, bushi tamen zhiheui tamen. Wo jue de haoxian zhe fangmian ne, jiushi dui gonse de jiegou laishu ne bensheng jishi bu pinfen le. Zai Shanghai gonzuo de Zhongfan ren you zhema duo, bilu jiushi baifen zhi liushi qishi. Rifan de zhiyou baifen zhe sanshi, danshi, tamen de ren gege*

doushi ganbu, dui ma. Buping, you yidian yingxiang, wo renwei you de, jiushi, gangjue shang.

People from Japan are all executive members. For example, manager. Is that right? People assigned from the Japanese side are all, well, positioned higher. So Chinese people cannot lead Japanese. Because [Japanese] give orders to [Chinese], it is not like [Chinese] do give orders to [Japanese]. I think like, in this aspect, as far as the corporate organization is concerned, *it's not balanced***.** The Chinese working for Shanghai-BDK is this many**,** the ratio is sixty or seventy percent, Japanese members are thirty percent. But all Japanese are executive members, right? Not balanced, it can have influence, I think, that is, in our feeling. (Emphasis added.)

Example 28: Zhou—"I can't accept that."

Wo meiyou riyong qu gaose ta shuo shi bukonping. Keshi, suoyou de zhexie Riben-ren doushi bi women gao de, wo bu neng jieshou zhege.

There is no reason that you go to him/her and say it's unfair. But all those Japanese are positioned higher than us. *I can't accept that*. (Emphasis added.)

Koyama, Zhang, and Zhou refer to the Japanese-superior-organizational hierarchy in the corporate context as related to communication. Koyama regards the overall Japanese superiority in the organizational hierarchy as a force, for enabling Japanese members to be in better control of Chinese members as subordinates. In Koyama's narrative, the Japanese superiority within the organizational hierarchy facilitates her communication and work with Chinese members, situating Chinese members as individuals who can be controlled more easily by such a hierarchy. Zhang and Zhou identify the function of such a hierarchy in much the way as Koyama does: Chinese people (without titles) are supposed to be given orders by Japanese with titles, not vice versa. However, in contrast to the meaning Koyama attaches to the hierarchy, it is clear that the two Chinese members, Zhang and Zhou, make sense of the Japanese superiority in the organizational hierarchy of Shanghai-BDK in negative terms; they find it unbalanced and unacceptable. That is to say, as far as their narratives or experiences about the Japanese-superior-organizational hierarchy are concerned, Japanese members hold power, which they should not, and Chinese members are unable to have the power they should.

It is significant that Koyama and the two Chinese members attribute different meanings to the Japanese-superior-hierarchy. In doing so, they evoke and reproduce the very same schemata, i.e., the Japanese members' superiority to Chinese members in the organizational hierarchy of Shanghai-BDK, as a presupposition for their intercultural communication in their narratives. While they have different views based on their different organizational roles, their narrarives work together to reinforce this hierarchy. In this regard, it may be said that the Japanese-superior-hierarchy does influence intercultural experience, defining the relationship between "Chinese" and "Japanese" members in communicative and emotional terms, yet through opposing significations.

4.5.3. Complexity between organizational factors and intercultural factors

In this section, *4.3. Construction of Chinese-Japanese dichotomy as related to organizational orders,* I have discussed how members of Shanghai-BDK refer to or utilize social orders surrounding them as resources for constructing the Chinese-Japanese dichotomy as situated in their experiences. I have argued that members of Shanghai-BDK situate organizational experiences as intercultural experiences. It has not been my intention to disregard the significance of the role of intercultural factors in order to focus on organizational influence. The more important point is rather that, in a joint venture like Shanghai-BDK, organizational factors and intercultural factors are often inseparable for the construction of individuals' experiences. For example, as I have discussed, members' experiences of the relationship between the account executive team and the creative team cannot be analyzed without understanding the complex ralationship between the organizational factors and intercultural factors within the particular context of Shanghai-BDK. It is misleading to consider particular phenomena involving Chinese and Japanese members only from a Chinese vs. Japanese perspective, even though some phenomena *are* Chinese-Japanese issues, because these are also organizational structure, that heppen to coincide with the cultural dichotomy. Thus, it is not clear whether culure or organizational structure is the issue. It is important to remember that while members of Shanghai-BDK insinuate organizational orders in constructing the Chinese-Japanese dichotomy, this construction is not arbitrary; it is anchored in the complex relationship between intercultural and organizational factors that is part of the reality of Shanghai-BDK.

4.6. CULTURAL DISSIMILARITIES AS A RATIONALE FOR TOLERANCE AND CULTURAL SIMILARITIES AS A RESOURCE FOR DISCORD

I have discussed so far how members of Shanghai-BDK construct cultural differences and the meaning of "Chinese" and "Japanese" in their narratives about various intercultural experiences. As my analyses have shown, their narratives are frequently related to issues of identifying the causes of problems, making (in)competence judgments, or establishing identity and membership. In other words, in many of the examples I have discussed, I have focused on examining how members of Shanghai-BDK construct the Chinese-Japanese dichotomy by way of affirming Self, regardless of what kind of Self it might be, in and through making sense of intercultural experiences. As Carbaugh (1996) states, Self needs to be improvised in particular contexts, evoking “culture”—whatever “culture” may indicate. The form/kind of Self is contingent upon the particulars of the context. Allying with this perspective, I have attempted to illuminate how evoking the Chinese-Japanese dichotomy in particular contexts is related to the form/kind of the experience of Self.

However, when individuals construct cultural differences in their narratives, it is not only for the sake of Self; they do so also in order to accept Others’ behaviors. Members of Shanghai-BDK construct cultural differences in their narratives as a rationale for tolerating disagreements, or potential conflicts, in communicative events. I have also observed a contrasting phenomenon, namely that sharing a national-cultural background does not always serve as a vehicle for better communication and understanding among members of Shanghai-BDK. Rather, it can become a reason for sustaining conflicts.

It is typically assumed that, in intercultural settings, individuals with similar backgrounds can communicate and understand each other more easily and thus can engage in interpersonal relationships more easily, whereas those with dissimilar backgrounds do so with more difficulty (e.g., Ting-Toomey, 1996; Lusting & Koester, 1999; Rogers & Steinfatt, 1999). However, how members of Shanghai-BDK construct their experience in this intercultural setting does not not always show this feature. In this section, I first discuss examples in which members of Shanghai-BDK construct cultural differences for the purpose of tolerating disagreement or resolving potentially conflicting issues. I then develop my argument with reference to other research and discuss related issues, shedding light on a negative side effect of sharing national-cultural background.

4.6.1. Cultural characteristics and cultural differences as tools for accepting, tolerating, and forgetting

In the excerpt below, members of Shanghai-BDK collaboratively forgo arguing over disagreements by improvising "what Japanese are like" as fitting with the various meanings of various communicative events. The next example is a description of an episode from the corpus of videotaped interactions.

Example 29: Japanese custom

*Note: In Japanese advertising companies, when project teams propose plans or ideas to their client, they usually propose more than two plans or ideas. This strategy is intended to facilitate the client's decision-making and dissuade the client from rejecting the proposed plans or ideas. This strategy is based on the following assumption: If only one plan or idea is proposed, the client cannot judge whether it is good and might reject it, whereas if more than one plan or idea is proposed, the client might view one as better than the other(s) and choose that one over the other(s).[26]

The participants are Kawamura (Japanese account executive of Shanghai-BDK, speaks Japanese and Mandarin), Zhou (Chinese television commercial planner working for Shanghai-BDK, speaks Mandarin and Shanghainese), and

[26] This knowledge is based on my own working experience in Tokyo-BDK as a junior marketing analyst, as well as based on what I have observed in the meetings held.

Oyama (Japanese television commercial planner of Tokyo-BDK, visiting Shanghai to attend project meetings, speaks Japanese). Kawamura plays the role of interpreter.

The meeting centers on a promotion video. Oyama is one of the creative team members of Tokyo-BDK who made the plans for the promotion video; there are two plans to be submitted to a client in Shanghai. In this meeting, Oyama is to explain to Zhou the two plans produced by the creative team of Tokyo-BDK; Zhou will be in charge of the actual production of the promotion video. Primarily because of the reasons stated in my note, the creative team of Tokyo-BDK made two plans and Kawamura is aware of that.

Zhou, however, thinks one plan is much better than the other and proposes to submit only the good one. Oyama and Kawamura actually agree that one is better than the other, yet, due to the reason explained in my note, Oyama and Kawamuura also agree that they should propose more than one idea even though they think one is better than the other(s). Kawamuura interprets their conclusion to Zhou, saying in Mandarin, "*Ribenren de xiguan laishuo zuo zhiyou yege fanan de hua, Ribenren buneng queding*," which means, "As far as the Japanese custom goes, if we present only one plan, the Japanese client will not be able to decide." Zhou refutes this and says that the first plan is definitely better than the second one and it is meaningless to present both. Kawamura translates this remark for Oyama. Then Oyama responds to Kawamura in Japanese, "*Zettai nitaipu tsukuttahouga ii*," meaning, "It's definitely better to offer two kinds of proposal." Kawamura does not translate exactly what Oyama says this time, but instead smiles at Zhou in an affected manner and says "*Ribenren xuyao liange*," which is "Japanese people need two." Zhou laughs lightly and shows the acceptance of Oyama's and Kawamura's strategy.

In this example, the "Japanese" element is constructed as a justification for the strategy of proposing two plans by Kawamura's narratives. Although there is theoretical and practical background as to why they would propose two plans (as I described in the note), Kawamura does not offer this explanation to Zhou. Instead, he makes his argument primarily based on a cultural feature of Japanese people, as shown in his words "*Ribenren de xiguan laishuo*"or "as far as Japanese custom goes" and "*Ribenren buneng queding*" or "The Japanese can't decide."

Zhou is not persuaded by the first explanation revolving around the “Japanese custom.” He insists that it is meaningless to present two plans because one is much better than the other. In this regard, it is especially noteworthy that after the second comment by Oyama, "*Zettai nitaipu tsukuttahouga ii*," meaning, "It's definitely better to offer two kinds of proposal," Kawamura does not translate this comment for Zhou. Instead of translating Oyama’s value-judging comment as it is, Kawamura reframes the comment as based on a culture-specific judgment, by simplifying the explanation previously given to Zhou and thus simultaneously highlighting such a point; Kawamura says, “*Riben-ren xuyao liange*," which is "Japanese people need two." It is prominent that by *not* translating Oyama’s comment for Zhou, Kawamura extemporaneously (re)constructs the particular trait of “needing two” as exclusive to Japanese and thus being the reason why they need to propose two ideas.

It is also important that Kawamura delivers his last comment in a diplomatic way; he smiles at Zhou in an affected manner, which in my observation happened in an attempt to make a deal with Zhou. Zhou also responds to his comment in a subtle way; he laughs lightly. I speculate that this laughing does not only mean that Zhou is showing his consent to their idea, but also indicates that he is demonstrating that he agrees with Kawamura regarding “what Japanese are like” when they need to make a decision. While this speculation may be supported by the information I have obtained through the interview with Zhou regarding what he thinks about the Japanese attitude of decision-making (i.e., Zhou comments that Japanese decide things only with difficulty), the most important point is not what Zhou thinks about the Japanese attitude toward decision-making in general or even within the entire context of Shanghai-BDK. Rather, I speculate that Zhou and Kawamura are negotiating and agreeing on "what Japanese people are like" within the particular context of their ongoing talk, with the aim of accepting the proposal. Kawamura and Zhou, in positions of initiator and follower, collaborate on making sense of their discord by improvising and accepting "cultural differences" or the "Japanese" element as an effective rationale for both their future proposal and their present discord.

In the next example, Oyama, a Japanese television commercial planner from Tokyo-BDK has observed that members of the creative team in Shanghai are not as careful as he is in carrying out a task. How does he deal with the event in practical and narrative terms?

Example 30: Oyama—Well, it's a cultural difference."

Note: Peco is the name of a product. It is something like a chocolate dipped pretzel, but made into a stick. It is packaged in boxes.

> *Tatoeba Peco ga kichin to sorotte hako ni haitte nakute mo, kocchi no hito tte sonomama torou to suru. Bokura wa yappari kore wa shouhin dashi, tten de kichin to soroete torou to suru kedo. Kuraianto to bunka no chigai danaa tte ittetandesu.*
>
> For example, even if the sticks of Peco are not neatly organized in the box, people on this side [Chinese people] would go ahead and shoot the film as it is. We would try to shoot the film after putting the Peco sticks neatly in the box, because this is the product to be advertised, after all, you know. I have been talking with the client like, well, it's a cultural difference.

I would like to note that Oyama, as a supervisor of the shotting the television commercial, actually stops the Chinese crew and allows them to restart filming only after re-arranging the Peco sticks. From his standard as a professional, their way of dealing with the product for the television commercial was not acceptable. However, within the context of his narrative, he is not making a professional judgment. I would like to especially note that he utters the last sentence, "*Kuraianto to bunka no chigai danaa tte ittetandesu*" (=I have been talking with the client like, well, it's a cultural differnce) in a demonstrative manner show that he is not making a judgment, but rather he is simply wondering; A Japanese sentence final particle "naa" indicates this tone. He also makes sense of this event as the outcome of "cultural differences," tolerating what he was dissatisfied with (i.e., the Chinese crew did not pay enough attention to the arrangement of Peco sticks).

Wong's case is interesting in that he compares intercultural conflicts and intracultural conflicts and presents intercultural conflicts as easier to deal with. (Wong is a Chinese account executive with Shanghai-BDK.)

Example 31: Wong—"Conflict is conflict."

> *Zhongfan-ren he Zhong-fan ran ye changsheng maodun, fahuo de shi, you kennemg yingwei tajia meiyou yuanlian de jichu, tajia bu ran le, denyixia, chaole jiu chaole. Danshi, Zhongfan he Rifan ne, manyi fasheng maodun de yihou ne, deng shiqing guole yiou ne, Zhoufang-ren, hui xiang, ai, buyao luoshi, tamen shi Riben-ren, keneng…, jiu, yingwei zhezhong yuanyin, buqu jijiao le. Faner, zhe fangmian lai shuo, faner, shi haochu de. Dui ma? Shi zhe yang de ganjue.*

> A Chinese and a Chinese can also have conflicts. When they get angry, it's possible that because they do not have reasons for forgiveness, they don't give in. After a while, the conflict is still conflict. But when conflicts occur between the Chinese and Japanese sides, later, Chinese people will think like, "Oh, don't bother, they are Japanese, it may be . . . " so because of this reason, the two cases are not comparable. Anyway, I think it's an advantage. From this perspective, anyway, it is an advantage, right? It seems like it.

A significant point in this narrative is that Wong presents different ways in which Chinese members conceptualize conflicts when they occur only among Chinese members and when they occur between Chinese and Japanese members. In the former case, as Wong states, "Conflict is conflict," whereas in the latter case, conflicts may be something else. Wong suggests that Chinese members step back and think twice about whether what they experienced was a real conflict or a simple cultural difference when the conflicting party is Japanese, whereas they do not take this step when the other party is Chinese.

As I have previously discussed, too much emphasis on cultural differences can mislead participants' as well as researchers' understanding about what is really going on in an event which involves participants with different cultural backgrounds. However, an understanding of what is really going on may not be needed, or at least may not be the most important aspect of a communicative event, when participants' focus is on, for example, completing particular tasks at hand or "going along" in a more general sense. For example, "letting it pass" without full understanding of communication can be a strategy as well as a form of communicative competence in intercultural situations (e.g., Tai, 1996). In this regard, it should be carefully noted that Wong is *not* saying that Chinese members determine, or understand, that some conflicts occur because of the cultural differences between Chinese and Japanese. Wong states that " *shi haochu de*" meaning "it's an advantage." He points out the resource of "cultural differences" as a convenient tool by which Chinese members can make sense of their conflicting experiences with Japanese members, as opposed to the unavailability of such a tool when Chinese members experience conflict among themselves. Supposed "cultural differences" between Chinese and Japanese members serve as an available rationale for Chinese members to rethink and even "not to bother" any more about the conflict they have with Japanese members. Similar to the previous two examples described in this sub-section, Wong's narrative also indicates that "cultural differences" as a rhetorical tool function to allow participants to tolerate Others' behaviors.

4.6.2. Shared national-cultural background as a resource for conflict, impatience, and dissatisfaction

Tsutsui (2000) observed during her fieldwork in a Japanese subsidiary in the US that both American and Japanese employees state that they have more, and more serious, conflicts with people from their home country. She explains this phenomenon by reference to "implicit dependence" among the same nationals, which concerns the issues of expectations (p. 10). According to Tsutsui, when individuals share national-cultural background, their premise of communication is (having obtained and to obtain) mutual understanding among each other, whereas when individuals do not share a national-cultural backgrounds, they do not expect mutual understanding to occur so easily. Thus, when individuals with shared national-cultural background cannot reach a mutual understanding, it is more upsetting and conflict-ridden than when individuals with differing national-cultural backgrounds fail to reach a mutual understanding. Thus, Tsutsui claims, individuals are more patient and self-reflective when they have (communicative) problems with those from a different country, and more readily make efforts to adjust Self and accept Others.

Sunaoshi (1999) conceptualizes similar phenomena as the issues of multiplicity and complexity in individuals' cultural experiences. In her work about Japanese manufacturing plants in the US, she discusses examples in which Japanese workers have discord among themselves. As the reason for the discord, she mentions the differences among the Japanese workers in professional and personal domains, including varying linguistic (=English) proficiency and length of sojourn, which also concern differences between managers and factory workers. Her focus is not, however, to compare the differences among Japanese members of the plants. Rather, she explores how Japanese factory workers relate such differences to their dissatisfaction with their managers. Her argument involves issues of cultural expectation, e.g., that the Japanese workers are dissatisfied with their managers because the managers do not act in "Japanese" ways, in their perspective. She argues that the Japanese factory workers define *their* Japanese-ness as related to their expectations of managers, and blame the managers for not being "Japanese" enough but "too Americanized" when their expectations are not met. Sunaoshi also points out that although they use the term "Americanized" to explain the managers' behaviors which do not meet their expectations, the workers do not complain as much about their American colleagues when they do things in “American” ways. “American” ways practiced by American colleagues are more acceptable than when they are practiced by Japanese managers.

Kondo (1990) also refers to the issue of expectations as she explores her own identity as a Japanese-American in the context of Japanese society. In her case, it is Japanese people’s expectations toward her based on her physical features, “looking like a Japanese woman,” that she has to deal with as a Japanese-American woman who lives in Japan. She states that because of the way she looks, Japanese people expect her to behave according to Japanese customs and thus can be upset and confused when she does not meet their expectation because of her lack in cultural knowledge, including of the Japanese language. She extracts the essence of such expectations and puzzlement as follows: “How can someone who is racially Japanese lack ‘cultural’ competence?” (p.11). She says that looking like a native Japanese woman created a conceptual dilemma for the Japanese people she encountered; they had difficulty making sense of how she could behave as she did, failing to meet their expectations. It is interesting that Kondo actually does not share the national-cutlural background with these Japanes people, but the *supposed* shared-ness between her and these Japanese people based on physical features could be the cause of the kinds of trouble that she experienced in Japan.

Accordingly, we need to be clear that *sharing* national-cutlural background itself is not taken to be the reason that “Conflict is conflict,” or that conflicts remain conflicts. “Shared-ness” is likely *supposed* because of visible or tangible factors (e.g., physiognomy, native language, knowledge about the nationality), and certain expectations come along with such a supposition—such as automatic mutual understanding and "Japanese behaviors." Yet, the meaning of sharing, or even "what is being shared because of what," is subject to particular ways in which individual make sense of particular events. Therefore, without understanding what individuals are experiencing in particular events and how, we cannot know the real meaning of individuals sharing a national-cultural background in intercultural settings.

4.6.3. Resourcefulness and complexity of the discourse of cultural similarities and dissimilarities

I have described the phenomenon that members of Shanghai-BDK more readily accept or tolerate others' behaviors who do not share national-cultural background. "Cultural differences," often regarded as obstacles to intercultural communication, can actually produce a positive side-effect serving as an acceptable reason for disagreement and misunderstanding. I have also discussed contrasting phenomena in which sharing a national-cultural background can facilitate rift among individuals.

My purpose in this section is not to claim that individuals in intercultural settings have more conflicts with those who share the same national-cultural background than with those who do not. My purpose is also not to claim that the more similarities are expected, the more disappointment and conflicts occur when expectations are not met, although I have no doubt that expectations related to sharing and/or not sharing national-cultural background play a vital role in the construction of individuals' experiences of intercultural communication. For example, it would be problematic and inappropriate to propose that members of Shanghai-BDK can get along better when they do not share a national-cultural background. It would be appropriate to state instead that the discourse of "cultural differences" is *available as* a peace-making rationale (only) when Chinese and Japanese members have conflicts, but not when same nationals do.

4.7. WHEN "CULTURE" BECOMES INSIGNIFICANT: PROFESSIONALISM AND PARTNERSHIP

As I have argued, it is important for members of the intercultural community to negotiate the meanings of culture and cultural differences. However, another and even more important part of what members of Shanghai-BDK have to deal with is their job; their job is, without doubt, the first priority as well as the ultimate purpose of their affiliation with Shanghai-BDK. Indeed, as I have analyzed so far, how members construct cultural discourse is frequently related to how they make sense of task-oriented events or identify themselves in the context of the particular workplace—Shanghai-BDK—such as within the context of professionalism, departmentalism, and hierarchy.

In this section, I shift my focus to the flip side of the construction of cultural discourse; I focus on narratives in which culture and cultural differences are presented as meaningless. I first discuss how Chinese members of Shanghai-BDK accentuate their sense of professionalism, defining their relationship and ways of communicating with Japanese members as situated in the context of an intercultural community, while simultaneously downplaying culture and cultural differences. I then discuss an example in which shared expertise serves as common ground and makes cultural differences insignificant. In the third sub-section, I discuss how members of Shanghai-BDK experience the creation of a common ground in the form of partnership beyond national-cultural differences. I especially discuss how having a shared history is accounted for as a way of having created a common ground, dissolving “cultural differences.”

4.7.1. Downplaying culture in the pursuit of professional purposes

As a way in which members of Shanghai-BDK construct culture and cultural differences as insignificant in identifying what they are like as professionals in the intercultural context of Shanghai-BDK, they do so with reference to how they look at (their professional relationship with) their colleagues with different nationalities, or how they work with them. In this sub-section, I present various ways in which members of Shanghai-BDK talk about what it is like to work with colleague(s) with different nationalities in the process of downplaying the importance of “cultural differences” in the pursuit of professional goals.

Cai, a Chinese account executive, employs a relatively simple way to downplay cultural differences as related to his professionalism. His professionalism as it is situated in the intercultural context serves as the basis of his equal treatment of his colleagues regardless of whether they are Chinese or Japanese, as shown below.

Example 32: Cai—“All I want is to do good work.”

Note: Emphasis added by bold letters.

> ***Zhi yao ba gonzuo zuo hao***. *Ruguo Zhongfan de ren zuo cuo le, wo hui shengqi. Rifan de ren zuo cuo de shi wo ye hui shengqi.*
>
> **All I want is to do good work.** If Chinese people do something wrong, I will get angry with them. If Japanese people manage something wrong, I will get angry, too.

It should be noted that his hypothetical scenario is about unpleasant events—how he will react when people do something wrong. Many researchers (e.g., Gumperz, 1992a, 1992b; Scollon & Scollon, 1995; Lustig & Koester, 1998; Rogers & Steinfatt, 1999; Sunaoshi, 1999; Tsutsui, 1999) affirm and I have discussed in the first section of this chapter, that “we” vs.” they” dichotomy is likely presented or constructed when members of the intercultural community experience unexpected or disagreeable behaviors from individuals with different nationalities. It seems to be understood by Cai, consciously or unconsciously, that it is not easy to be egalitarian when unpleasant events occur. Accordingly, in order to identify his professionalism as based on treating Chinese and Japanese members equivalently, represented in his words, “*Zhi yao ba gonzuo zuo hao*,” meaning, “All I want is to do good work,” his hypothetical scenario needs to be an unhappy one.

Three Chinese members, Zhou (television commercial planner), Chi-tang (copywriter), and Xing (marketing director), refer to individual differences among Japanese members in their discussion of how they work with Japanese members, thereby downplaying their “Japanese-ness.” Unlike the narrative given by Cai, they do not downplay the importance of Japanese “culture” in terms of the relationship with “Chinese.” Their stress is on whether a particular person is better or worse compared to other Japanese members, but not on Chinese-Japanese issues.

Example 33: Zhou—

"You get money, you are number one."

Note: Emphasis is added by bold letters.

> *Zai Shanghai-BDK wo zui xihuang de Riben-ren jiushi Quancun, Kawamura. Inwei hui ting women yijian, ranhou ne, ta gongzuo de shihou ne, ta zhongtian cai shi zhengde shi renzheng. Youxie Riben-ren shi jia de renzheng. Meitian shi zheyang ((mimicking as taking a nap)), you shengme young? Guanggao gonse yao xialu.* ***Ni nadao qian, number one, due bu due****, jiushi zheyang. Dadao mudi jiushi zuihao.*
>
> In Shanghai-BDK, the Japanese I like the most is *Quancun*, Kawamura.[27] That's because he listens to our opinions, and when he works, he really works hard all day. Some Japanese pretend to work hard, but they are like this ((mimicking taking a nap)). What's the use of it? Advertising firms need efficiency. **You get money, you are number one,** right? It's like that. To achieve the goal is what's most important.

Example 34: Chi-tang—"If somebody give me more job to do, I can/will like him/her."

Note: Emphasis is added by bold letters.

> *Wo hui shuo, wo keneng hui bijiao xihuna gen ni zuo gonzuo, bu xihuan gun ta gonzuo. Danshi, zhege shuoming, binbushuoming ni bi ta hao. Bushi ni ren, shi ni de fanfa. Shi ni da fanfa, ta buyiyang, na wo xihuan ni de fanfa. Danshi wo bin buneng shuo ni bi ta hao. Ba gen duo de gonzuo gei wo zuo de hua, wo hui bijioa xihuan ta. You de ren, ni shuo shuo kan, danshi ta shijishang, buzhidao. Yici keyi, liang ce san ce wo jiu buxihhuan gun ta zuo gonzuo.*

[27] Quancun is the Chinese pronunciation of the Chinese letters used for the name of "Kawamura."

> I can say, I like to work with somebody, but I don't like to work with others. But this never means somebody is better than others. It's not like I like, or I don't like, somebody as a person, it's his or her way that I care about. It is somebody's way . . . others practice different ways . . . so I like the person's way. But I can never say somebody is better than others. It's about the method. **If somebody gives me more jobs to do, I can/will like him/her.** Some people are like, once you have a talk, you know they know nothing. If it's just once, it's ok. But after a few times, I don't like working with such people.

Example 35: Xing—"The biggest goal is to work well."

Note: Emphasis is added by bold letters.

> *Meige ren buyiyang. Gei wo ganjue jibenshang, haishi bijiao neng gou jieshou wo de yijian houzhe jianyi. Wo xinang, kending you hen da de chabie ma. Yinwei wo juede zuo zhege gonzuo bensheng lai shuo, bensheng de renge hen zhongyao. Ruguo ni ren, bensheng de renge fanmian you shengme qianque de hua, na, zuo yi ge teamwork de hua, you hui hasheng wenti….Teamwork bu hao de shi, you hendou yuanyin….Yingwei tajia doushi salary-man, hen minxian de. Na keneng jishi shuo tajio jishi ok le, jiu keyi le, danshi buhui you hen zhengmian de yixie, ni keneng bushi zhengde ok….Wo jue de dajia doushi salary-man ma. Yingai shi shuo, suoyi, zui da de mudi shi da gonzuo zuo de hao. Kaolu qitade donxi guanxi wo juede meiyou zhongyao de. Team de shihou, ba gongzuo zuo hao de jiu zui zhongyao de.*
>
> Everybody is different. Basically, Japanese members give me the feeling that they can accept my opinions and suggestions. **I think, definitely, there are big differences among Japanese members. I think, as far as the characteristics of this work is concerned, personality is very important.** If someone's personality has shortcomings, building teamwork is problematic . . . When teamwork does not work there are lots of reasons . . . Because we are all salary-men, it's very clear. So, it might be like, when we say ok, it is ok, but we won't be very straightforward . . .you might not really be ok. **I think because we are all salary-men, it should be said that the biggest goal is to work well**. **Other things and relationships are not important. When you are on a team, doing good work is the most important thing.**

All three members have a distinct notion of what kind of person is desirable as a work partner. And their narratives about their professional goals in the relation with Japanese colleagues are constructed on articulating this point. For example, Zhou maintains that the number of accounts an individual can gain from clients determines how good he or she is; he says, "*Ni nadao qian, number one, due bu due*," meaning, "You get money, you are number one, right?" For Chi-tang, whether an individual can get him more work as a copywriter is the most important; as he says, "I like somebody who can get me more work."[28] He also emphasizes that it is an individual's method of working that he cares about, not the individual personally. Xing on the other hand emphasizes the importance of personality. However, an even more significant point in his narrative is that he also implies some difficulties, or dilemma, in his experiences as a "salary man."

In order to understand Xing's narrative's focus on being "salary-man," one needs to understand the connotation of "salary-man," which is actually a Japanese term, pronounced as "*sarari-man*." *Sarari-man*" is a term commonly used in Japanese language and society to simply indicate "an employee," but it is also often used among Japanese people in contexts where various characteristics of the life of Japanese employees are at issue. Such characteristics include spending more time in companies and having less private life, loyalty to the group

[28] For Chi-tang, having more work does not mean that he can earn more money. He is an employee waged on fixed amount of salary. Having more work means that he can be involved in more projects as a copywriter, which eventually leads to his own career development. And this is not possible unless he works with an account executive who is capable of earning accounts from his or her clients.

and in-group members, emphasis on teamwork rather than individual talent, importance of maintaining harmonious relationships over making factual details clear, lack of creativity, etc. I speculate Xing has acquired a sense of meaning of the term through his life in the intercultural community of Shanghai-BDK.[29]

Accordingly, it seems reasonable to assume that Xing is using the term "*sarari-man*" as meaning somebody who is obliged to go along with his partner(s) for the sake of maintaining harmonious relationshisp, when he states, "*Na keneng jishi shuo tajio jishi ok le, jiu keyi le, danshi buhui you hen zhengmian de yixie, ni keneng bushi zhengde ok*"meaning, "So, it might be like, when we say ok, it is ok, but we won't be very straightforward . . .you might not really be ok." These words make his professionalism as a "salary-man" actually conspicuous, as indicated by following words, "*Wo jue de dajia doushi salary-man ma. Yingai shi shuo, suoyi, zui da de mudi shi da gonzuo zuo de hao. Kaolu qitade donxi guanxi wo juede meiyou zhongyao de. Team de shihou, ba gongzuo zuo hao de jiu zui zhongyao de*," which means,"I think because we are all salary-men, it should be said that the biggest goal is to work well. Other things and relationships are not important. When you are on a team, doing good work is the most important thing." That is, his professionalism lies in his determination as a salary-man to work well regardless of how difficult other things might be.

Unlike the four previous examples, Tang, a Chinese account executive, actually articulates the difference between Chinese and Japanese in his narratives, downplaying the importance of "culture" and "cultural differences" for his

[29] It may also be the case that Xing used this Japanese term in order to make his comments more understandable for me.

professional purposes. Although his professionalism is related to the very notion that Chinese and Japanese are different**,** by downplaying cultural differences he can emphasie his professionalism as shown below.

Example 36: Tang—“Our goals are the same.”

Note: Emphasis is added by bold letters.

> *Nihon-jin, okmakai bubun mo arushi, Chuugoku-jin no seikaku mo wakaranai bubun mo aru. Chuugoku-jin ni tottewa, itsumo iuto gyakuni urusai, souiuno arundesu. Bokuwa mou nareteiru kara iikedo, hokano hito wa itsumo iuto gyaku ni urusai. Sakkimo kurumano kotodemo chtto awanai bubun ga attan desu. Kawamura-san no yarikata wa choto isoide yaru janai desuka. Boku wa mou hanashite arukara nande sonnani isogashii, gyakuni hito ni meiwaku o kakeru janai desuka, to kangaeterun desu yo. Demo Kawamura-san fuan janai desu ka. Saikin kekkou souiu no arun desu. Sukosh fuyukai no youna. Demo boku wa souiu toki wa hakkiri iu. Setsumei suru. Suruto mukou wa kotaete kureru.* ***Mokuteki wa issho nandesu yo****. Demo yarikata wa chotto kaete. Watashi wa machigae wa arimasu. Chigau bubun mo aru. Demo yattekudasai, yarasete kudasai, tte iundesu.*
>
> Japanese care about details so much, and they don’t totally understand Chinese characters. From Chinese people’s point of view, it’s nagging if you say something too often—there is something like that. I am ok because I am used to that, but others feel bothered if you say the same thing all the time. I just had a disagreement with Kawamura-*san* about the car arrangement. Kawamura’s way of doing things is a bit rushed, isn’t it? I am thinking like we have already talked [arranged] about it so why should we be so rushed (to ensure every single detail), that would bother people (who are involved in the arrangement). But Kawamura-*san* feels uncertain, doesn’t he? This kind of thing happens a lot lately—it’s a bit uncomfortable. But in a case like this, I talk with Kawamura-*san*. I explain. Then, he responds. **Our goals are the same**. But we have different ways of reaching them. I can be wrong sometimes. I can be different, too. But I say, please you try, please, let me try.

In this narrative, Tang describes the differences between Chinese and Japanese by talking about his conflictive experience with Kawamura. However, the most important point he is making about this experience is not how different the two nationals are but how he attempts to communicate with Kawamura, overcoming the differences and difficulties, to reach their goals, since “Our goals are the same.” Striving for the same goal is valuable by signifying professionalism or portraying himself as a professional in the intercultural context of Shanghai-BDK. Professionalism is related to his effort to downplay cultural differences for the sake of reaching the “same goal.”

4.7.2. Shared expertise as a common ground

Fei-ming, a female Chinese copywriter, also implies there are cultural differences between Chinese and Japanese, yet downplays the cultural differences in a way different from Tang. In her narrative, she downplays cultural differences not because overcoming cultural differences is related to her professionalism, but rather because cultural differences do not really matter much, as far as her professional partnership with a Japanese member is concerned. In the following excerpt, Wei explains why she finds cultural differences to be insignificant.

Example 37: Wei—“ We have the same expertise, so we can still communicate.”

> *Taman dui Shanghai bushi zui liaojie, danshi yinwei wo shi yige zhuanxin zhuanzuo de yige fanmian de ren…sou yinggai shuo, zai zhe fang mian de hua, wo juude Riben de zhuangzuobu de ren ye goutong haishi keyi. Women shi yiyang de zhuan ye, suoyi haishi keyi goutong.*
>
> Japanese designers are not the ones who understand Shanghai the best. But because I am the kind of person who has expertise in one aspect of

> creative work . . . I should say, in this regard, I think, with Japanese persons on the creative team, it is still possible to communicate. We have the same expertise, so we can still communicate.

Readers should know that Wei is talking about how she communicates with Japanese designers from Tokyo-BDK, with whom she occasionally works. Note that she points out that they are not the ones who understand Shanghai the most; similar to Tang, she implies that there is a gap between Japanese members and herself, as a native Shanghainese, in understanding the market of Shanghai.[30] But her focus is not on how to overcome this gap. Her narrative concerns the common ground she already shares with Japanese members because of her profession; she articulates, "*Yiyang de zhanye suoyi gotong keyi*," (=We have the same expertise, so we can still communicate). Since Wei is referring to Japanese designers in the excerpt above and she herself is a copywriter, she means expertise exclusively related to the aspect of the production of advertisements, i.e., the work done by the creative team, rather than that related to the advertising industry in general. In sum, in her experiences of communicating with Japanese members, shared expertise with them serves as a common ground and thus affects her communication with them more than do the cultural differences between herself and them.

[30] "Shanghai" in this contexts also signifies "Chinese." Her point is not about how much Japanese members understand the particular city of Shanghai, rather, it is about how much they know China and Chinese culture. I have noticed that "Shanghai' is often used interchangeably with "China" when the talk is related to the market and consumers, in Chinese members' narratives of intercultural experiences.

The meaning of this common ground between Wei and the Japanese members is also related to how Wei identifies herself in the context of Shanghai-BDK as a joint-venture advertising firm. That is, this common ground becomes salient as she identifies herself as an expert; she says, "*yinwei wo shi yige zhuanxin zhuangye de yige fanmian de ren,*" whch is, "because I am the kind of person who has expertise in one aspect of creative work." In Chapter 1, I suggested that the common ground required for particular communicative events needs to be activated by social actors. In constructing communicative experiences with Japanese members in her narrative, Wei activates shared expertise as a common ground by highlighting her professional Self—as an "having expertise." In other words, her professional Self in the intercultural context becomes salient in situations in which cultural differences become less influential.

Wei further mentions the significance of task-oriented objects as related to shared expertise. (The next excerpt includes my question to Wei, in order to provide the context in which Wei's point is made.)

Example 38: Wei—"By looking at his work."

Note: The interviewer is indicated by "I."

Wei:
Makimura-san, ta ye yiding de nianling he jinye ma. Ta ba yige changping de texing shengme hui, yingwei zhebian de designer hen nianqin, cong yige pingpai an ta bushi hen kuai de zhidao kefe. Ta hui hen kuai de zhidao kefe xuyao zhege shangmian fainying shenma donxi. Hen, ta hui you yiduan shijian, danshi, wo juede Makimura-san, hen you jinyian, ta he kefu jiaoliu yi liang ge ci zhihou ta jiu zhidao kefu xiang yao shengme dongxe, zhege changping de tezhong shi shengme.

Makimura-san, he is definitely older and experienced. He can . . . about the characteristics of a product . . . because designers here are very young, from the brand concept, they can't quickly know clients. He [Makimura] can quickly know that clients need this aspect, what should be reflected on what. Very. . . they [designers] will spend a certain amount of time on this. But I think Makimura-san is very experienced and after interfacing with clients once or twice, he knows what kind of things clients want, what the point of a product is.

I:
Liaojie le. Keshi tamen shuo de dou shi Riwen ba, shi bu shi? Ni zengme zhidao eh, ta yijing liaojie le

I understand. But they all speak Japanese, right? How do you know that oh, he's already got it?

Wei:
Kan tade zuoping.

By looking at his work.

Her point in the last line is clear; Makimura's work itself tells her how good he is, and she can know that because she is in the same profession and is able to assess the quality of his work. Yet, this last line signifies more than that in terms of showing what her experience is like when working with Makimura. Based on the shared expertise, task-oriented objects (i.e., Makimura's work) play an irreplaceable role in Wei's understanding of what he is doing and in her acknowledgement of his capability as a designer without shared linguistic resources, thereby making her respectful of Makimura as a work partner.[31]

[31] The importance of shared expertise as a common ground among social actors when they do not in share a common language will be discussed in the next Chapter, too, in which I will focus on intercultural *practice* rather than intercultural *experience*. In this regard, her story deserves a special attention. Wei's story actually presents an example and a significance of a practical common ground which one can refer to for carrying out actual communicative acts, rather than ideological common ground which one seeks to achieve.

4.7.3. Creation of a common ground as the creation of partnership

Clark's notion of "common ground" (1996) concerns what social actors are *sharing*; and this is an important perspective for understanding the communications occurring in joint-ventures like Shanghai-BDK. Emphasis on what is shared among individuals in the intercultural community leads us to recognize the following: while individuals with the same national-cultural background may share to a significant degree history and group identification, individuals with different national-cultural backgrounds can share history and group identification as well in different contexts, such as in a professional sphere. As I have just discussed in the previous sub-section, professional expertise is among the common grounds that individuals can share beyond different national-cultural backgrounds in intercultural contexts. Expertise is, however, a type of common ground that is already shared as a part of individuals' backgrounds when individuals from different cultures meet, although it still needs to be activated.

On the other hand, there is a type of common ground that can be created by social actors themselves in and through communicative engagements. It is a type of common ground which emerges out of everyday interactions or is created upon sharing individual histories in particular contexts, rather than as a sum of individuals' attributes. In their stories below, two Chinese members of Shanghai-BDK, Zhou and Tang mention what they have experienced together with Kawamura, a Japanese account executive and vice general manager. They further state why they can understand Kawamura, even though they do not associate with other Japanese in the same way. In their narratives, it is their particular histories with Kawamura that have created common ground with him. Sharing the process of creating a common ground, rather than a status quo of common ground, builds their relationships with Kawamura.

Example 39: Zhou—"I just take a glance at his face, and I know."

> *Ta ganlai de shihou, ta yidian buhui shuo zhonguohua, yidian ye buhui. Suoyi women yong xie hanzi lai goutong. Women yiqi gonzuo zhema jiu, wo buzhidao qita de Riben-ren, keshi ne, wo keyi zhidao Kawamura xiang shengma. Wo keyi ganjue de dao. Wo yikan ta de lian, wo jie zhidao Kawamura haobuhao.*
>
> When he first got here, he couldn't speak Chinese at all. At all. So we wrote Chinese characters to each other in order to communicate. After a long time of working together, while I don't know about other Japanese, with Kawamura, I can know what he thinks. I can feel it. I just take a glance at his face, and I know whether he thinks my work is good or bad.

Zhou's story shows that a lack of common knowledge or common ground (in the first place) can be a resource for developing common ground in individuals' experience. Kawamura's inability to speak Chinese during the earliest days of his sojourn prompted Zhou and Kawamura to work together on somehow communicating, and this experience of compensating for the lack of common ground is now accounted for *as* common ground in Zhou's narrative. Zhou now knows what Kawamura thinks by looking at his face, and the common ground between them that enables his quick judgment was indeed created by them, by their sharing such efforts in the past.

Tang's narrative also concerns his quick and clear judgment about Kawamura, and Tang implies their shared history is a reason for it.

Example 40: Tang—"Because I have been working with him for a long time."

> *Kao miteru to wakaru. Boku wa sugu yamechaun desu yo. Sonomama hanashite iru to kenka ni nacchau. Boku wa wakaru. Boku, Kawamura-san towa mou tsukiai nagai kara.*
>
> I can tell by looking at his face that he is in a bad mood. In that case I immediately stop talking. If I keep talking, we'd have a quarrel. I can tell. That's because I have been working with him for a long time.

Further, Tang elaborates on what they share (now) and his reasoning about it.

Example 41: Tang—"We have trust in each other."

> *Shinrai kankei ga aru.. Seikaku wa daitai wakatte rukara. Otagai no seikaku wakatteru kara. Yappari boku wa Kawamura-san no koto sonkei shiteru bubun arukara. Isshouken mei yarundesu. Shigoto kekkou kitsui noni. Souiu bubun wa boku wa sonkei shitemasu. Hokano hito to kuraberu to chigau to omoimasu. Erai.*
>
> We have trust in each other. We know the personality of the other. We know each other's personality overall. After all, I somehow respect Kawamura-san. He works very hard—although work is pretty tough. In this regard, I respect him. I think he is different from other Japanese members. He is great.

Then Tang refers to particulars of their shared history.

Example 42: Tang—"Kawamura-san taught me everything."

> *Boku koukoku no koto wa Shanghai-BDK ni haitte kara. Sono mae wa zenzen shiranai. Zenbu Kawamura-san ni oshiete moratte. Souiukoto wa kansha shierukara.*

> I started working in the advertising industry after I entered Shanghai-BDK. I didn't know anything about advertising before. Kawamura-san taught me everything I know. In this regard, I am so thankful to him.

Likewise, Tang's narratives also show that the common ground Tang is referring to was built by Tang and Kawamura, and is thus valuable for identifying their partnership.

Partnership as described in the narratives by Zhou and Tang is not singular to relationships between different nationals; individuals who share similar cultural backgrounds or nationality may establish such a partnership as well. However, identifying such a partnership between different nationals or between those who do not share similar cultural backgrounds in intercultural contexts is significant because it demonstrates the importance of what can be shared beyond national-cultural background as well as the meaningfulness of the experience of *creating* common ground as opposed to simply presupposing it.[32] As many scholars mention (e.g., Hathaway, 1999; Browder, 1999; Sunaoshi, 1999) individuals' various backgrounds such as professional background/expertise, gender, and age other than national-cultural and ethnic identity are important attributes when we attempt to understand life in multicultural communities, and are thus to be considered as fundamental common grounds which facilitate (intercultural) communication. However, we also need to look at an individuals' capability of creating common ground. Common grounds can emerge, or can be created, as

[32] I have discussed that common ground is an important element for understanding individuals' experience of partnership beyond national-cultural differences. I will also derive from the notion of common ground for my discussion of *practice* of intercultural communication in Chapter 5.

well as modified. They are not the sum of individuals' various attributes but they are unique to the process of developing a shared history between or among particular individuals. Additionally, the very history of creating common grounds can serve as a very important shared experiences.

4.8. SUMMARY OF CHAPTER 4

In this chapter, I have studied intercultural experiences of members of Shanghai-BDK by examining their narratives. I have especially focused on the Chinese-Japanese dichotomy as an important part of their experiences, and I have examined how particular factors other than national-cutlural differences can contribute to the way in which they *experience* the Chinese-Japanese dichotomy.

I first analyzed how competence evaluation about a national-cultural Other is intertwined with differentiation of a national-culural Other in their narratives, identifying Chinese members as "Chinese" and Japanese as "Japanese." Next, I studied the narratives in which members' identification does not conform with their national-cultural identification. In so doing, I have shed light on the multiple meanings of Chinese-ness, Japanese-ness, and the Chinese-Japanese dichotomy created in members' experiences, and unfold how such meanings are related to the meanings of their intercultural experiences, including their identities and memberships in the setting. I then looked at the complexity of the relationship between organizational and intercultural factors, considering the organizational factors as resources for the construction of the setting members' Chinese-Japanese binary perspectives. I also investigated the aspect of cultural similarities and dissimilarties as resources for individuals' experiencing intercultural events. I studied how individuals utilize cultural differences as a tool for tolerating disagreements and even forgo potentially coflicting matters. Lastly, I examined the narratives in which setting members construct the insignificance of cultural differences by highlighting something more meaningful for the sake of their identities or ideologies in various ways.

In sum, I have presented through the analyses that as much as various factors construct the Chinese-Japanese dichotomy and its meaning(s) within particular experiences of particular setting members, the Chinese-Japanese dichotomy also serves as a resource and rhetorical tool for the setting members to make sense of their intercultural experiences or to identify themselves as meaningful to such experiences. The Chinese-Japanese national-cultural dichotomy is no more than one facet of the intercultural community of Shanghai-BDK, yet it is certainly a vital aspect of the setting members' intercultural experience; it becomes meaningful as it is intertwined with various factors present in the community.

Chapter 5: Intercultural Practices at Shanghai-BDK: Interactive Competence of Intercultural Communication

In this chapter, I study intercultural *practices* of members of Shanghai-BDK, namely, their interactions in intercultural settings. Whereas in the last chapter, I examined *what they say* and the importance of the role of culture revealed therein, in this chapter I analyze *what they do* and *how they do* what they do—when they interact with members who do not share their national-background within the particular context of Shanghai-BDK.

Among various "intercultural" factors of intercultural settings, or "cultural differences," sharing no common language, or a native language, is frequently one of the most noticeable issues. This is also the case for members of Shanghai-BDK, and as mentioned in the last chapter, they refer to this issue as important to their experiences of intercultural communication in various ways. In an attempt to analyze intercultural interactions occurring at Shanghai-BDK, I treat therefore such linguistic gaps among members of Shanghai-BDK as an important context for my analysis and divide this chapter accordingly. That is, in this chapter, I study two types of interactions that are different in terms of the degree to which members of Shanghai-BDK do *not* share a common language: one type of interaction occurs when interlocutors do not share a common language at all, and the other type of interaction occurs when interlocutors are native and non-native speakers of the language used.

It should be stressed that the purpose of this chapter is not to evaluate the influence of the linguistic gaps on intercultural interactions. Instead, this chapter is founded on the idea that interlocutors in intercultural settings can be *communicatively competent* despite their *linguistic incompetence* or language barriers, at least within the context of Shanghai-BDK. This concept does not devalue the importance of sharing linguistic resources for intercultural communication; rather, it encourages recognition and examination of individuals' capability and flexibility to compensate for the lack of an important communicative resource, contingent upon their need to "get things done" in professional and/or task-oriented settings.

Along this line, I will first review the existing literature on intercultural communication competence and identify both what is lacking in it and what I hope to contribute to it in this chapter. (5.1.). Next, I will look at translation-mediated interactions in which primary interlocutors do not share a common language at all, comment on the phenomenon that they nevertheless directly communicate with each other, and then examine how they do so (5.2.). Then I will study interactions in which interlocutors are native and non-native speakers. I will focus my analysis on a phenomenon called "word-search" and show that, by interacting with their "native" conversation partners in a particular way, non-native speakers can compensate for the lack of their linguistic knowledge and therefore communicate as well as "get things done" without knowing particular words required for the talk underway. I will discuss how interlocutors who do not natively share a common language overcome language barriers by collaboratively distributing the linguistic knowledge of a native speaker. I will further consider what elements are needed for such successful collaboration (5.3.). Lastly, I will summarize the chapter (5.4.).

5.1. PREVIOUS LITERATURE ON INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION COMPETENCE

Intercultural communication competence is a complex notion and phenomenon. Many scholars have approached it in a variety of ways; however, despite pervasive agreement that it is important to gain more knowledge about intercultural communication competence, there is no agreement on what it is and how we should study it.

One major discussion concerns whether intercultural communication competence resides within individuals or elsewhere and/or whether we should study it as such. According to Koester, Wiseman, and Sanders (1993), the domain of inquiry in previous research regarding intercultural communication competence, as well as the supposed location of it, has been various, focusing on individuals, relationships among individuals, social contexts, or cultures. Koester, Wiseman, and Sanders point out, however, that the earlier literature tends to focus on "characteristics of individuals and their relationship to the outcomes of intercultural communication" (p.7). As a recent trend they mention an emerging emphasis on social judgment, or evaluation, in determining competence, suggesting a shift in focus from individuals to relations. They state that the view of competence as a social judgment or evaluation indicates the recognition that "competence is not determined by the knowledge, motivation, or skills of only one of the parties in the interaction, but rather that judgments of competence are relational outcomes" (p.7).

When regarded as pertaining to individuals, intercultural communication competence still can be considered in various ways. Spitzberg and Cupach (1984), Spitzberg and Hecht (1984), and Spitzberg (1987) conceptualize intercultural communication competence as composed of effectiveness (as it is related to an individual's ability to achieve goals) and appropriateness (as consisting of an individual's knowledge, motivation, and social skills). Kim (1993) argues that intercultural communication competence is determined by an individual's characteristics; flexibility, sense of humor, patience, and resourcefulness, for example, are regarded as necessary for intercultural communication competence (Abe & Wiseman, 1983; Ruben, 1977; Sarros, 1992; Wittenberg-Cox, 1991; Thornton, 1990). In general, the distinction between cognitive and behavioral aspects seems to be an important concern, and some scholars emphasize either one or the other, while other scholars incorporate both dimensions in their argument.

Viewing competence as occurring in a relationship between individuals, rather than as pertaining to individuals, is another way of considering intercultural communication competence. For example, Ting-Toomey (1993) suggests that intercultural communication competence should be judged in terms of how individuals negotiate their identity through interaction. Likewise, Cupach and Imahori (1993) relate intercultural communication competence to identity management. Gudykunst (1993) focuses on defining the effectiveness of intercultural communication competence as a function of "minimizing misunderstandings" (p.34).

Another major discussion, related to the question of whether emphasis should be on individuals or not, centers on whether intercultural communication can be generalized across contexts. Specifically, the influence of cultural context as based on national, ethnic, or racial group memberships—has been a prominent controversy in previous research; that is, whether intercultural communication competence is culture-general or culture-specific, or how culture-general competence and culture-specific competence are related (Martin, 1993). For the most part, scholars who focus on cognitive and/or behavioral aspects of individuals hold a culture-general view of intercultural communication competence (e.g., Abe & Wiseman, 1983; Ruben, 1977; Sarros, 1992; Wittenberg-Cox, 1991; Thornton, 1990, as previously referred), although this does not necessarily mean that such scholars disregard culture-specific competence. The culture-specific view of intercultural communication competence frequently leads to cross-cultural comparisons of interpersonal communication competence. One representative and classic example of the culture-specific view is Triandis' (1973) research. He emphasizes the importance of individuals' knowledge about particular cultures, including what behaviors are counted as appropriate within particular cultures. Another example is the work by Collier (1991) and Collier, Ribeau, and Hecht (1986). They compare concepts of competence as related to rules and systems across three racial/ethnic groups of black, Hispanic, and white people. Their findings show that the three groups share some rules but differ in how such rules are enacted in the behavioral sphere.

As for the significance of context in considering intercultural communication competence, Spitzberg and Brunner (1991) explain it as related to issues of expectation and evaluation. They state that evaluations about an individual's intercultural communication competence are not only made about his/her knowledge and skill *per se* but also about how contextual expectations are met in his/her communication behaviors. They categorize expectations along four dimensions of culture, situation, interpersonal relation, and function (goals and objectives) of interactions. They propose that the greater the discrepancy between what is expected in particular contexts and what is experienced in particular contexts, the lower the evaluations are.

As briefly reviewed so far, previous research demonstrates in various ways the significance of understanding the cognitive prototypes, expectations and evaluations, and skills related to competence (Martin, 1993). However, identifying these elements does not account for how individuals as interlocutors deal with practical difficulties such as language barriers or unshared cultural knowledge due to "intercultural-ness" in actual interactions. As Martin (1993) states, there is a paucity of empirical research which attempts to understand how these elements are enacted in actual interactions in intercultural settings. Ethnographers of communication study intercultural communication competence through the use and analysis of qualitative data, including observation of actual interactions. However, most of their research focuses on either describing and identifying "competent patterns" of communication within a specific speech community (see Basso, 1970; Philipsen, 1975; 1986; Saville-Troike, 1982; Carbaugh, 1996, 1999) or comparing such patterns across different national or ethnic cultures (see Carbaugh, 1993; Collier 1991; Collier, Ribeau, & Hecht, 1986; Philipsen, 1989). Martin and Hammer (1989) identify micro-behavioral elements, such as smiling, head nods, eye gaze, and interruptions, as important for intercultural competence. However, their research is not based on the data of actual interactions; it is based on self-reports of hypothetical scenarios. Very little research has been conducted based on empirical records of actual interactions in intercultural settings, emphasizing what interlocutors *actually do* in order to communicate competently with others and overcome intercultural difficulties.

One of the few exceptions is Miller's work (1991, 1995). Her research is based on videotaped data of actual interactions in multi-cultural companies in Tokyo, Japan. Using discourse analytical methods, she investigates how employees from two different national-cultural groups—Japanese and American employees—use back-channels (which corresponds to "*aizuchi*" in Japanese). Her findings show that Japanese employees use *aizuchi* much more frequently than their American colleagues, whereas Americans use back-channels primarily at or near potential turn transitions. While Miller's work is based on empirical data of actual interactions in intercultural settings, however, her objective is to identify "competent patterns" of the different national groups from a comparative point of view. She does not address the issue of how interlocutors actually deal with problems caused by factors which are salient in intercultural settings, e.g., language barriers, different behavioral norms, etc.

Restricting the notion of competence to cognitive prototypes, expectations and evaluations, and skills can hinder us from understanding the actual enactment of competence. Further, comparison of behavioral competent patterns does not lead to an understanding of what constitutes *intercultural* competence. Sunaoshi's (1999) work is also based on a detailed discourse analysis of videotaped interactions, between Japanese and American employees in a dye-factory in the US. What distinguishes Sunaoshi's work from Miller's is her examination of various interactive strategies by which native and non-native speakers of English (i.e., Japanese employees and American employees) with limited shared linguistic resources successfully communicate to achieve their tasks. For example, Sunaoshi describes how American employees use simplified English in order to communicate with their Japanese counterparts. She also illustrates strategies used by Japanese employees to request clarification and confirmation with limited English ability; the strategies include the gesture of pullinging their ear forward or staring at their conversation partner. It is significant that by examining details of actual intercultural interactions, Sunaoshi sheds light on the collaborative aspect of intercultural competence among individuals from different national cultural groups, beyond identifying and comparing "competent patterns" within a specific national cultural group.

Work like Sunaoshi’s (1999) is an important addition not only to the literature on intercultural competence but also to the field of intercultural communication studies. One reason is that it gives attention to how *intercultural* communications actually occur, rather than focusing only on differences (or similarities) across national cultural groups. As Hermans and Kempen (1989) suggest, most intercultural communication research has focused on studying particular cultural groups, whether independently or comparatively, and thus has frequently neglected the domain in which individuals with different national cultural backgrounds come into contact—despite the fact that *this* is where intercultural communication occurs. Additionally, when intercultural contacts are the target domain of the analysis (although very little research has studied actual encounters), the analysis most frequently focuses on problematic phenomena such as misunderstandings and conflicts, attributing their causes to "cultural differences." Yet, such phenomena indicate just one aspect of intercultural communication; when considering the powerful and ubiquitous presence of globalization in the modern world, it is self-evident that we not only meet cross-cultural gaps but also experience the hybrid nature of the intercultural world. Therefore, examining the hybridity of intercultural communication is important to understanding intercultural communication. Sunaoshi's study of the collaboration between native and non-native speakers of English is among the valuable and all too rare efforts deal with this hybridity of intercultural communication.[33]

This chapter attempts to fill some of the gaps in the existing body of literature about intercultural competence, exploring pragmatics of intercultural competence. Based on detailed interaction analysis of videotaped data of

[33] Among exceptional examples like Suaoshi's work is the work done by Day (1994).

naturally occurring interactions in intercultural setting of Shanghai-BDK, I examine interactive maneuvers that interlocutors carry out beyond national-cultural differences and language barriers for the goal of communication.

5.2. Facilitation in Translation-Mediated Interactions: When Interlocutors of Shanghai-BDK Do Not Share a Common Language

Shanghai-BDK is a naturally multilingual environment, and translation between Mandarin and Japanese is an important routine. However, since Shanghai-BDK does not have a professional translator, a bilingual employee usually plays the role of translator. Thus, how participants manage translation is closely related to how they themselves can achieve their tasks in the intercultural environment.

In this section, I study translation-mediated interactions at Shanghai-BDK. In so doing, I argue that translation-mediated interactions are not necessarily controlled by a translating participant, who has exclusive access to the two languages spoken in interactions. In other words, participants other than the translating participant can make important contributions to successful translation-mediated interactions, and I identify the non-verbal ways in which they do this. I will do so by describing how primary interlocutors, who do not share a common language, directly communicate with each other. Through examining the contributions and communication by primary interlocutors, I will shed light on the significance of non-verbal communicative devices as not only supplements to verbal translation but also as ways of facilitating translation-mediated interactions.

After briefly reviewing some of the previous literature on translation, I will first examine the significance of back-channels conducted by primary interlocutors—such as gaze, nodding, and acknowledgement tokens—in the context of translation-mediated interactions. Subsequently, I will consider the use of gestures. In examining uses of gesture, I will also investigate the ways in which primary interlocutors make use of objects in order to communicate with each other beyond language barriers as well as without counting on translation underway; the notion of local common ground will be discussed as related to object use. Lastly, I will talk about the importance of professional common ground between primary interlocutors as a resource for the contributions made and communications conducted by primary interlocutors in successful translation-mediated interactions.

5.2.1. Literature on Translation

The tradition of translating is closely related to the proliferation of documents and literacy (Delisle & Woodsworth, 1995). A written language bias in translation studies is visible in the fact that a large part of the literature on translation is text-oriented (Wadensjo, 1998). As well, the written language bias is inseparable from the rise of linguistically-oriented theories of translation generated during the early post-war years and the 1970s (Wadensjo, 1998)--theories which focus on the comparison of the source and target languages' linguistic systems (House & Blum-Kulka. 1986). When text-centered or linguistically-oriented approaches to translation are applied to the translation of spoken language, the source language and target language are regarded as "speakers' productions of different types of text[s]," (Wadensjo, 1998, p.22) and translators tend to be positioned as living "information processing systems" mediating between two different languages (p.30).

However, discourse, sociolinguistic, and interactional approaches to translation, which became a significant part of translation studies during the 1990s, have created a paradigm shift in our views on translation and the role of translators. Viewing language in use as situated in particular interactions and activities, scholars such as Hatim and Mason (1990), Berk-Seligon (1990), Wadensjo (1998), Metzger (1995, 1999), and Roy (2000) argue that translating is a communicative process that occurs in particular social contexts, re-conceptualizing translators as important participants who influence (and even manipulate) such communicative processes. For example, Hatim and Mason examine translation texts by analyzing a translator's decision-making process in negotiating the meaning of text with readers. Berk-Seligson examines the discourse process of courtroom proceedings and demonstrates that translators become actively involved in courtroom interactions. Her examples show that translators, by urging or promoting a witness to speak or remain silent, control the flow of testimony. Wadensjo's study, grounded in Goffman's (1959, 1961, 1974, 1981) work on participation frameworks and role-performance and Bakhtin's (1981, 1986) dialogic theory, presents the idea of translators as "moral human beings" rather than "informational processing systems" who actively engage in promoting mutual understanding between primary interlocutors (p.30). She introduces the notion that the interdependent activities of "translation" and "coordination" create dual roles for the translator, based on the observation that translators create two kinds of talk in and through their translating. Demitrova (1997) gives special attention to turn-taking by translators and emphasizes the importance of translators mastering and managing appropriate turn-taking for effective translation-mediated interactions. In sum, these scholars have contributed to the promotion of the idea that translators are doing more than just translating message content; translators are, by being involved in on-going interactions through their translation, "negotiating the way messages are understood by others, not just the meaning of words" (Roy, 2000, p.27).

As reviewed, the communicative aspects of translating and the interactive role of translators have been increasingly explored in the last decade, reframing the notion of translation as situated sense-making within particular social activities and contexts rather than as text-(re)production between different linguistic systems (i.e., source language and target language). However, there are still few studies that focus on the interactivity of primary speakers as opposed to the activity of translators. Wadensjo (1998) examines back-channeling by primary interlocutors but does not consider it as a useful interactive resource for translation-mediated interactions. She maintains that primary interlocutors use less back-channeling with each other when engaging in translation-mediated interactions. She further states that the less understanding interlocutors have about each other's talk, the more they become dependent on translators, leading to less use of back-channeling to each other. Thus, her discussion treats the interactivity of primary interlocutors in terms of their relationship with the translator rather than with each other. Discourse/interactional approaches to translation most frequently depict translators as holding unique and exclusive access to "everything" because of their access to the two languages involved in translation, depicting (the interactivity of) primary interlocutors as "handicapped" because of their relative linguistic inability. Metzger (1995) states that professional translators must and tend to "generate" utterances to achieve their goal of translating the meaning and/or promoting understanding of the parties. Such "extra" work by translators seems to be widely understood based on the notion of imbalanced resources between translators and primary interlocutors. However, communicative resources that primary interlocutors may have despite their linguistic inability have not been fully examined. Additionally, previous research has limited the range of communicative resources available to translators as interactants to their linguistic knowledge.

An emphasis on translators as those with exclusive access to communicative resources, however, sometimes restricts understanding of what else is going on during translation-mediated interactions. Such an emphasis perpetuates the idea that successful translation is an almost independent production of a skillful translator, however one might define "skill," rather than a collaborative production that results from the interaction of all interlocutors. Therefore, while I identify my approach as affiliated with the interactional trend of translation studies that these scholars have created, one purpose of the present section is to correct such a bias by focusing on two aspects of translation-mediated interactions: the role of non-linguistic resources and the contributions that interlocutors other than the translator make by the using such resources.

5.2.2. Back-channels

Before analyzing examples in which primary interlocutors who do not share a common language use back-channels to communicate with each other during translation-mediated interactions, it seems necessary to review and understand what researchers have found out about the use of back-channels in the contexts in which the premise is that interlocutors *do* share a common language used in interactions.

5.2.2.1. Previous literature on back-channels

Yngve (1970), who first introduced the term, defines "back-channels" as short messages like "yes" or "uh-huh" which speakers receive from their listeners without giving up the floor. Duncan and Fiske (1977) expanded the notion of back-channels and included more expressions as back-channels (e.g., m-hums). They are also responsible for having broadened the notions of back-channels beyond vocal behaviors to include non-vocal behaviors, such as head nods, as back-channeling behaviors. Maynard (1987) basically agrees with the definitions presented by these scholars; however, she adds that longer messages can function as back-channels and supports her argument with examples from Japanese conversations.

Many researchers (e.g., Kawai, 1975; Mizutani, 1983; Maynard, 1986,1987; White,1989) have conducted cross-cultural research on English and

Japanese back-channels. Whereas their findings show common functions of back-channels between the two languages, they also indicate significant differences between them, e.g., in the frequency or placement of back-channels. These researchers seem to agree that Japanese speakers use back-channels, or *aizuchi* as they are called in Japanese, more frequently than English speakers. It is also agreed that Japanese speakers often use back-channels in the midst of other person's sentence or turn, whereas English speakers tend to use back-channels toward the end of turns. However, with particular respect to gaze, Japanese speakers use gaze less than English speakers (Kunihiro, 1977; Nishihara 1995). According to Kunihioro and Nishihara, this is because direct gaze is considered to be impolite in Japanese society.

As to the use of back-channels in languages other than English and Japanese, Liu (1987) and Mizuno (1988) study how Chinese speakers use back-channels and compare this usage with that of Japanese speakers. They state that Japanese speakers use back-channels much more often than Chinese speakers. Further, Mizuno shows that there are more varieties among Chinese speakers than among Japanese speakers regarding the frequency of the use of back-channels; to understand why this is so, Mizuno suggests considering factors such as situations of conversation or content of talk, in addition to the possibility of different attributes among the speakers (native language[34], up-bringing). The study by

[34] As I explained earlier in this study, there are five major languages used in the mainland China, all of which can be called "Chinese," and Mandarin is one of the five languages used in Beijin ad Beijin are, as well as the official language of the People's Republic of China. Therefore, unless one is from the area(s), most people in China speak their local/native language in addition to Mandarin. (And if one is not very educated, his/her proficiency/sophistication of Mandarin can be

Clancy, Thompson, Suzuki, and Tao (1995) confirms the finding by Liu and Mizuno; they claim Chinese speakers use back-channels less often than Japanese speakers and English speakers.

Kubota (1994) points out that while short acknowledgement tokens (e.g., *ee*, *un*) and partial repetition of speakers' utterances are among the popular topics in research on Japanese back-channels (Matsuda, 1988; Sugito, 1989), nods and gazes (in addition to short vocal messages) are popular topics in research on English back-channels (Kendon, 1967; Duncan & Fiske, 1977). Such differences themselves are interesting because they seem to show what kind of back-channels are recognized as significant and/or interactional strategies used in a given society. Similarly, according to Mizuno (1988) and Clancy, et al., there is little systematic research on Chinese back-channels. Such paucity of work, they propose, indicates that back-channels are not regarded as a major feature of Chinese language use.

A number of extensive and detailed research has been done on "back-channels," although its focuses vary. As a result, it is now generally understood that one important function of back-channels is to demonstrate that the listener (the one who offers back-channels) is listening to, is following, and/or has understood the current speaker (Fries, 1952; Kendon, 1967; Horiguchi, 1991; Drummon & Hopper, 1993). It is important, as Kurosaki (1987) notes in his definition of back-channels (or *aizuchi*), that back-channels *do not express the utterers' judgments* but simply signals "I am listening" (emphasis added).

---

lower.) In this section in particular, I am using the term "Chinese" following the researchers' ways, but I speculate in most cases, the langue they have studied is actually "Mandarin."

With this, I now address the question: How would such knowledge be applied to our attempt to understand intercultural communicative practice in which not all interlocutors share a common language?

5.2.2.2 Acknowledgement tokens

In this portion of my discussion, I analyze acknowledgement tokens and related gaze and head nodes used by primary interlocutors (i.e., non-translating participants) as a way of communicating directly with each other. For the transcription of the example in this sub-section (5.2.2. Back-channels) in particular, I use a description of participants' gaze/nods that differs from conventional methods. The main reason for this is that conventional methods are not designed for and are not capable of sufficiently describing all participants' gazes and nods, factors which are important for my analysis in this sub-section. In Examples 1, each line of talk is accompanied by dashed lines representing the gaze of every participant. The letters in parentheses on the gaze-line indicate the direction or target of gaze. The letter appearing to the right of the gaze holder's identification does not necessarily indicate gaze-shift; it simply indicates the direction of the speakers when the utterance begins. I use capitalized initials if the object of gaze is an individual and non-capitalized "m" when participants are looking down at materials on the desk or gazing down. Nods are also indicated on the gaze line. For describing distinctive gestures which overlap with utterances, I mark the overlapping parts with the symbol "~~" and explain the gesture within double parentheses below the symbol. For the reader's benefit, I explain more with reference to the case below.

2. Z: **miao limian (.) ni meibanfa**
seconds inside you no way
Z: (m)------ (O)----------------- (m)-----------
O: (m)-----------------nod-------------------
S: (m)---

In the above excerpt, the first gaze-line shows Z's (Zhou's) gaze and nods. While Z himself is speaking, he is first gazing down; he then looks up at O (Okano) when he utters "*limian*," or "inside." Then when he utters "*meibanfa*," or "no way," he gazes down. The second gaze-line is O's (Okano's). He keeps his gaze down during Z's utterance, and he nods when Z pauses. The third line is S's (Suzuki's), which shows that S keeps his gaze down during the entire period of Zhou's utterance. All non-capitalized m-s right after the gaze-holders' identities do not indicate that they shift their gaze to materials on the desk, or gaze down; they simply indicate the direction of their gaze at that point. (So, if the last gaze-line indicates different gaze-object than the first letter, it means the gaze-holder shifts his gaze at this point.)

This example below (Example 1) is an excerpt from the videotaped corpus I collected during my fieldwork for the current study. It is from the meeting for the production of a television commercial. The products to be advertised are a series of three bathroom products: bathtub, tile, and bathtub stopper. The participants are: Zhou (Shanghainese television commercial planner, speaks Shanghainese and Mandarin), Okano (Japanese account executive, speaks Japanese and Mandarin), and Suzuki (Japanese director of the sales promotion department, speaks Japanese). They are sitting at three sides of a rectangular table; Zhou and Suzuki are facing each other and Okano is in the center. As the only bilingual among the participants, Okano is playing the role of translator. The transcript begins with Zhou's comment in Mandarin, followed by Okano's translation into Japanese, then by Suzuki's response.

Direct communication between the two primary interlocutors (Zhou and Suzuki) occurs during Zhou's speaking Mandarin utterances, not during Okano's Japanese utterances (i.e., not during Okano's translation of Zhou's Mandarin comment into Japanese sentences for Suzuki). In this example, Suzuki utters Japanese acknowledgement tokens during Zhou's speaking, and his acknowledgement tokens seem to function as back-channels, despite the fact, again, that Suzuki and Zhou do not share a common language and thus that Suzuki does not understand what Zhou is saying.

Example 1

Participants (languages they speak and professional affiliations)

Z(Zhou):	Shanghainese (L1)[35], Mandarin (L1), television commercial planner
O(Okano):	Japanese (L1), Mandarin (L2), account executive
S(Suzuki):	Japanese (L1), director of the sales promotion department

1. Z: Zhe zhong paishe de fanfa, camera,

this kind shooting 's way camera

Z: (m)---

~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~

((circling with finger on the material))

O: m)---

S: (m)---

This kind of way of shooting, camera,

[35] L1 refers to the first/native language of the participant. L2 refers to the second language of the participant.
~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~

2. S: N n n n
M m m m
Z: (m)-----------
O: (m)----------
S: (m)----------

3. Z: Zhezhong (.) do:ri[36]
this kind of shooting
Z: (m)--------------- (S)-(m)----
O: (m)----------------------------
S: (m)-----------------------------

This kind of shooting

4. S: Dori,
Shooting
Z: (m)----
O: (m)----
S: (m)----

Shooting,

5. Z: Eh,
Huh
Z: (S)-nod-
O: (m)--
S: (Z)---

Uh-huh?

6. S: N [n n n
Mm mm mm mm
Z: (m)------------
O: (M)-----------
S: (Z)---nod-(m)-

Mm, mm, mm, mm,

7. Z: [Zhezhong paishe de fanfa, he women shangci konakkusu you shuo
this kind of shooting 's way with us the last time KONAX have say
Z: (m)---(O)--
O: (m)--
S: (m)--

[36] "*Dori*" is a Japanese word meaning "shooting." Although Zhou does not speak Japanese, he has picked up several Japanese words used in advertising and sometimes inserts them in his Mandarin sentences.

8. **bu ding de.**
not definitely PA
Z: (O)---------------
O: (m)--------------
S: (m)---------------

KONAX wasn't clear with us [about] the method of shooting it.

9. O: nn, nn
Z: (m)--------
O: (m)--------
S: (m)-nod--

10. Z: Zheyang ba,
like this isn't it
Z: (O)----------------
O: (m)---------------
S: (m)----------------

Like this, isn't it

11. O: n, n
Mm mm
Z: (m)----
O: (m)---
S: (m)----

Mm, mm,

12. Z: ta, ta xuyao juedue shi, zheng, jiushi, zheng ge zheng ge de yugang,
it it need absolutely is whole I mean whole while bathtub one
Z: (m)---
~~~~~
((touch the ashtray))
**O:** (m)----------------------------------------------------------------look toward the ashtray-------------------
**S:** (m)----------------------------------------------------------------look toward the ashtray------------------

**13.** **yige, yigede yigede biaoxian**
one one one expression
**Z:** (m)-looking toward ashtray---------------
**O:** (m)-looking toward ashtray--------------
**S:** (m)-looking toward ashtray--------------

*It, it needs to be absolutely a whole, I mean, a whole, a whole bathtub, [as] a way of, a way of expression***,**

**14. S: nn**
~~~~~

Mm
Z: (m)-ashtray-
O: (m)-ashtray-
S: (M)-ashtray-

Mm.

15. Z: Cong zheyang satt (.) satt
from this way. ((Onomatopoeia))
Z: (m)-ashtray--------------------------------
O: (m)-ashtray-------------------------------
S: (m)-ashtray--------------------------------

By way of ((onomatopoeia)).

16. O: N,
mm
Z: (m)-ashtray
~~
O: (m)-ashtray
S: (m)-ashtra

Mm,

17. Z: satt,
((Onomatopoeia))
Z: (m)-astray-
~~~~
((hand gesture:mermaid))
**O:** (m)-ashtray-
**S:** (m)-ashtray-

**18. O: Dakara, kore de ittara maa, kono ofuro wo ne zenbu zenbu miserutte**
because this by go well this bathtub whole whole show
**Z:** (O)------------(m)--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------(S)-nod----
**O:** (m)-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
**S:** (m)------------------------------------nod------------------------------------------------------------------------

**19. iuyou na**
like
**Z:** (m)------------
**O:** (m)-----------
**S:** (m)-----------

*So, in this way, well, like showing this bathtub entirely,*
~~~~

20. S: Sou desu ne. (.) (Mukoude ne.)
it is
Z: (S)---------------------nod-------nod-------------
O: (m)---
S: (m)--

That's right.

As shown above, from line 1 through line 17, Zhou keeps the floor. Since the participants gaze down at the materials on the desk most of the time in this example, we cannot detect from their gaze the response of the other two to Zhou's comments. However, they constantly utter acknowledgement tokens during the excerpt (described in line 2, 6, 9, 10, 14, and 16). All the acknowledgement tokens in these lines are "nasal-tokens" and indicate that the utterers are demonstrating their "passive listenership" (Handy Bosma and Funayama, 1999).[37][38]

It is noteworthy that it is not only Okano who offers acknowledgment tokens in these lines; Suzuki also offers acknowledgement tokens as often as Okano does, in lines 2, 6, and 14, while Okano does so in lines 9, 10, 16. Considering the fact that Suzuki cannot understand Zhou's Chinese utterances, it seems self-evident that Suzuki is *not* demonstrating his understanding of what Zhou is saying. However, Zhou's circling gesture with a finger on the material in

[37] The work by Handy Bosma and Funayama is about Japanese acknowledgment tokens, and may no be exactly applicable for understanding Mandarin conversations. However, since the example also includes Japanese utterances and both of the acknowledgment token-utterers under discussion are Japanese native speakers, one of which does not speak Mandarin at all, their findings still seem to be useful for understanding these acknowledgement tokens.
[38] It is understood that among acknowledgment tokens and/or back-channel, some signal speakership incipiency. See, Handy Bosma, & Funayama, 1999; Szatrowski, 2000; and Tsukahara & Word 1997.

line 1 can be observed by Suzuki; in this regard, it is possible that Suzuki understands that Zhou is saying 'something' about the part he is circling and demonstrating this. Furthermore, when we look at this phenomenon from the speaker's (Zhou's) perspective rather than the listener's (Suzuki's), we still may say that Zhou "is receiving back-channels." The reason for this assumption is that Zhou is thereby continuing his talk after each occurrence of Suzuki's acknowledgment token.[39] Accordingly, it seems that in offering back-channels and thereby encouraging the continuation of talk, Suzuki plays the role of listener without understanding the speaker's language.

5.2.2.3. Imperfect use of language

Especially from line 1 through line 8 in Example 1, it is only Suzuki who offers back-channels; that is, despite their language barrier and despite the fact that Okano is the only one who can understand Zhou's comment, the interaction is centering on the relationship between Suzuki and Zhou during this particular period. While they do not share a common language, however, Zhou's utterance of a Japanese word accentuates their interactional engagement with each other. Review below an excerpt from Example 1.

3. Z: Zhezhong (.) do:ri[40]
this kind of shooting
Z: (m)--------------- (S)-(m)----
O: (m)-----------------------------
S: (m)------------------------------

---

[39] As to whether we should study back-channel from the speaker's or listener's perspective and the importance of collaboration between the speaker and the listener as related to back-chanel, see, Mizutani, 1988.

[40] "*Dori*" is a Japanese word meaning "shooting." Although Zhou does not speak Japanese, he has picked up several Japanese words used in advertising and sometimes insert them in his Mandarin sentences.

This kind of shooting

4. S: Dori,
Shooting
Z: (m)----
O: (m)----
S: (m)----

Shooting,

5. Z: Eh,
you know
Z: (S)-nod-
O: (m)--
S: (Z)---

Uh-huh?

6. S: N [n n n
Mm mm mm mm
Z: (m)-----------
O: (M)-----------
S: (Z)---nod-(m)-

"*Dori*" in line 3 is, as repeatedly noted in the footnotes, a Japanese word meaning "shooting." However, readers should know that native Japanese speakers do not usually use this word alone. They, particularly those in the advertising industry, use this word as part of a hybrid word, like "*comaasharu-dori*," or "shooting of commercials"; the word placed before "*dori*" indicates the object of shooting. I have observed that some Chinese members of Shanghai-BDK, including Zhou, have picked up and use at times certain Japanese words, such as greetings and industry-specific words, probably through having interacted and socialized with Japanese members of Shanghai-BDK and Tokyo-BDK for an extended period of time.[41] The use of such words is often somewhat awkward, as in the case above, and does not add significant content to their talk, because they do not know the language itself after all. Nevertheless, it seems to make an impact in terms of how the interaction proceeds, and actually, in my observation, such imperfect use of language is one of the characteristics of the communicative practices at Shanghai-BDK.

In Example 1, Zhou's imperfect use of the Japanese word seems to facilitate Zhou's and Suzuki's interaction. First, it becomes a resource for Suzuki's behavior of offering a back-channel to Zhou in line 4. In line 4, Suzuki repeats a part of Zhou's preceding sentence, i.e., the particular Japanese word—"*dori*"—used in Zhou's utterance in line 3; as previously stated, partial repetition of the speaker's words can be considered a type of offering back-channels. However, it should be noted that unless Zhou inserts the Japanese word into his Mandarin sentence, Suzuki can not offer this particular kind of back-channels; Suzuki would not be able to repeat, or reproduce, any Mandarin word, at least not as a meaningful unit.

After Suzuki's repetition, in line 5, Zhou and Suzuki look up and their gaze meets (see Illustration 1), then right after that, Zhou nods to Suzuki, uttering "*eh*." The closest literal translation of this "*eh*" may be "uh-huh?", as the transcript shows, yet the connotation picked by Chinese speakers seems closer to "you know?" or "right?" That is, he is confirming something, most likely

[41] I am talking about Chinese members who do *not* speak Japanese.

Suzuki's understanding of "*dori*,"[42] given that Suzuki repeats "*dori*." Then in the next line, line 6, Suzuki utters nasal acknowledgement tokens along with a nod (see Illustration 2). It seems clear that at this point that they are demonstrating shared understanding of 'something' directly to each other, in spite of the language barrier.

Illustration 1 (left): Zhou and Suzuki look up and their gaze meets.
Illustration 2 (right): Suzuki utters acknowledgement tokens along with a nod.

My speculation is that they have at least shared up to this point an understanding that Zhou is saying 'something' about the part he is circling and that Zhou is saying 'something' about "*dori*," or 'shooting," related to the part he is circling. That is, they probably have not shared a significant understanding as far as the content of (Zhou's) talk or discussion is concerned, and actually, nothing substantial about "*dori*" or "shooting" has really been said by Zhou at this

[42] It should be noted that it is not exactly clear, which aspect of Suzuki's understanding Zhou is trying to confirm. However, my point is that Zhou and Suzuki are engaging in a type of confirming interaction, beyond their language barriers, as well as despite the fact, they have not really shared a significant understanding about the content of talk by this time.

point. Nevertheless, and more importantly, the degree of sharedness is sufficient to serve as 'a common ground' between them; they can then interactionally confirm this common ground, and thus directly communicate beyond language barriers. Additionally, the Japanese word "*dori*," along with Zhou's circling gesture, plays an important role in the creation of such common ground, enabling mutual understanding (to a sufficient degree) to occur.

5.2.3. Matching of Gestures

While much previous research acknowledges the importance of gesture in communication, traditionally gesture has been and still is often seen as playing a subordinate role to verbal communication; and it has been and is frequently assumed that gesture is related to communicative intent and effect (e.g., Ekman & Frisen, 1969; Ekman, 1976; Morris, 1979). Yet, beginning approximately two decades ago, scholars active in the field of Pragmatics (e.g., Goodwin, 1986, 2000; Goodwin & Goodwin, 1986; Streeck, 1994, 1995, 1999; Bavelas, Lawrie, & Wade, 1992) have increasingly examined the significance of gesture, not as a subordinate to verbal communication but rather as a communication recourse in its own right. In other words, they have investigated the ways in which gesture is given as well as gives structure in interactions. For example, Beavin, Bavelas and Lawrie (1992) state that gesture contributes to maintaining conversation as a social system. Streeck and Hartge (1992) examine how the use of gesture contributes to the ongoing construction of context in which sequential talk is produced.

Based on the assumption that speech is not always the primary means of communication and that there are multiple systematic ways in which gesture is related to talk, recent work on gesture from a pragmatic perspective attempts to examine the relationship between speech and gesture. When interlocutors do not share a common language—as in many situations occurring at Shanghai-BDK—the importance of gesture increases; however, the relation between gesture and talk may not be the first concern. When interlocutors do not share a common language, gesture *per se* can be a primary mode for communication and a resource for interaction; examining gesture's relationships with factors other than speech can be more important.

In the following two portions of my discussion within this sub-section, I will examine how gestures are used and matched as a way of achieving communication between primary interlocutors of translation-mediated interactions. Two types of gesture, pointing and mimicking movements, will be discussed respectively in each example.

5.2.3.1. Pointing at the material for the task underway

According to Goodwin (1998), pointing is not the act of merely showing an undifferentiated space; it is the act of specifying a "highly structured cultural entity" (p. 2). He defines pointing as "a situated interactive activity" and states that pointing is an action which "attempts to establish a particular space as a shared focus for the organization of cognition and action," (p. 2). He further states that for the act of pointing to be meaningful as communication, it needs be embedded in "the larger activity" (p. 2).

The following example is from the same meeting as Example 1. This occurs a while before Example 1. Zhou, the one who creates the plans and ideas for the commercials, has just laid out three ideas about three products for the bathroom: bathtub, stopper, and tile. Zhou has drawn cartoons to explain the plot of the commercial for each product. Three pieces of paper with the cartoons are scattered on the desk. The transcript begins after Okano finishes his translation of Zhou's ideas. Suzuki, in showing his response in Japanese to Zhou's ideas, produces a pointing gesture. As in the previous two examples, Zhou cannot understand what Suzuki is saying about his own ideas because Zhou does not understand Japanese, yet, Zhou is able to *see* what Suzuki is pointing at and how, and what Zhou sees becomes a resource for subsequent interactions, or direct communication, between Zhou and Suzuki.

As to the description of non-verbal phenomena (e.g., hand gesture, pointing, nods, gaze) in the following two examples of this sub-section in particular, I explain them in double parentheses, and I am selective about the non-verbal phenomena I describe in the transcripts. When non-verbal acts are not overlapping with participants' utterances, I treat them as taking a turn or as a part of an utterance in the transcript (and this was actually how those acts occurred, in my observation), whereas I mark the parts in which gesture overlaps with utterances with the symbol "~~." I employ this notation in the examples of this sub-section in order to make it easier for readers to follow the transcripts and for me to make my argument regarding the gestures under discussion.

Example 2

S: Kore wa dakara (.) ano (.) koiu patta:n wa aru to omou yone.
this PA I mean well like this pattern PA exist PA think I guess

This , I mean, I think this kind of pattern is possible

O: Eh:
Uh,
Uh,

(0.8)

O: [(----)

S: (----) sono [to:n ga dakara minna issho [de
it tone PA I mean all same and
~~~~~~
((S lightly taps on the three pieces of paper with his right hand))

I mean, they share the same tonality

6. O: [Zheyang jiushi you
like this that is have

7. Quanbu dou yiyang de nazhong shengme
all all same of like that what

That is, all have the same kind of, what

8. Z: Pointo, pointo pointo,
point point point
~~~~~~ ~~~~~ ~~~~~
((pat)) ((pat)) ((pat))

Point, point, point

9. S: ((S nods twice))

10. Z: ((Z gazes at S))

11. S: ((S nods with a big head movement))

12. Z: Ranhou ne, zhezhong dongxi keyi zuo SP
later well this kind of thing possible do sales promotion
~~~~~~
((Z gives a steady gaze at S))

Afterwards, we can do sales promotion using this kind of thing

13. O: Ichiou kore de SP tenkani mo dekimasu yo to
at least this by sales promotion development too can

You can also develop the sales promotion from this, too.

14.S: ((S nods twice very quickly)) So so so (0.5) kore wa ano aruto omou.
right right right this PA well exist think

Right. I think this is possible

In line 1, Suzuki taps on the papers (the cartoons made by Zhou to assist in explaining the plots of the commercials under discussion) on the desk three times, once on each piece of paper, when he utters the following sentence as a part of his comment about Zhou's ideas: "*sono, to:n ga dakara minna issho de*," meaning, "I mean, they share the same tonality" (see Illustration 2a). Okano then in the next line attempts to translate Suzuki's Japanese comment. However, as shown in the comparison between the English translations of his Mandarin utterance in line 6 and 7 and Suzuki's original Japanese utterance in line 1 and 5, Okano's translation into Mandarin is not very complete. Without Okano's completing his translation, Zhou takes his turn in line 8, and at this time, he repeats Suzuki's prior act of pointing; Zhou also taps on the bottom portion of the three pieces of paper, once on each, saying, "*pointo, pointo, pointo*," a loanword from English, "point" (see Illustration 3a).
~~~~~~

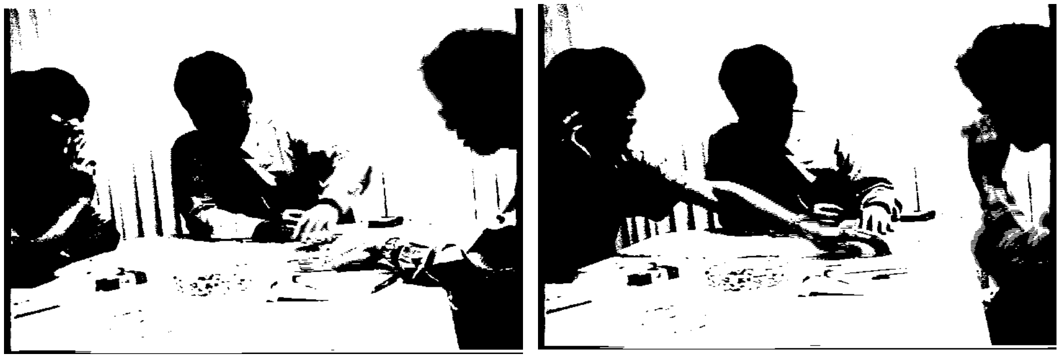

Illustration 3a (left): Suzuki's tapping-pointing. Illustration 4a (right): Zhou's tapping-pointing.

It can be said that at this time Zhou has not yet understood what Suzuki said in line 8, because Okano's translation has not been completed. While Suzuki makes his comment about Zhou's cartoons in line 1 and 5 and suggests that he supports them, such meaning is not delivered to Zhou through Okano's translation. It is also not clear what Zhou is trying to say in line 8, although I speculate that he means he makes a distinctive point at the end of each plot, which is actually not the same as what Suzuki states in line 1 and 5. In sum, as far as language and the content of Zhou's idea are concerned, the two primary interlocutors (i.e., Zhou and Suzuki) have not reached a mutual understanding by line 8, in which Zhou repeats Suzuki's tapping-pointing gesture. Nevertheless, Zhou and Suzuki proceed to the phase in which they demonstrate that 'we are on the same page' after line 8. Review below.

8. Z: Pointo, pointo pointo,
point point point
~~~~~~ ~~~~~ ~~~~~
((pat)) ((pat)) ((pat))
~~~~~~

Point, point, point

9. S: **((S nods twice))**

10. Z: **((Z gazes at S))**

11. S: **((S nods with a big head movement))**

After Suzuki's tapping-pointing gesture is matched by Zhou in line 8, Suzuki nods twice to Zhou, as shown in line 9. After these nods, in line 10, Zhou gazes at Suzuki (see Illustration 5). After Suzuki has received Zhou's gaze, Suzuki nods again in line 11 with a bigger head movement seemingly in response to Zhou's gaze. (See Illustration 6.)

Illustration 5 (left): Zhou gazes at Suzuki after tapping-pointing (of Zhou himself).
Illustration 6 (right): Suzuki nodes after Zhou's tapping-pointing.

Then in line 12, after this exchange of nods and gaze, Zhou moves on to another phase of talk, securing his turn.

11. S: **((S nods with a big head movement))**

12. Z: **Ranhou ne, zhezhong dongxi keyi zuo SP**
later well this kind of thing possible do sales promotion
~~~~~~
((Z gives a steady gaze at S))

Afterwards, we can do the sales promotion using this kind of thing

13. O: **Ichiou kore de SP tenkani mo dekimasu yo to**
at least this by sales promotion development too can

You can also develop the sales promotion from this, too.

14.S: **((S nods twice very quickly)) So so so (0.5) kore wa ano aruto omou.**
right right right this PA well exist think

Right. I think this is possible

In line 12, Zhou starts to talk about future sales promotions, ceasing to talk about the plots *per se*. As shown in the transcript, this statement by Zhou is translated by Okano in line 13 and gets communicated to Suzuki through the translation; the routine of translation-mediated interactions resumes.

As Clark (1996) states, it is impossible for us to communicate with each other without having a common ground. As previously discussed in this section, nodding and gaze are ways of communicating; especially for the two primary interlocutors (i.e., Zhou and Suzuki), these non-verbal behaviors are crucial tools with which they can and do directly interact or communicate with each other beyond language barriers and without counting on the translating interlocutor. As described above, Zhou and Suzuki are directly communicating with each other from line 9 through line 11, not only beyond language barriers and without
~~~~~~

relying on their translator, but also without having a substantial common ground, or shared understanding, regarding Zhou's ideas for the commercials *per se*. Yet, their noticeable nods and gaze toward each other in lines 9, 10, and 11 show that they are demonstrating understanding, or even agreement. But it still seems open as to what agreement about is demonstrated to each other. Therefore, in attempting to consider what serves as a common ground for them and enables their direct communication occur, Suzuki's tapping-pointing gesture and especially Zhou's repetition of this act seem to be significant.

Given Goodwin's (1998) definition of pointing, it is clear that Suzuki is not merely touching an undifferentiated object when he taps and points at the three pieces of paper. He is doing so as a way of interacting with his interlocutors, consciously or unconsciously, and is attempting to "establish a particular space as a shared focus for the organization of cognition and action" (Goodwin, 1998, p. 2). Therefore, Zhou's matching gesture of tapping-pointing can be identified as a way in which Zhou responds to such an attempt made by Suzuki. In other words, by touching the same part of the document in the same way as Suzuki, Zhou points to the space that has been inferred with meaning by Suzuki's prior tapping-pointing gesture, thus affirming the meaningfulness of the space. Zhou is re-confirming the meaning of the space as a "shared focus" for the interactional engagement between Suzuki and Zhou. Zhou's matching act of tapping-pointing is used to ratify their common focus between Zhou and Suzuki (See Illustration 3b and Illustration 4b).

Illustration 3b (right) and 4b (left): Establishing a meaningful space as a "shared focus" between Suzuki and Zhou.

By tapping-pointing at a part of the task-related materials (i.e., the three pieces of papers with cartoons explaining the plots for the commercial), Suzuki identifies what is being focused on in their discussion, as well as the meaning of the spaces; Zhou, by tapping-pointing the same parts, reconfirms that the particular spaces are their common focus and attributed with such meaning. With the interlocutors' tapping-pointing gesture, the cartoons on the three pieces of paper become an embodiment of the "shared focus," or a common ground, between the two interlocutors, helping them to be specify what they are communicating about, and thus enabling them to communicate with each other. It should be stressed that the creation of a shared focus for interaction does not occur via translation; it happens through the primary interlocutors' non-verbal—physical and visual—interaction.

5.2.3.2. Mimicking movements

The following provides an additional example in which matching of a particular gesture is used as direct communication, as well as a way of achieving mutual understanding, between the primary interlocutors in a translation-mediated interaction. In the next example, the same gesture is made by two primary interlocutors, and the act of repeating or matching the gesture, rather than the gesture itself, seems to play an important role in achieving a mutual understanding about a specific task under discussion.

This example is from a project meeting for the production of a promotion video. All five participants (two Japanese males and three Chinese males) have the same document—the plan for production of the promotion video—in front of them while they are sitting at a round table. This document was first made in Japanese at Tokyo-BDK, but now includes both Japanese and Mandarin versions. The document also includes cartoons which visually explain the content of the promotion video. Oyama, one of the original writers of the document at Tokyo-BDK, is explaining the document—the plan for the production of the promotion video—to other participants. As the only who can speak both Japanese and Mandarin, Kawamura is translating Oyama's Japanese words into Mandarin for the Chinese participants: Zhou, Alan, and Ed. Alan and Ed are participating in the project as members of a partnering company. In this segment in particular, only Kawamura, Oyama, and Alan are speakers. The transcript begins in the middle of Oyama's explanation in Japanese about an animation effect in the plot.

Example 3

<u>Participants: (profession and language affiliation)</u>
K: Kawamura account executive Japanese (L1) & Mandarin (L2)
O: Oyama TV commercial creator Japanese
Z: Zhou TV commercial creator Mandarin
A: Alan TV commercial creator Mandarin
E: Ed TV commercial creator Mandarin

1. O: **Sorede eh:to koko to koko no tsunagi nandesukedo, ano, boku ga**
and well here and here of connection about well I PA

2. **kangaete ita nowa, totoeba kono shashin ga arimasu yone.**
thinking was which is for example this picture PA exist you know

And, well, about the connection between here and here, well, what I was thinking was, for example, we have this picture, right?

3. K: **Hai.**
yes

Yes

4. O: **Kore ga tsugi no katto no koko ni**
this next of scene of here at

(We will make) this, in here of the next scene,

5. A: **Eh, wo mingbai le**
Oh I understand have

Oh, I got it.

6. O: **Shutt to osamaru youni**
(onomatopoeia) PA fit like
~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~
((O makes a hand gesture of "shrinking" with gazing at A))

like fitting.

7. A: **((A makes a hand gesture of "shrinking," then raises his right hand))**

8. O: **((O raises his hand))**

9. O: **De, sou suru to Eguchi Enzeru to iu su:pa: wo ue ni kou (.) shashin (.)**
~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~

and so do then Eguchi Enzel PA saying logo PA over at like this picture
like

10. kouiu kanji ni shitai na to
this feeling PA want to do PA PA

And then we'll (put) the logo saying Eguchi Enzel over, like this, making the picture (looking) like this

11. K: Koko ni shashin ga hairun desu ka.
here at picture fit is

Does the picture come in here?

12. O: Eh, dakara, kono shashin ga kono mama koko ni (.) hyu tto chiisaku
yeah I mean this picture pa this as it is here at ((onomatopoeia)) shrink
~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~
((‘shrinking’ gesture))

natte koko ni osamatte
become here to fit
~~~~

Yeah, I mean, this picture fits in here as it as, shrinking

13. K: Eh:
Uh-huh

Uh-huh

14. O: de, ma: ichiou shamei o
and well at least company's name PA

And, well, we'll (put) the company's name

15. K: N
mm,

Mm,

16. O: Eguchi Enzel to
Eguchi Enzel like

Like Eguchi Enzel

17. K: N, n, n

mm, mm, mm,

Mm, mm, mm,

Oyama's explanation in lines 1, 2, and 4 is supposed to be translated by Kawamura for the three Chinese participants. However, what happens in this example is that a Chinese participant, Alan, is able to get the point of the animation effect by just looking at the document, unaided by Kawamura's translation. Having looked at the document, in line 5, Alan says in Mandarin, "*Eh, wo mingbai le*," which means "Oh, I got it." Since Oyama does not understand Mandarin and Kawamura does not translate it, Oyama cannot know on the basis of this Mandarin utterance that Alan has understood the animation effect he is now explaining. The significant point demonstrated in this example is, however, that Oyama is alerted to Alan's understanding in another way, as will be explained below. Similar to previous examples, Oyama and Alan reach a mutual understanding beyond language barriers and without counting on the translating participant, Kawamura.

Right after this comment by Alan, "*Eh, wo mingbai le*," or "Oh, I got it," Oyama, still in the middle of his explanation in line 6, makes a hand gesture to express the animation effect he is explaining in Japanese; he moves his hands up and down quickly as if a big space is shrinking into a dot, uttering a Japanese onomatopoetic "*shutt*" (see Illustration 7a and 7b). Right after this hand gesture, Alan in line 7 repeats the gesture (see Illustration 8a and 8b) and then lightly raises his right hand, as if to say, "I got it" (see Illustration 9). After Alan makes these gestures, Oyama in line 7 copies Alan's last gesture, also raising his right hand as if to say, "I got it" (see Illustration 10).

Illustration 7a (above) & 7b (below): Oishi's gesture

Illustration 8a (above) & 8b (below): Alan’s gesture

Illustration 9: Alan raises his right hand

Illustration 10: Oyama raises his right hand.

It should be noted that it is *not* by Oyama's gesture that Alan understands the animation effect under discussion; to my observation, he understands it by simply looking at the document himself. However, by repeating Oyama's gesture, Alan is referring to the particular animation effect that Oyama has just explained, as it is now an object of shared knowledge between Alan and Oyama. Alan's hand-raising gesture following the repetition seems to send a message of confirmation to Oyama, i.e., that Alan has understood what kind of animation effect is required, while Oyama's repetition of the hand-raising gesture seems to deliver re-confirmation back to Alan, i.e., Oyama now knows that Alan has understood the animation effect.

Similar to previous examples, the content of the issue under discussion was delivered to Alan through media other than non-verbal gestures; it is through the written document and cartoons that Alan comprehends the particular animation effect. However, it is through the act of matching gestures that Alan and Oyama achieve the mutual understanding that Alan has understood it and that Oyama knows that Alan has understood it. Similar to Example 1, such mutual understanding is sufficient and necessary to allow interlocutors to move on. After exchanging (re)confirmations of understanding through matching gestures, Oyama goes back to his talk, continuing his explanation in Japanese; after all, his previous comment is not translated by Kawamura at all. That is, while they are engaging in translation-mediated interaction and do not share a common language, the two primary interlocutors, Oyama and Alan, are able to proceed with their (direct) interaction by themselves through the use of gestures and without the intervention of the translating participant, Kawamura.

It is noteworthy that while Alan comprehends the animation effect by engaging with the document and reaches mutual understanding with Oyama about this state of understanding, Kawamura, the bilingual participant who has direct access to Oyama's explanation as well as the document, has a harder time comprehending the animation effect. After mutual understanding between Oyama and Alan is already achieved and Oyama has already resumed his Japanese explanation, in line 11, Kawamura asks a question about the animation effect; he says, "*Koko ni shashin ga hairun desu ka*," which means, "Does the picture come in here?" Then Oyama partially repeats his previous explanation for Kawamura, repeating the shrinking gesture with a smaller movement.

What we discover in this instance is related to the issue of how we should assess the influence of (shared) professional expertise in intercultural communication. That is, the differing degrees of professional expertise regarding animation effects between Alan and Kawamura, or the differing quantity and quality of shared professional knowledge between two combinations of participants (i.e., Oyama-Alan and Oyama-Kawamura) seem to matter.

It is obvious that, as television commercial creators, Oyama and Alan share a fair amount of knowledge and expertise regarding the production of commercial films and promotion videos, including knowledge of animation effects. Kawamura is an account executive and does not share this professional expertise; therefore, it is easier for Alan than it is for Kawamura to understand the technical aspects of the production of the promotion video. Such shared expertise of knowledge allow Oyama and Alan to reach a mutual understanding about the particular animation effect more easily than Oyama and Kawamura do, despite the fact that Oyama and Kawamura share a national-cultural background, including a common language, and Oyama and Alan do not. Accordingly, in task-oriented interactions in intercultural settings, co-membership does not necessarily apply only to those who share national-cultural background. Sharedness of professional expertise and knowledge can have an even greater influence on the communicative process, making the national-cultural affiliation between interlocutors less salient.

5.2.4. Summary of 5.2.

Wadensjo (1998) formulates the concern that translators, because of their exclusive access to two languages involved in translating, run the risk of depriving the primary interlocutors of their power and responsibility in communication. However, my analysis has demonstrated that in translation-mediated interactions of business or creative meetings at Shanghai-BDK, interlocutors other than the translating participant can actively engage in the communicative process of translation-mediated interactions, influencing the intercultural communication underway.

In this section, 5.2., I have identified important contributions that the original speaker and the receiver of the translation make in translation-mediated interactions. One significant finding is that the original speaker and the receiver of translations frequently attempt to directly interact with each other beyond language barriers, despite the fact that their utterances are being translated. Most often, this is facilitated by non-verbal communication such as nods, gaze, and gesture. By non-verbal communication, primary interlocutors can achieve a mutual understanding, not provided by the translation, of what they think about the issue under discussion and can proceed with interaction without the translator's intervention.

It is important to remember that non-verbal communication is “not only visible to others, but an accountable form of social organization in its own right” (Goodwin, in press). Visible information of a particular phenomenon can be transformed into an account about the particular phenomenon beyond language barriers, and thereby can become a resource, or a common ground, for subsequent interaction and communication. This seems to especially explain why matching gestures, not only gesture *per se*, is a significant part of the examples above. That is, the matching of gesture indicates that the particular gesture is not only a visible communicative tool but also becoming a standardized tool for communication within the context of the ongoing talk, and even more importantly, a shared conceptualization between the interlocutors (Lebaron & Streeck, 2000). By using non-verbal communicative devices, primary interlocutors not only supplement the verbal translation but also, and more significantly, influence the communicative process of translation-mediated interactions and collaboration.

One defining characteristic of what has been discussed in this section, as compared to the existing literature on translation and translation-mediated interactions, is that this section examines interactions in which no one is a professional translator. This further differentiates my discussion from the previous literature in two ways: the translating interlocutor has more linguistic difficulties when engaging in translating, and the translating interlocutor is just *one* of those involved in the task underway, sharing co-membership with other interlocutors in various ways. These points set up a certain limit for comparing my argument and most previous studies on translation or translation-mediated interactions and thus may need to be considered for further research. My findings as well as my argument may only be applicable to cases in which the translator is not a professional translator. On the other hand, it seems rather common in the contemporary world that the translating interlocutor is not a professional translator. Settings like those discussed in this section, in which interlocutors play the role of translator in more improvised ways and in varying situated tasks, deserve more investigation in the future.

5.3. COLLABORATION IN WORD-SEARCH: WHEN INTERLOCUTORS OF SHANGHAI-BDK ARE NATIVE AND NON-NATIVE SPEAKERS OF THE LANGUAGE USED

In this section, I focus on the phenomenon of word-searches which occur at Shanghai-BDK, in which interlocutors include both native and non-native speakers of the language used. I discuss how interlocutors can overcome a non-native speaker's linguistic inability by collaboratively distributing the linguistic knowledge of a native speaker. I further consider what elements are needed for such successful collaboration and conclude that non-native speakers in intercultural settings can be *communicatively competent* despite their *linguistic incompetence* or language barriers.

To review, the field site for this study, Shanghai-BDK, is a joint venture advertising firm comprised of a state-managed Chinese firm and a private-sector Japanese firm. This merger provides for a naturally intercultural and multilingual environment. Both Mandarin and Japanese are used for communication at Shanghai-BDK, and bilingual members of Shanghai-BDK are native-speakers or non-native speakers, contingent upon the particulars, such as participants and occasion, of each situation. Additionally, since not all of the members are bilinguals of Japanese and Mandarin, bilingual members frequently need to play the role of translator; this is one of the occasions in which bilingual members need to interact with each other as non-native speakers. It is important to remember that most bilingual members are not sophisticated speakers of their second language, and frequently speak the language awkwardly and/or face difficulties stemming from their linguistic inability.

Despite such linguistic difficulties, however, I found that members at Shanghai-BDK frequently succeed in "getting things done." They are capable of utilizing all possible and available resources to communicate with each other. As discussed in the last section, non-verbal devices such as gaze, gesture, use of objects, as well as imperfect use of language are among such resources. Furthermore, when a bilingual participant is a non-native speaker of the language used for a particular occasion and faces a difficulty because of his/her linguistic inability, one important and available resource is other participants—those who are native speakers of the language spoken. By eliciting and using the linguistic knowledge of a native speaker, a non-native speaker can fill in gaps in their limited knowledge of the language, successfully achieving their task at hand. By sharing his or her linguistic knowledge, a native speaker can collaborate with his or her non-native conversation partners in overcoming their linguistic deficiencies. Such collaborations were frequently observed at Shanghai-BDK, and they occur in the very midst of the course of interaction—within word-search activities.

Lerner (1996) explains word-searches as an activity which "minimally provide[s] conditional access to the current turn for other participants to aid in the search by suggesting candidate words" (p. 261). It is generally understood that in word-searches, someone other than the original speaker frequently produces what might be the sought-for word. In discussing such examples, Goodwin and Goodwin (1986) argue that "searching for a word is not simply a cognitive process which occurs inside a speaker's head" (p. 52). They maintain that a word-search is a visible and interactional activity in which participants other than the original speaker actually participate. In this section, I examine four examples of word-searches occurring at Shanghai-BDK in which a non-native speaker initiates a word-search and a native speaker provides the sought-for word. In my analysis, I will divide word-search activities into three stages referring to the research by Goodwin and Goodwin (1986): revealing the unavailability of words, informing that a word-search is in progress, and producing and employing an outcome.[43] In analyzing each stage, I will examine how participants reveal, inform, produce, and employ information, making a word-search successful, thus collaboratively overcoming a non-native speaker's linguistic inability.

A frequent criticism leveled against conversation analysis concerning previous work in conversation analysis is that it frequently presumes that participants natively share cultural and linguistic knowledge (Sunaoashi, 1999; Wong & Olsher 2000). Most work in conversation analysis has indeed been conducted in monocultural and monolingual settings, and previous research treating word-searches is not an exception. Therefore, in analyzing each stage of the word-search activity, I will give special attention to the aspects of interculturalness which contradict with findings of previous research on word-searches. Through this process, I will also attempt to consider whether the "interculturalness" of settings may influence the process in which a word-search occurs, thus modifying its properties.

My discussion in this section is based on the analysis of four examples, and I divide this section as follows. In the next sub-section, I describe these four examples. The purpose of this sub-section is to provide readers with an overall understanding of what is occurring within the transcripts; therefore, after each transcript, I will describe the data as objectively as possible. I will not discuss the word-search in particular at this point; however, for the sake of convenience, I

[43] For this manner of dividing a word-search activity, see Marjorie Harness Goodwin and Charles Goodwin, "Gestures and Coparticipation in the Activity of Searching for a Word," Semiotica 62-1/2 (1986), 51-75, 1986.

will note in my description the points at which I suspect a word-search is initiated. After describing the data, beginning in the second sub-section, I then analyze the examples with respect to the three stages I listed above (i.e., revealing the unavailability of words, informing that a word-search is in progress, producing and employing an outcome) with primary reference to work by Goodwin and Goodwin (1986). As for the description of the non-verbal phenomena in this section that I find important for analysis, I will employ the same method used to describe gestures in the previous section, using double parentheses. When non-verbal acts are not overlapping with participants' utterances, I treat them as constituting a turn or as part of an utterance in the transcripts, whereas I mark the parts in which gesture overlaps with utterances with the symbol "~~."

5.3.1.Descriptions of Examples

5.3.1.1. Example 4

The first example in this section, Example 4, is from the same meeting as Example 3, a project meeting for the production of a promotion video. Example 4, however, is the segment which occurs before the segment of Example 3. To repeat, all five participants (two Japanese males and three Chinese males) have the same document—the plan for production of the promotion video—in front of them while they are sitting at a round table. Oyama, sitting at the right end among participants, is a Japanese television commercial planner from Tokyo-BDK. He speaks only Japanese. Kawamura, sitting to Oyama's left, is a Japanese account executive from Shanghai-BDK. He speaks Japanese natively and speaks Mandarin sufficiently but with awkwardness and occasional difficulties. Zhou, sitting next to Kawamura, is a Chinese television commercial planner from Shanghai-BDK. He natively speaks Mandarin, but he does not speak Japanese at all. Ed is sitting next to Zhou, and Alan next to Ed. Alan and Ed are participating in the project as members of a partnering company. The document the participants have was first produced in Japanese at Tokyo-BDK, but now includes both Japanese and Mandarin versions. The document also includes cartoons which visually explain the content of the promotion video. In line 1, Oyama is explaining the document, the plan for the production of the promotion video, to other participants. (This part is included in order to provide the context of the talk, and I will provide only semantic translation for this part.) Kawamura is translating Oyama's Japanese words into Mandarin for the Chinese participants: Zhou, Alan, and Ed. The conversation analytical transcription begins in line 2, with Kawamura's translation.

Participants: (profession and language affiliation)
K: Kawamura account executive Japanese (L1) & Mandarin (L2)
O: Oyama TV commercial planner Japanese
Z: Zhou TV commercial planner Mandarin
A: Alan TV commercial director Mandarin
E: Ed TV commercial director Mandarin

1. O: Ano, kono chugoku-go ni kanshite wa, nihonde, kono, bijinesu de, nihon-go o chuugoku-go ni naoshite kureru tokoro ni tanonderu dake nandesu. De, ano, ii kata ga ima fuu ya nai toka, souiuno ga aru to omoun de, imi wo kaenakereba kotoba-zukai o kaechatte iidesu. Iidesu. Ano, mondai nai to omoimasu.

   (Regarding this Chinese, we just asked a company that translates Japanese into Chinese as their business. So, well, I guess there are some parts where certain ways of saying things are not up-to-date enough, so if you don't change the meaning, you can go ahead and change the wording. It's ok. Well, I don't think it's a problem.)

2. K: Zhe ge Riwen de hua, zai Riben de, eh:::
this Japanese 's case in Japan 's uh

About this Japanese, in Japan, well,

3. (2.0)

4. Z: Fanyi gonsi=
translation company

Translation company

5. K: =Fanyyi gonsi fanyi de. Suoyi, meiyou, tamen meiyou crie-, crieitibu de
translation company translate PA therefore not they not crea(tive) creative of

6. gainian.
Concept

(This is what) a translation company translated. So, there is no creative concept included in (the translation).

7. A: Due due due.
Right right right

That's right.

In line 2, Kawamura attempts to translate the beginning part of Oyama's explanation in line 1 and says, "*Zhege Riwen de hua, zai Riben de*," which means, "About this Japanese, in Japan," However, without completing the sentence, Kawamura utters a stretched vowel "*eh:::*," which indicates hesitation in Japanese, (a word-search begins) followed by a pause in line 3. Zhou then utters a Mandarin word, "*fanyi gonsi*," which means "translation company." Kawamura repeats the word "*fanyi gonsi*" then continues his sentence.

5.3.1.2. Example 5

The next example of this section, Example 5, is also from a meeting for the same project as that of Example 4, that takes place on a different date. The participants are Kawamura, Oyama, and Zhou. They have the same document as in Example 5. Each of them is sitting at a different side of a rectangular table; Kawamura and Zhou are facing each other, while Oyama is facing the profiles of Kawamura and Zhou. All of them place their document on the desk; all the documents are within each participant's view and reach. As the only bilingual participant, Kawamura is translating Oyama's explanations in Japanese into Mandarin for Zhou. After Oyama's comments in line 1, 3, 5, Kawamura starts to translate them for Zhou. The utterance in line 6 is added by Kawamura to initiate his explanation for Zhou; it is in line 10 that Kawamura's translation begins.

1. O: A gomennsai, iretoki mashou ka. Kono moji okashii desu mon ne, yappari
oh sorry include shall PA this letter strange is thing isn't it after all

Oh, I'm sorry. Shall we include (that)? After all, this letter is strange, isn't it?

2. K: N, okashii desu ne.
yeah strange is isn't it

Yeah, (it's) strange.

3. O: Kono sa:kuru[44] dake
this circle only

(Let's make) only this circle

4. K: N, n,
Uh-huh

[44] This is a Japanese loanword, circle.

Uh-huh

5. O: Pyuttto arawareru koto ni shite, moji wa yametoki mashou.
((onomatopoeia)) appear fact PA do letter quite let's

appear, without the letters.

6. K: N n n. Zhe shi ne, nare:shon.
Mm-huh this is well narration
~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~
((Koyama points at one part of Zhou's document))

This (part) is narration.

7. Z: N.
mm-huh
Mm-huh.

8. K: Ne.
huh?

Huh?

9. Z; N.
mm-huh

Mm-huh.

10. K: Ranhou, ditu de hua, yong zhongwen detu,
then map 's story use Chinese map

About the map, we'll use a Chinese version.

11. Z: N,
Uh-huh

Uh-huh.

12. K: Ranhou ditu shang yao (1.0) yao xie (1.0) maru
hen map on need need wirte circle
~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~
((Kawamura draws a circle with his pen several

times on the document that is on the desk between Kawamura and Zhou))

Then on the map, we'll write a circle.

13. Z: Yuan ne=
circle huh?

(You mean) circle?

14. K: =Yuan, guojia de buyao
circle nation 's no need

Circle, we don't need one for nations.

In line 12, Kawamura is attempting to translate what Oyama said in line 3 and 5, in which Oyama suggests having a circle without letters on particular parts of the map. Kawamura says in Mandarin, "*Ranhou ditu shang yao*," which means, "Later on the map (we) will/need," then pauses for a second. (A word-search begins.) Then he repeats the last word, "*yao*," attempting to continue his sentence and says, "*yao xie*," which is "will/need to draw."[45] However, he pauses again for a second, without completing the sentence. During and between the two pauses, Kawamura is drawing a circle with his pen several times on a map on the document placed between him and Zhou. (As shown in the original explanation by Oyama, circles are supposed to be added on the map.) After the second pause, he utters a Japanese word, "*maru*," which also means "circle." After this word, in line 13, Zhou says, "*Yuan ne*," a Mandarin word meaning "circle" accompanied by a sentence final particle. Kawamura begins his next utterance by repeating the

[45] *Xi*e is actually best translated into "write," not "draw." Similar to English, there is a distinction between "write" and "draw" in Mandarin, which is "xie" and "hua." However, Kawamura appears to be unaware of the distinction, at least in his speaking practice of Mandarin, and uses "xie" instead of "hua" in this particular situation.

word, saying, "*Yuan, guojia de buyao*," which is, "Circle, we don't need one for (the part of) nations (on the map)."

5.3.1.3. Example 6

This example is from the same meeting as that of Example 5. Kawamura is translating Oyama's Japanese words into Mandarin for the three Chinese members. The transcription starts in the middle of Kawamura's translation.

1. K: Zhege liangge bufen de hua ne, you ((unintelligible)).
this two parts 's case PA have

About these two parts, ((unintelligible)) have.

2. Xuesheng de hua ne henduo paifa.
students s' case PA many ways of shooting

About (the scene of) students, (there are) many ways of shooting.

3. You shi zheyang. You shi zheyang.
some are this way some are this way

Some (will) be (shot) this way. Some (will) be (shot) this way.

4. K: Dakai tade (1.0) hikidashi, hikidashi wakaru?
open their drawer drawer know
~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~
((Kawamura gesticulates as if he is opening a drawer with his right hand and arm))

(When they) open their (1.0) a drawer, a drawer do you know?

5. Z: Choutou.
Racket

Racket

6. K: Choutou. Ranhou,
racket then
Racket. Then
~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~

7. Z: Chouti.
Drawers

Drawers

8. K: Limian you yige binggang.
inside have one cookie

Inside (the drawers they) have a cookie.

From line 1 through line 3, Kawamura is translating/explaining ways of shooting the commercial. In line 4, after saying, "*Dakai tada*," which means, "(When they) open a drawer, " he pauses. (A word-search begins.) With the pause, he starts to gesticulate as if he is opening a drawer with his right hand and arm several times. Complementing shi utterance by the gesture, he says *"Hikidashi, hikidashi, wakru*" which means, "a drawer, a drawer, do you know?" Following the utterance, Zhou utters a Mandarin word, "*Choutou*," which means, "Racket." Kawamura then repeats the word, "*choutou*," and continues his sentence. Right after Kawamura utters the first word after "*choutou*," Zhou utters another Mandarin word, "*Chouti*," which means "a drawer." But Kawamura continues his sentence in line 8.

5.3.1.4. Example 7

The last example of this section, Example 7, is from a meeting for another project—making posters for cosmetics. Participants are a Japanese male, Goda, a Japanese female, Koyama, and a Chinese male, Zhai. Both Goda and Koyama are account executives. Goda is also a vice general manager of Shanghai-BDK and in the position of evaluating Koyama. Zhai is a graphic designer and artistically in charge of making the posters under discussion. In this meeting, Goda gives Zhai directions, based on the client's requests, regarding how he should modify the layout of the letters and pictures of the products on the posters. Both Goda and Koyama speak Mandarin; Koyama's Mandarin is sufficient to manage most business situations, but with significant awkwardness. Goda's Mandarin is far better than Koyama's; he could be mis-identified as a native speaker, depending on the situation. On the other hand, Zhai does not speak Japanese at all.

The three participants are sitting at a round table; Goda and Koyama are facing each other, and Zhai is in the center. Various related materials, such as posters from the previous year, photos, and photographic negatives, are scattered on the desk. In this example, participants mostly gaze down, examining materials and taking notes while they are talking.

Participants: (profession and language affiliation)
G: Goda account executive Japanese (L1), Mandarin (L2)
K: Koyama account executive Japanese (L1), Mandarin (L2)
Z: Zhai graphic designer Mandarin

1. G: Ta yao nage (0.5) etto kore nante iuno [(unintelligible)
he need that well this what call
~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~
((Goda points to one part of a poster with his pen))

He wants that, well, what do you call this?

2. Z: [Zhege shi (unintelligible) changping
this is product

This is (unintelligible) product

3. G: Bushi bushi, [zhege
not not this
~~~~~~
[((Goda points to the same part that he pointed to in line 1))

No, no, this

4. K: Ah::: **[((Koyama points to the same part with her pointing finger))**
uh

Uh

5. Z: Ah:::
uh

Uh

6. K: Xie meimao.
draw eyebrow

(To) draw eyebrow

7. Z: Mei- eh::
mei,-uh

Mei- Uh

8. K: Mei- , mei-,
((Koyama looks up at Zhai and looks down right away))
mei- mei-

Mei-, mei-

9. Z: Meibi. **((Zhani looks up at Koyama))**
eyebrow pencil

Eyebrow pencil

10. K: Meibi.
eyebrow pencil

((Koyama looks up at Zhai; Zhai's and Koyma's gaze meet; Zhai and Koyama nod lightly to each other))

Eyebrow pencil

11. Z: Eh, eh,
Uh-huh, uh-huh

Uh-huh, huh

12. G: Meibi de dipian haiyou ma.
eyebrow pencil 's negative still have

Do (we) still have the photo negative of the eyebrow pencil?

13. Z: Meibi de dipian yinggai you ba.
eyebrow 's photo negative should have

We should have the photo negative of the eyebrow pencil.

In this example, it is originally Goda who raises a question. In line 1, after a short pause (a word-search begins), he says in Japanese, "*Kore nante iuno,*" which means, "What do you call this?", pointing to one part of a poster on the table. Goda is asking about an eyebrow pencil, a type of cosmetic; however, Koyama does not say anything other than the acknowledgement token in line 4, "*Ah:::.*" Right after this "*ah:::,*" in line 3 and 4, Koyama and Goda simultaneously point to the part which Goda had pointed to earlier. Goda does this as he says in Mandarin, "*Zhege,*" which means, "This." In the next line, in line 5, Zhai utters "*ah::::.*" Then in line 6, Koyama explains the function of the object under discussion, "*Xie meimao,*" which means "(To) draw eyebrow." In the next line, in line 7, Zhai repeats a part of what Koyama said, "*Mei-,*" which itself does not make a word, and mumbles, "eh:::." Then in line 8, Koyama looks up at Zhai repeating “*mei-,*” then looks down right away. In the next sequence, in line 9, Zhai utters a Mandarin word, "*Meibi,*" which means "eyebrow pencil" and is the answer to the first question Goda asked in line 1. Then Zhai looks up at Koyama. Koyama then looks up at Zhai, repeating the word, "*Meibei.*" At this moment, their gaze meets and they nod lightly to each other. After short acknowledgement tokens by Zhai in line 11, "*Eh, eh*," Goda goes back to where he was in line 1; that is, he continues the meeting, asking, "*Meibi de dipian haiyou ma*?," which means, "Do we still have the photo negative of the eyebrow pencil?"

5.3.2. How is the unavailability of words revealed?

At the first stage of a word-search, the non-native speakers in the examples reveal the unavailability of words by interrupting the sentence they are producing before they initiate the search; they do so with pauses, sound stretches, and self-repair. In Example 4, self-interruption occurs in combination of with a sound stretch and a pause.

<Example 4>
2. K: Zhege Riwen de hua, zai Riben de, eh::::
this Japanese 's case in Japan 's uh

About this Japanese, in Japan,

3. (1.0)

In Example 5, interruption occurs with pauses and self-repair.

<Example 5>
12. K: Ranhou ditu shang yao (1.0) yao xie (1.0) maru
then map on need need write circle

Then on the map, we'll write a circle.

In Example 6, a pause causes an interruption.

<Example 6>

4 Dakai tade (1.0) hikidashi, hikidashi wakaru?
open their drawers drawers know

(When they) open (1.0) a drawer, a drawer, do you know?

In Example 8, the word-search is originally initiated by Goda in an explicit fashion, i.e., after a pause, he asks another Japanese participant in Japanese, "*etto, kroe nante iuno*?," which means, "Well, what do you call this?"

<Example 7>

1. G: Ta yao nage (0.5) etto [kore nante iuno ((unintelligible))
he need that well this what call

He wants that, well, what do you call this?

However, before the word-search becomes explicit, the pause before this sentence and "*etto*", i.e., a Japanese interjection which shows hesitance, both mark the unavailability of words, foreshadowing the search. In this example, as the word-search is being initiated, other participants utter hesitating sounds such as stretched vowels (in lines 3, 5, and 7) revealing the unavailability of words and showing that they are engaging in a word-search. (This will be discussed more extensively later.)

Goodwin and Goodwin (1986) define one characteristic of a word-search as the interruption of a unit (e.g., a complete sentence), and they state that "a variety of nonlexical speech perturbations" mark the point of interruption such as words with stretched sounds as well as the 'uh,' which signals self-repair (p.55). While the participants in their research are native English speakers, the illustrations of particular parts of examples above show this; when native speakers and non-native speakers are participants, a word-search by non-native speakers is initiated in a similar manner as when participants share their native language.

However, it should be noted that revealing the unavailability of words itself does not necessarily indicate that a word-search is initiated (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1986). How, then, can recipients (i.e., co-participants) of a word-search recognize that a word-search is in progress in these examples (and why do I regard these non-lexical perturbations as signaling a word-search)? This question is related to the next point. The second stage of word-searching occurs when non-native speakers reveal to and/or inform other participants through various gestures and actions *which* word they are searching for, thus simultaneously making it visible to their co-participants that a word-search is taking place.

5.3.3. *Which* word is being searched for?

In Example 5, an informing is carried out by drawing with a pen, as described in the double parentheses of the transcript below.

<Example 5>

12: K: Ranhou ditu shang yao (1.0) yao xie (1.0) maru
then map on need need wirte circle
~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~
((Kawamura draws a circle with his pen several times on the document placed on the desk between Kawamura and Zhou))

Then on the map, we'll write a circle.

13: Z: Yuan ne=
circle huh?

(You mean) circle?
~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~

It is important to add that while Kawamura is drawing a circle, Zhou's gaze is on this drawing gesture (see Illustration 14). Kawamura, by actually drawing a "circle," is informing Zhou that he is searching for the Mandarin word corresponding to "circle."

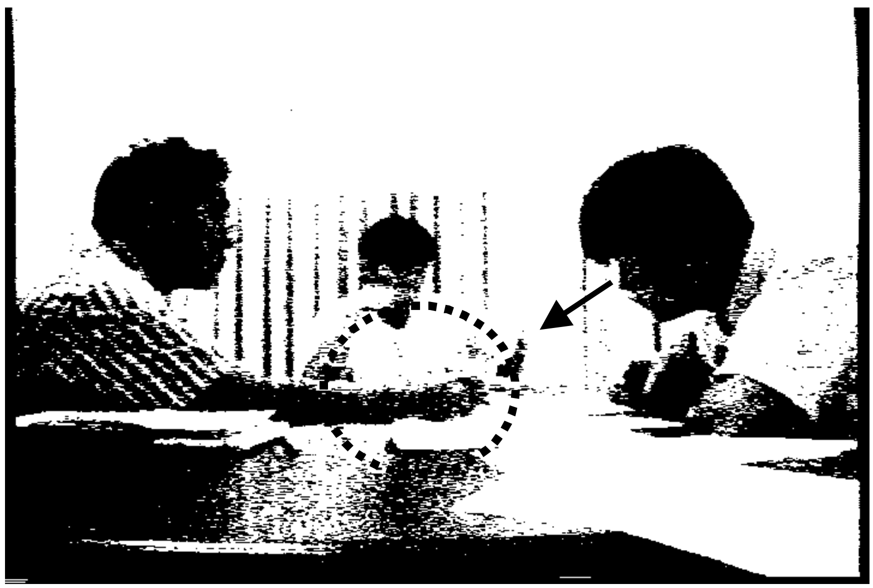

Illustration 11: Kawamura is drawing a circle with his pen, while Zhou's gaze is focused on this drawing gesture.

It is also important to remember here that the conversation has been in Mandarin, of which Kawamura is a non-native speaker and Zhou is a native speaker. Although at the end of line 12, Kawamura actually utters another word meaning "circle," "*maru*," this is in Japanese and is not exactly what he has been searching for; the search is still in progress. It is also important to remember that Kawamura is in the process of translating Japanese words into Mandarin; Kawamura is searching for a Mandarin word. Since Zhou does not understand

Japanese and Kawamura knows it, Kawamura does not say the Japanese word "*maru*" for Zhou or for the sake of communication; rather, it seems more reasonable to say that this utterance is an embodiment of the cognitive state of Kawamura's word search, as well as is his drawing gesture. However, the drawing gesture is different from the Japanese utterance in that the drawing is visually shared by Zhou beyond the language barrier and thus can be communicative.

In Example 6, a mimetic gesture of "opening a drawer" informs other participants that the speaker, Kawamura, is searching for the word "drawer".

<Example 6>
18. K: Dakai tade (1.0) hikidashi, hikidashi wakaru?
open their drawer drawer know
~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~
((Kawamura gesticulates as if he is opening a drawer with his right hand and arm))

(When they) open their (1.0) a drawer, a drawer, do you know?

Similar to example 6, notice how Kawamura, after a pause, utters a Japanese word which corresponds to the Mandarin word he is searching for. This time, he even adds "wakaru?", which means "do you know?" Also similar to Example 5, since Zhou does not understand Japanese, it is not by these Japanese words that Zhou figures out Kawamura is searching for the Mandarin word meaning "drawer"; it is by Kawamura's mimetic gesture of "opening a drawer."

In Example 7, a word-search is announced in a very explicit way by Goda to Koyama first.
~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~

<Example 7>

1 G: Ta yao nage (0.5) etto kore nante iuno [((unintelligible))
he need that well this what call
~~~~~~~~~~~~~
((Goda points at one part of the poster with his pen))
He wants that, well, what do you call this?

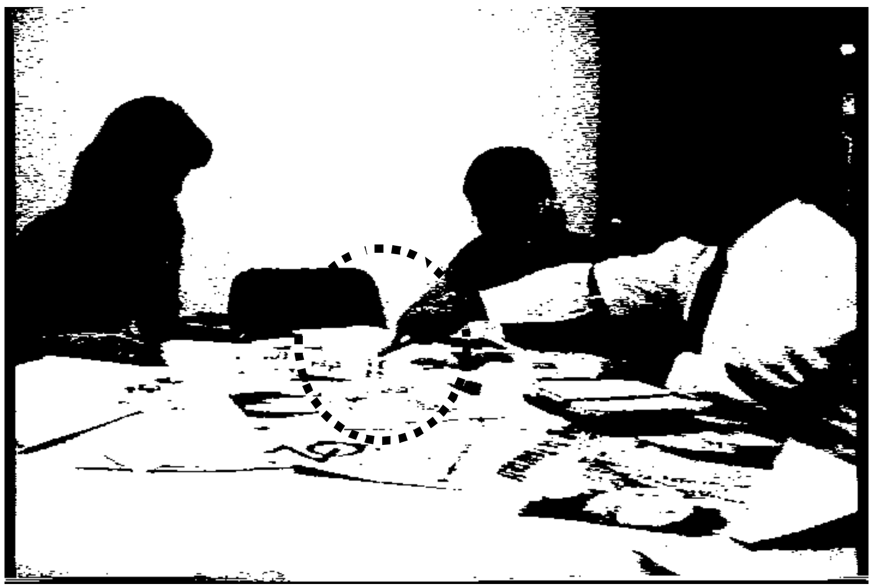

Illustration 12: Goda points at one part of the poster with his pen

Since only Goda and Koyama understand Japanese, this utterance clearly is addressed to Koyama. Both his question and his pointing gesture function explicitly; he wants to know the name of what he is pointing to (see Illustration 15 above). However, notice that Zhai responds to this question earlier than Koyama does, despite the fact that he does not understand Goda's Japanese question. (See below.) Zhai figures what Goda's question could be by observing Goda’s pointing gesture. Zhai attempts to explain something in line 2, and this is refused
~~~~~~~~~~~~~

by Goda in line 3 as reviewed below. Goda says "*Bushi, bushi,*" meaning "No, no."

<Example 7>

1 G: Ta yao nage (0.5) etto kore nante iuno [((unintelligible))
he need that well this what call
~~~~~~~~~~~~~~
((Goda points at one part of a poster with his pen))

He wants that, well, what do you call this?

2 Z: [Zhege shi (unintelligible)
this is
changping
product

This is (unintelligible) product

3 G: Bushi bushi, [zhege
not not this
~~~~~~~
[((Goda points again at the same part of the poster))

No, no, this

What Zhai answers is not what Goda asked about; Zhai did not get the question right. However, the more important thing is that Zhai could know that a word-search is taking place by looking at the pointing gesture, despite the fact that Goda is explicitly addressing Koyama by using Japanese. (Remember that participants mostly gaze down in this example, looking at the materials on the desk. Goda's pointing gesture on the material is within Zhai's field of vision.)

Then, in line 4, Koyama responds to Goda's request with a hesitating sound with a stretched vowel, but does not provide a word for Goda; she does not know the word either. Remember that the purpose of this meeting is for Goda to give instructions to Zhai; the matrix language of conversation has been Mandarin before and in the transcript. That is, Goda was searching for a Mandarin word and Koyama does not know the Mandarin word; it is not clear from the data, but Koyama most likely knows the word being searched for in Japanese, but she does not know it in Mandarin.[46] She re-initiates the word-search in line 4, showing this with a hesitating sound with a stretched vowel, "*Ah:::*." This hesitation is followed by the pointing gestures by Koyama herself and Goda; they simultaneously point to the part Goda originally pointed to, with Goda saying, "*Zhege*," which means "This" (see Illustration 16). "*Zhege*" not only overlaps with Koyama's pointing gesture, but also immediately follows Goda's rejection of Zhai's first answer. By re-pointing to the same part for Zhai, Goda has re-framed his question *vis-à-vis* Zhai.

<Example 7>

3 G: Bushi bushi, [zhege
not not this
~~~~
**[((Goda points again at the same part of the poster))**

*No, no, this*

4 K: Ah::: **[((Koyama points at the same part with her pointing finger))**
uh

*Uh*

[46] I speculate this for two reasons. First, unlike Goda, Koyama is a female and is herself a potential user of cosmetic products, thus potentially familiar with names of cosmetics, including "eyebrow pencil." Second, she is the one who interfaces with the client and is probably more familiar with the products.
~~~~

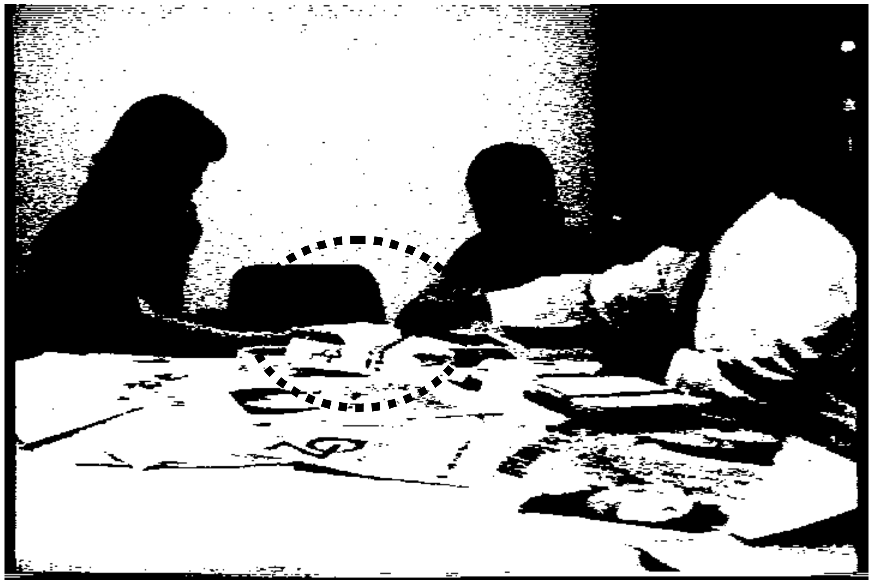

Illustration 13: Goda and Koyama simultaneously points at the part that Goda has once pointed.

Now the two Japanese participants are addressing Zhai, the only Chinese participant. This addresser-addressee (Goda/Koyama-Zhai) structure is salient at this moment because 1) the utterance accompanied by the gesture is in Mandarin; and 2) Goda and Koyama are pointing to the same part. The recipient of the re-initiated word-search is Zhai; now, the word-search has been re-framed as an issue between native and non-native speakers. And when the word-search has been re-framed as such, pointing gestures re-notify Zhai which word the two Japanese members are searching for and thus make it visible that a word-search is in progress.

It is significant to note that while previous research has discussed how recipients know that a word-search is in progress and that a word-search is open for co-participants (i.e., recipients), it has not addressed the issues of how recipients can know *which* word is being searched for. Goodwin and Goodwin (1986), for example, argue that recipients can know by the searcher's gesture of "thinking face" that a word-search is in progress; however, they do not discuss how a recipient obtains the "right" word. Lerner (1996) discusses the distinction between two types of contribution—whether a contribution is made as a "try-marked" guess or "assertedly correct" guess—by co-participants, and associates the differing type with differing timing of contributions; however, he does not give consideration to how and why these differences occur (p. 262).

Such lack of inquiry seems to be related to a fact that I have already mentioned: in previous research, participants are supposed to fully share cultural and linguistic competence.[47] When a word-search occurs in a monocultural and monolingual setting, it is generally assumed that the participant who initiates a word-search is struggling in verbalizing whatever they are thinking of, with the resource of native linguistic competence. On the other hand, when a word-search occurs in a cross-linguistic setting and the initiator is a non-native speaker of the language used, it is more probable that the non-native speaker has already found, or knows, the word in his/her native language but cannot replace it with the right word in the target language. At least, this is the case for the examples above. Kawamura's uttering the corresponding Japanese words during the search (of Mandarin words) in Example 5 and 6 suggests that Kawamura knows the word in his native language but does not know how to say it in Mandarin. As a

[47] Among exceptions is Streeck's (1994) in which he examines "how speakers bring their gesture to the attention of listeners and what listeners do when they face a gesture." (p.265). He demonstrates that gesture can influence the process and the outcome of word searches. However, this also assumes that participants natively share the language spoken.

consequence, the examples, *which* word is in play, rather than whether a word-search is in progress or not, is a more prominent issue than it is in monocultural and monolingual settings. Therefore, a critical aspect of the word-search activity in intercultural settings is that the original searcher uses various strategies in specifying *which* word is being searched. He/she has to immediately involve his native conversation partner in an improvised language lesson about a particular word, and "thinking face" does not sufficiently function for this purpose.

5.3.4. Gaze and the lack of acknowledgement—ratified or dispreferred?

In the previous two sub-sections, 5.3.2. and 5.3.3., I discussed how participants in my data reveal the unavailability of words and how an initiator of a word-search notifies other participants which word is being searched, thus making it visible that a word-search is in progress. However, as Goodwin and Goodwin (1986) argue, these acts do not necessarily invite other participants to collaborate in a word-search. Goodwin and Goodwin give several examples in which participants fail to collaborate in a word-search. For example, an invitation to collaboration can be declined, or other participants might miss the proper moment for providing a word. Although the search is in progress, it is possible that the initiator is not yet ready for co-participation.

According to Goodwin and Goodwin (1986), when the original speaker would like to invite another participant to a word-search, he or she gazes at the participant after revealing the unavailability of words. Further, even though the original speaker (searcher) demonstrates that a word search is in progress, if he/she does not gaze at the co-participant at this point, the invitation is not sent out indeed. That is, the original speaker's own search is not done yet and he/she is not ready for co-participation. Therefore, when a participant other than the original speaker provides what might be the sought-for word, the contributions can be treated very differently by the original speaker, depending on whether the participant has obtained the original speaker's gaze or not beforehand. Goodwin and Goodwin maintain that when the original speaker has invited co-participation to word-searching and is ready for it, the original speaker acknowledges the contribution by uttering acknowledgement tokens like "yeah" or "right," whereas when the original speaker has not invited and is not ready for co-participation, he or she typically does not acknowledge the contribution at all. Goodwin and Goodwin argue that the lack of acknowledgement indicates that the outcome is "dispreferred." Based on the theory that a word-search is a type of repair, they maintain that there is a preference for a self-over-other outcome in a word-search activity, unless the original speaker invites others' co-participation.

Interestingly, however, the original speakers in the examples of this section do not acknowledge the contribution at all, despite the fact that they have invited co-participation in the search by gazing at another participant or in a more explicit way. The third stage of word-searching occurs when another participant produces an outcome and the original speaker employs the offered outcome in his or her subsequent talk; at this point, all the original speakers of the examples, after obtaining the sought-for word, simply repeat the word offered, filling the gap in the original sentence, and continue to talk. It should be realized that the native speaker also simply utters only the word as he provides it. In reviewing each example again below, I will mark the parts where gaze as it relates to invitations to participate by the symbol "**xxxxx,**" and give some explanation in bold letters in double parentheses.

<Example 4>

2 K: Zhe ge Riwen de hua, zai Riben de, eh:::
xxx
((Z looks up at K))
this Japanese l in Japan 's uh

About this Japanese, in Japan, uh

3 (2.0)
xxxx
((K turns his head and looks at Z. K's and Z's gazes meet))

4 Z: Fanyi gonsi=
((Z nods with his gaze down))
translation company

Translation company

5 K: =Fanyyi gonsi fanyi de. Suoyi, meiyou, tamen meiyou crea, creative de
translation company translate therefore not they not crea(tive) creative of
gainian.
concept

(This is what) a translation company translated. So, there is no creative concept included in (the translation).

In Example 4 above, Zhou looks at Kawamura during Kawamura's speech perturbations in line 2. Then in line 3, during the long pause, Kawamura turns his head and looks at Zhou; Zhou's and Kawamura's gaze meets. In line 4, Zhou utters the sought-for word, "*fanyi gonsi*," or "translation company," and in line 5, Kawamura incorporates the word into his sentence.

<Example 5>

12 K: Ranhou ditu shang yao (1.0) yao xie (1.0) maru

xxx

(K looks at Z; however, Z keeps gazing down on the desk; K's hand gesture is in Z's scope)

then map on need need write circle

~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~

((Kawamura draws a circle with his pen several times on the document on the desk between Kawamura and Zhou))

Then on the map, we'll write a circle.

13 Z: Yuan ne=

((Z keeps gazing down))

circle uh?

(You mean) circle?

14 K: =Yuan, guojia de buyao

circle nation 's no need

Circle, we don't need ones for nations.

It should be noted that in this example (Example 5), although Kawamura invites Zhou to participate the word-search by his gaze, Zhou does not look back. However, an invitation is successfully obtained by Zhou in another way—Kawamura's hand gesture is in Zhou's scope. In line 13, Zhou utters the sought-for word, "*yuan*," or "circle," and in line 14, Kawamura resumes his sentence by incorporating the word.

<Example 6>

4 K: Dakai tade (1.0) hikidashi, hikidashi wakaru?

xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx

(Z looks at K)

xxxxxxxx
~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~

(K looks at Z)
open their drawers drawers know
~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~
((Kawamura gesticulates as if he is opening a drawer with his right hand and arm))

(When they) open their (1.0) a drawer, a drawer, do you know?

5 Z: Choutou.
Racket

Racket.

6 K: Choutou. Ranhou
racket then

Racket, then

7 Z: Choutei
drawers

Drawers

8 K: Limian you yige binggang
inside have one cookie

Inside (of the drawers, they) have a cookie

In Example 6, in line 4, Zhou starts gazing at Kawamura as soon as Kawamura reveals the unavailability of a word by a pause. Then in the same line, Kawamura turns his head and looks at Zhou, while uttering "*wakaru*?", or "do you know?" explicitly asking a question as well as inviting Zhou to the word search. It should be noted that, in Example 7, the Mandarin word, *choutou*, offered by Zhou in line 5 is not actually the sought-for word; *choutou* means "racket" and is entirely out of context. The right outcome is what Zhou utters afterwards in line 7, *chouti*, which means drawer. The pronunciation of these two words is similar, and Zhou
~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~

mis-utters the word. Although Zhou corrects it immediately by uttering the right word, Kawamura completely disregards it. Kawamura has already re-started his sentence, repeating the first offer, "*choutou*." Despite its incorrectness, the word-search is complete at this point, and this seems to be related to the issue of timing (this will be discussed in the next sub-section).

In Example 7 below, an invitation is given in another and more explicit way—by pointing. All participants are gazing down on the desk, looking at the materials on it. Since it would be rather long to include the inviting part, I will review only the part in which the native speaker (Zhai) offers the sought-for word and the non-native speakers (Koyama and Goda) repeat it.

<Example 7>

9 Z: Meibi. **((Zhai looks up at Koyama))**
eyebrow pencil

Eyebrow pencil

10 K: Meibi.
eyebrow pencil

((Koyama looks up at Zhai; Zhai's and Koyma's gaze meet; then Zhai and Koyama nod lightly to each other))

Eyebrow pencil

11 Z: Eh, eh,
Uh-huh, uh-huh

Uh-huh, uh-huh

12 G: Meibi de dipian haiyou ma.
eyebrow pencil 's negative still have

Do (we) still have the photo negative of the eyebrow pencil?

In Example 7 above, Zhou utters the sought-for word (i.e., *meibi*, or eyebrow pencil) in line 9, and Koyama simply repeats it in line 10. Then in line 12, the original word-searcher, Goda, resumes his sentence and incorporate the word.

As shown in the examples above, despite the fact that the original speaker has invited another participant to a word-search, there is no acknowledgement by the original speaker, such as "yeah" or "right," of the outcome. This contradicts Goodwin and Goodwin's finding that the original speaker's readiness for co-participation results in acknowledging the outcome offered by another participant. How, then, can we explain this contradiction?

Goodwin and Goodwin (1986) state that when a contribution is acknowledged, the contributor's participation in the sequence is "ratified by subsequent moves tied to her [contributor's] talk, which establishes her [contributor] as the party who provided the outcome to the search" (p. 53). On the other hand, when contribution is not acknowledged, the original speaker provides his/her own outcome to the search, although the outcome may be an upgraded/modified version of the contribution (e.g., after the other participant says "eyelet," the original speaker says "embroidered eyelet.")

(G.126:712)
A: Her dress was white,
        (0.7)
B: Eye let
        [
A: Uh Eyelet. (0.8) Embroidered eyelet. (p. 52)

Along the line of Goodwin and Goodwin's argument, there seems to be in this example a sort of negotiation over the authorship of the outcome. The original speaker's acknowledgement of the outcome is a pivotal point in determining/finalizing the authorship. Goodwin and Goodwin indeed argue that participants negotiate the type of collaboration within the word-search activity itself. In my examples, however, the original speaker simply repeats the word provided by another participant and continues his sentence; the original speaker does not produce another outcome as his own (thus accepts the offered outcome as it is), but does not ratify the contribution either.

This raises the possibility that there is not as much negotiation over the authorship of the outcome or the type of collaboration in word-search activities in my examples. That is, the authorship of the outcome is clear(er) and the type of collaboration is determined once collaboration is invited. Thus, participants do not need to negotiate these issues when the original speaker obtains the outcome. As a matter of fact, when the original word-searcher is a non-native speaker of the language used, it seems very possible that he or she is *not able to* acknowledge or ratify the supplied word, and thus is not able to negotiate the authorship and/or the type of the collaboration; he or she may not know the word itself.

In monocultural and monolingual settings, a word-search can be conceptualized as collaboration and/or competition among participants who share linguistic competence, at least on the theoretical level; thus, the authorship of the sought-for word is negotiable among participants. However, in cross-linguistic settings, a word search initiated by a non-native speaker perhaps contains, more clearly, a request-compliance dynamic between the less knowledgeable and the more knowledgeable party.

The differences between native and non-native speakers in terms of linguistic knowledge and interactional roles also seem to explain why the wrong Mandarin word "*choutou*" (=racket) is indeed incorporated by Kawamura, and not the right word "*chouti*" (=drawer) in Example 7. Incorporating linguistic knowledge does not require more than the necessary word(s); the non-native speaker (Kawamura) simply repeats the word and goes back to his own sentence, thus demonstrating he has incorporated the linguistic knowledge provided. However, suppose this type of interaction occurs with more words; the conversation underway would then be interrupted and whatever task the interlocutors are engaging in would be interrupted as well. Supplying and incorporating words need to be carried out in precise and well-timed way.

However, in Example 6, "*Choutou*" is placed/uttered at the "right" time, "*chouti*" is not. Since Kawamuara, as a non-native speaker, does not have sufficient judgment of the correctness of the word supplied, it is because of the timing of word-supply that K incorporates it (consciously or unconsciously). Since Kawamura, as a non-native speaker, does not have sufficient judgment of the correctness of the word supplied, it is by this timing of word-supply that Kawamura is supposed to incorporate what has been provided by Zhou, his native conversation partner.

Accordingly, the interactive intercultural competence practiced in the examples above can be characterized as a case of successful role-taking with respect to linguistic knowledge. Imagine a foreign language class for beginners. A student is ordered to produce a sentence and then gets stuck because he or she does not know the right word or way to put it. A teacher, after watching it for a while, offers the word needed to fill in the gap. Hearing the word, the student does not express his or her appreciation of the offer, nor does he or she attempt to negotiate over the authorship of the outcome. He or she simply repeats the word the teacher has just said. It is given in the context of language-teaching/learning that the stock knowledge comes from the more knowledgeable one and is distributed to the less knowledgeable one through interactions. The learning participant is expected not to have as much knowledge as the teacher. However, the student is expected to know how to engage in interactional mechanisms of learning; he or she is expected to know when to reveal the unavailability of words and how, and also when to demonstrate mastery of the words and how. A similar dynamic is working in the word-searches in these examples. Non-native speakers are precluded from claiming the authorship of the outcome, yet are expected to take the role of learner within a framework of a word-search activity.

5.3.6. Summary of 5.3.

My analysis in this section has shown that through collaboratively engaging in word-searches and using various non-verbal devices, members of Shanghai-BDK overcome language barriers and supplement the linguistic competence of non-native speakers with linguistic resources of native speakers. Especially in a setting like Shanghai-BDK, in which intercultural communication occurs in the context of partnerships that participants have established, a word-search between a native and a non-native speaker can be regarded as an efficient, improvised practice of language-teaching and learning embedded in a task-oriented interaction. It is efficient because language-teaching and learning through word-searches happen with great "efficiency of talk" (Kliefgen & Frenz-Belkin, 1997, p. 164).

As D'Andrade (1995) states, "a good part of what any person knows is learned from other people." Interactive competence observed during word-searches can also be conceptualized this way: Interlocutors do not necessarily need to know everything to be a competent communicator; frequently, they can gain knowledge from their conversation partner by interacting with them in appropriate ways. Without themselves possessing particular stock of knowledge interlocutors can still have access to it in the very midst of interaction. When members of Shanghai-BDK interact with those who do not share their national-cultural background, what determines their intercultural communication competence is not whether they know or do not know, or how much they know, but how they can manage unequally distributed knowledge.

5.4. SUMMARY OF CHAPTER 5

In this chapter, I have studied intercultural practices of members of Shanghai-BDK by examining the details of their interactions with those who do not share their national-cultural and linguistic background. I have regarded the degree of linguistic gaps among interlocutors as an important context for my analysis. I have first studied translation-mediated interactions in which primary interlocutors of Shanghai-BDK do not share a common language at all, and then I have studied interactions occurring at Shanghai-BDK in which interlocutors are native and non-native speakers of the language used. In both cases, I have shed light on the fact that, in the context of interactions at Shanghai-BDK, interlocutors who do not (fully) share a common language are capable of overcoming their linguistic gaps and getting things done, by using various resources available to them.

In the second section of this chapter, 5.2., I have shown that during translation-mediated interactions, primary interlocutors who do not share a common language frequently interact directly with each other beyond their language barriers and independently of the translating participant, and I have examined how. By using non-verbal communicative devices such as gaze, nods, and gestures, as well as by referring to the materials they are working on in particular ways, primary interlocutors of translation-mediated interactions can reach mutual understanding about particular aspects of the discussion underway, which the translating participant or translation does not provide—for example, the focus of the ongoing talk, understanding of the translated content and/or materials under discussion, or confirmation of such understanding. In the third section of this chapter, 5.3., I have focused on examining the phenomenon of word-search, in which non-native speakers seek for a word and native speakers provide the sought-for word. In so doing, I have demonstrated that native and non-native speakers can overcome the linguistic inability of non-native speakers by collaboratively distributing the linguistic knowledge of a native speaker, as well as how this is done.

Linguistic competence has been frequently regarded as one of the most important elements of intercultural communication competence. However, my analyses, based on detailed analysis of actual interactions, have shown that interlocutors in intercultural settings within the context of Shanghai-BDK can be *communicatively competent* despite their *linguistic incompetence* or language barriers; linguistic inability, or a lack of cultural knowledge, does not necessarily amount to communicative incompetence. In conclusion, when we study intercultural communication by examining actual details of particular interactions, we realize that what constitutes communicative competence does not necessarily stem from an individual's stock of knowledge but lies in the dynamics of ongoing interaction.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

Traditionally, intercultural communication studies have focused on identifying causal relationships between “culture” and “communication (pattern)” from a comparative point of view. This focus is based on the idea that individuals, as members of a culture, are saturated with cultural characteristics which are difficult to alter. Individuals are assumed to adhere to their cultural features and maintain them anytime, anywhere, and on any occasion. Thus, when engaging in intercultural communication, individuals cannot help but enact their native communicative styles. Additionally, when researchers study intercultural communication, they most frequently focus on problematic phenomena such as misunderstandings and conflict, attributing their causes to “cultural differences” that identified by means of cultural comparison.

In contrast, this dissertation is founded on the idea that cultural differences among individuals do not necessarily determine the ways in which intercultural communication unfold. Instead, this dissertation recognizes and embraces individuals’ capabilities both as theorists and practitioners of intercultural communication as they live and deal with “culture” and “cultural differences.” Individuals are not passive bearers of culture and do not always suffer from “cultural differences”; individuals varisouly perpetuate, (re)create, modify, downplay, and make insignificant the meaning(s) of “culture” and “cultural differences,” such as “Chinese,” “Japanese,” and the Chinese-Japanese dichotomy, within particular contexts of various communicative events.

6.1. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

In this dissertation, I have demonstrated the importance of factors other than "cultural" ones for understanding the process of intercultural communication: task, language, local environment, common ground, and organizational factors, all play a part in the way intercultural communication develops. Additionally, I have shown that individuals incorporate these factors in theorizing their intercultural experiences and in interacting with others who do not share their national-cultural background.

Through detailed analyses of narratives, I have demonstrated that non-cultural factors and cultural factors can influence one another, and I have also shown that the way in which the two kinds of factors are intertwined can influence the way in which individuals experience intercultural communication. Members of Shanghai-BDK associate their experiences with the Chinese-Japanese dichotomy and invoke particular meanings of this dichotomy as components of their experiences at Shanghai-BDK. In other words, they use this dichotomy in various ways as resources for making sense of their particular experiences, and in so doing, they may also change their membership.

In my detailed analyses of interactions, I have addressed the importance of these non-cultural contexts as factors which enable interaction beyond language barriers. The task in which an interaction is embedded serves as one vital context; this includes local materials for the task underway and interlocutors' engagement with them. Regardless of differences in cultural backgrounds and linguistic gaps, interlocutors working on the same task typically share specific knowledge and goals concerning the task, and they can refer to this task as a common ground for their interactions. The importance of task is also related to the significance of shared professional expertise (i.e., a type of common ground) among interlocutors. For example, a part of my analysis has shown that because of their shared professional expertise, interlocutors who do not share a common language can reach a mutual understanding about a particular task under discussion more easily than interlocutors who share a common language but no professional knowledge. In addition, I have also demonstrated the importance of the local environment of the interaction as well as non-verbal communicative devices for successful interaction beyond language barriers.

In sum, as theorists of intercultural communication, members of Shanghai-BDK are capable of making sense of their experiences and the meanings of Chinese-ness, Japanese-ness, and the Chinese-Japanese dichotomy, while as practitioners of intercultural communication, they are capable of communicating and behaving competently to overcome cultural differences such as linguistic gaps.

6.2 Reflections on Using Two Types of Data: Narratives and Interactions

It is important to realize the dual features of individuals as intercultural beings—they are theorists and practitioners. This duality suggests the need to investigate phenomena of intercultural communication from more than one perspective. Obtaining information about these features, however, does not simply mean getting a larger variety of information about the individuals and their intercultural communications. An even more important point is that the two features involved in intercultural communications are related, shaping the phenomena of intercultural communication as a whole. We therefore need to consider how these two features are related and what we can learn from these relations.

The idea that individuals are both theorists and practitioners of intercultural communication motivates the dual methodological approach used in this dissertation: narrative analysis and interaction analysis. As I stated in Chapter 3, one type of data can both substitute and challenge another type of data. In the context of this dissertation, individuals' theories (narratives) of intercultural communication and their practices (interactions) of intercultural communication are partly consistent, partly inconsistent with each other. However, I believe that the observed consistencies and inconsistencies between the two kinds of data suggest a more complex understanding of the phenomena under study, thus preventing us from developing a monolithic view.

For example, suppose that I had studied only interactions at Shanghai-BDK, and attempted to theorize my findings about intercultural communication at Shanghai-BDK based only on interaction analysis. It would then be more difficult to realize and demonstrate the significance of shared professional expertise for particular successful interactions that move beyond interlocutors' language barriers; these interactions are not only facilitated by non-verbal communicative devices but are also prompted by shared professional expertise.

Recall Wei's story (in 4.7.2.): (she thinks) she can communicate with Japanese members who share the same expertise without a common language; she states, "We have the same expertise, so we can still communicate." Without listening to this kind of stories, it would be more challenging to realize the importance of shared expertise in the context of Shanghai-BDK, especially when members of the creative team who do not share a common language interact. Recall Example 3 from Chapter 5, an example of translation-mediated interactions, in which the primary interlocutors (Oyama, a Japanese television commercial planner, and Alan, a Chinese television commercial planner), who do not share a language, copy each other's gesture and thereby reach mutual understanding about the task at hand. The translating participant (Kawamura), who shares common languages with both primary interlocutors, is incapable of understanding the particular tasks (the animation effects) as quickly as the primary interlocutors do. Without recognizing the importance of shared expertise between the primary interlocutors as television commercial planners, I would be less likely to notice or discuss the significance of Kawamura's inability to understand Oyama's explanation about the task as easily as Alan did.

Also, my interaction analyses can serve as support for my findings from theanalysis of narratives. For example, members of Shanghai-BDK not only *think* they can overcome cultural and linguistic barriers; they, in fact, *do* overcome them. This helps me understand what intercultural communication at Shanghai-BDK as a whole is like; it does not only mean struggling with difficulties and gaps, but it also means overcoming difficulties and bridging gaps. On the other hand, analyzing the two kinds of data (narratives and interactions) can shed light on the gap between what individuals say and do. For example, despite the fact that members frequently make (in)competence judgments of individuals based on the fact that *they* are not like *us* (i.e., 'they do not share a national-cultural background with us,' see 4.3.), their interactions demonstrate that sharing professional expertise is sometimes more important than sharing a national-cultural background for successful task-oriented communications. That is, the gap between their theories and practices is itself one of my notable findings about intercultural communication at Shanghai-BDK indeed; the gap is an important characteristic of the communication of members of Shanghai-BDK as intercultural beings.

In sum, using two different kinds of data has not only encouraged me to reflect on what I have found from each kind of data, it also has urged me to adopt an important perspective toward intercultural communication at Shanghai-BDK—a perspective I would not be able to adopt if I used only narrative or interactional data. That is, intercultural communication at Shanghai-BDK often involves self-contradiction of individuals as intercultural beings; such contradiction is one of the factors complicating intercultural communication and thus needs to be addressed in our attempt to gain a better understanding of intercultural communication.

6.3. In an Attempt to Better Live in The Intercultural World

Many of us cannot escape interculturalness in today's world. Globalization is powerful and ubiquitous, saturating the lives of individuals, including those who have never even dreamed about or wished to live in an intercultural world. Regardless of our wishes or preferences, many of us are more or less required to have contacts with individuals who do not share our cultural background, and it is obvius that our world will become even more intercultural. This dissertation has been written with the hope of contributing to increasing our knowledge and wisdom about intercultural communication and to helping us better live in the intercultural world.

In studying intercultural experiences and practices at Shanghai-BDK, I have examined individuals' capabilities as both theorists and practitioners. For us to better live in the intercultural world, I believe it is beneficial to know our own abilities, as theorists and practitioners, of intercultural communication.

Understanding our capabilities as theorists of intercultural communication suggests that we are capable of living in the intercultural world in meaningful ways, constructing particular meaningfulness as situated in our particular experiences. Accordingly, our capabilities as theorists of intercultural communication allow us to gain something from the intercultural world. This idea encourages acknowledgement of the benefits of living in the intercultural world and suggests that we look for what we can gain, and how, from our intercultural environments.

More importantly, the awareness of our theoretical capabilities sheds light on the pitfalls that we are likely to face when we encounter individuals who are "different" from us. That is, negative aspects of intercultural communication—such as prejudice, discrimination, racism, and ethnocentrism—are indeed a result of what we do as theorists of intercultural communication. By realizing our own capabilities as theorists of intercultural communication, we can more readily acknowledge our agency in creating, or at least contributing to pre-existing, negative social phenomena. Thus we can also more readily acknowledge our agency in resolving conflicts and misunderstanding.

Knowledge of our capabilities as practitioners of intercultural communication entails that we should not be easily excused from making efforts to communicate with individuals who do not share our cultural background just because "we are different." Rather, it should prevent us from avoiding challenging difficulties in intercultural contexts; just because the setting is intercultural does not mean that we are allowed to not make efforts to communicate and reach understanding. Although the particulars of each situation should always be considered, an even more important point I have attempted to make in this dissertation is that we are capable of dealing with the contingencies of particular situations and communicate with individuals who do not share our cultural background—at least to a certain degree. As members of Shanghai-BDK make use of what they share (e.g., their tasks at hand and their professional expertise) in order to live together in their intercultural community, we as human beings also can rely on what we share in our efforts to communicate and live together despite our differences. At the least, as I have previously stated, we can start with the realization that we share the very fact that we do not share certain things.

Differences often serve as reasons, in both experiential and practical terms, why we cannot live with particular groups of individuals. Especially when we refer to "cultural" differences, regardless of what we exactly mean by "culture," such reasoning seems to have power over us. By having demonstrated how capable and flexible individuals actually can be in dealing with the cultural factors of their intercultural experiences and practices, I hope my dissertation has put forth a caveat against such an excuse. The final point I would like to make is that it is not because we are different that we cannot better live together with particular groups of individuals; it is because we do not deal with the differences in better ways—despite the fact that we are indeed capable of doing so when prompted by our own needs. Given this, now is the time for intercultural communication researchers to move beyond identifying cultural differences as the reasons for problems in intercultural communication. An important task for intercultural communication researchers in the future is to explore various and meaningful ways in which we as theorists and practitioners of intercultural communication can appropriate cultural differences into our lives and better live with individuals who may be "different" from us in some ways, but are the same in many other and more important ways.

Appendix

Transcript notation

:	:A colon indicates an extension of the sound or syllable
::	:More colons prolong the stretch
(2.0)	:When intervals in the stream of talk occur, they are timed in tenths of a second and inserted within parentheses, either within an utterance or between utterances.
=	:When there is no interval between adjacent utterances, the utterances are linked together with equal signs.
[	:A bracket indicates utterances (and/or gestures) are overlapping

References

Abe, H., & Wiseman, R. L. (1983). A cross-cultural confirmation of the dimensions of intercultural effectiveness. International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 7, 53-67.

Adler, P. A. & Adler, P. (1987). Membership roles in field research. Newbury Park: Sage Publications.

Agar. M. H. (1986). Speaking of ethnography. Newbury Park: Sage Publications.

Althen, G. (1992). The Americans have to say everything. Communication Quarterly, 40(4), 413-421.

Allwood, J. (1995). An activity based approach to pragmatics. Gothenburg Papers in Theoretical Linguistics, 76. Gothenburg, Sweden: University of Gotheborg, Department of Linguistics.

Atkinson, J. M., & Heritage, J. (1984). Structures of social action. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Austin, J. (1962). How to do things with words. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Basso, K (1970). To give up on words: Silence in the Western Apache culture. Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, 26, 213-230.

Bauman, R., & Sherzer. J. (Eds.). (1989). Explorations in the ethnography of speaking (2nd ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bavelas, J.B., Chovil. N., Lawrie, D.A., & Wade, A. (1992). Interactive gestures. Discourse Processes, 15, 469-489.

Berk-Seligson, S. (1990). The bilingual courtroom. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Bourdieu. P (1991). Language and symbolic power. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Brislin, R., & Yoshida, T. (1994). Intercultural communication training: An introduction. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Brown, R., & Gilman, A. (1960). The pronouns of power and solidarity. In T.A. Sebeok (Ed.), Style in language (pp. 253-277). New York: The Technology Press of Massachusetts Institute of Technology and John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Bruner, J. (1990). Acts of meaning. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Carbaugh, D. (1990a). Intercultural communication. In D. Carbaugh (Ed)., Cultural communication and intercultural contact (pp. 151-175). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Carbaugh, D. (1990b). Toward a perspective on cultural communication and intercultural contact. Semiotica, 80(1/2), 15-35.

Carbaugh, D. (1991). Communication and cultural interpretation. Quarterly Journal of Speech, 77, 336-342.

Carbaugh, D (1993). "Soul" and "self": Soviet and American cultures in conversation. Quarterly Journal of Speech, 79, 182-200.

Carbaugh, D. (1996). Situating selves: The communication of social identities in American scenes. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Carbaugh, D (1999). “Just listen”: “Listening” and landscape among the Blackfeet. Western Journal of Communication, 63(3), 250-270.

Cheng, C. Y. (1987). Chinese philosophy and contemporary communication theory. In D. L. Kincaid (Ed.), Communication theory: Eastern and western perspectives. New York: Academic Press.

Clancy, P. M., Thompson, S. A., Suzuki, R., & Tao, H. (1994). The conversational use of reactive tokens in English, Japanese, and Mandarin. Journal of Pragmatics, 26, 355-387.

Clark, H. H. (1996). Using language. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Collier, M.J., Ribeau, S.A., & Hecht, M.L. (1986). Intracultural communication rules and outcomes within three domestic cultures. Intercultural Journal of Intercultural Relations, 10, 439-457.

Collier, M.J (1991). Conflict competence within African, Mexican, and Anglo American friendships. In S. Ting-Toomey & F. Korzenny (Eds.), Cross-cultural interpersonal communication (pp. 132-154). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Collier, M. (1994). Cultural identity and intercultural communication. In L. A. Samovar & R. E. Porter (Eds.), Intercultural communication: A reader (7th ed., pp. 36-45). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing.

Cooren, F. (1999). The organizing property of communication. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Cupach, W.R., & Imahori, T.T. (1993). Identity management theory: communication competence in intercultural episodes and relationships. International and intercultural communication annual, 17, 112-131.

D'Andrader. (1995). The cultural part of cognition. Cognitive science, 5, 179-195.

Day, D. (1994). Tang's dilemma and other problems: Ethnification processes at some multicultural workplaces. Pragmatics, 4, 315-336.

Dimitrova, B. (1997). Degree of interpreter responsibility in the interaction process in community interpreting. In S. Carr et al. (Eds.), The Critical Link: Interpreters in the community (pp. 147-164). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins.

Donaldson, L. (1986). Size and bureaucracy in East and West: A preliminary meta-analysis. In S. R. Clegg, D. Dunphy, & S. Redding (Eds.), The enterprise and management in East Asia. Hong Kong: Center for Asian Studies.

Drew, P., & Heritage, J. (1992). Analyzing talk at work: an introduction. In P. Drew & J. Heritage (Eds.), Talk at work: Interactions in institutional settings (pp. 3-65). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Drummond, K., and Hopper, R. (1993). Backchannel is revisited: Acknowledgment tokens and speakership incipiency. Research on Language and Social Interaction, 26(2), 157-177.

Duchan, J., Maxwell, M., & Kovarsky, D. (1998). Evaluating competence in the course of everyday interaction. In D. Kovarsky, J. Duchan, & M. Maxwell

(Eds.), Constructing (in)competence. (pp. 3-28). Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Duncan, S. D. Jr., & Fiske, D.W. (1977). Face-to-face interaction: Research, methods, and theory. New Jersey: Lawrence Elbaum Associate.

Duranti, A. (1997). Linguistic anthropology. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Ekman, P. (1976). Movements with precise meanings. Journal of Communication, 6, 14-26.

Ekman, P., & Friesen, W. (1969). The repertoire of nonverbal behavior: categories, origins, usage and coding. Semiotica, 1, 9-98.

Engeström, Y., & Middleton, D. (1996). Introduction: Studying work as mindful practice. In Y. Engeström & D. Middleton (Eds.), Cognition and communication at work, (pp. 1-14). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Fries, C. C. (1952). The structure of English, New York: Harcourt, Brace & World.

Gergen, K. J., & Gergen, M. N. (1982). Explaining human conduct: Form and function, In P. F. Secord (Ed.), Explaining human behavior (pp. 127-154). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Goffman, E. (1959). The presentation of self in everyday life. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Goffman, E. (1961). Encounters: Two studies in the sociology of interaction. Indianapolis/New York: The Bobb-Merrill Company.

Goffman, E. (1974). Frame analysis. New York: Harper & Row.

Goffman, E. (1981). Forms of talk. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Goldman, A. (1994). Communication in Japanese multinational organizations. In R. L. Wiseman & R. Shuter (Eds.), International and intercultural communication annual, Volume 13: Communicating in multinational organization (pp. 45-74). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Goodwin, C. (in Press). Pointing as situated practice. In S. Kita (Ed.), Pointing: Where Language, Culture and Cognition Meet. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Goodwin, M.H. & Goodwin, C (1986). Gesture and coparticipation in the activity of searching for a word. Semiotica, 62-1/2, 51-75.

Goodwin, C. (1986). Gestures as a resource for the organization of mutual orientation. Semiotica, 62(1/2), 29-49.

Goodwin. C., & Goodwin. M. H. (1996). Seeing as a situated activity: Formulating planes, (61-95). In Y. Engeström & D. Middleton (Eds.), Cognition and communication at work, (pp. 1-14). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Goodwin, C. (2000). Action and embodiment within situated human interaction. Journal of Pragmatics, 32, 1489-1522.

Gudykunst, W. B., & Hammer, M. R. (1984). Dimensions of intercultural effectiveness: Cultural specific or culture general? International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 8, 1-10.

Gudykunst, W. B., & Nishida, T. (1986). Attributional confidence in low- and hight- context cultures. Human Communication Research, 12, 525-549.

Gudykunst, W. B. (1988). Uncertainty and anxiety. In Y.Y. Kim & W.B. Gudykunst (Eds.), Theories in Intercultural Communication. Newbury Park: Sage Publications.

Gudykunst, W. B. (1993). Towards a theory of effective interpersonal and intergroup communication: An anxiety/uncertainty management (AUM) perspective. In R. L. Wiseman & J. Koester (Eds.), Intercultural communication competence. Newbury Park: Sage Publications.

Gudykunst, W. B., & Nishida, T. (1994). Bridging Japanese/North American differences. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Gudykunst, W. B., & Ting-Toomey, S. (1988). Culture and interpersonal communication. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Gumperz, J. & Hymes, D. (Eds.). (1972). Directions in sociolinguistics: The ethnography of communication. New York: Basil Blackwell.

Gumperz, J. (1982). Discourse strategies. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Gumperz, J. (1992a). Interviewing in intercultural situations. In P. Drew & J. Heritage (Eds.), Talk at work: Interaction in institutional settings (pp. 302-327). Cambridge, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Gumperz, J. (1992b) Contexualization and understanding. In A. Duranti & C. Goodwin (Eds.), Rethinking context (pp.229-252). Cambridge, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Hall, E. T. (1976). Beyound culture. New York; Doubleday.

Hall, E. T. (1983). The dance of life: The other dimension of time. New York: Doubleday and Company.

Hall, S. (1996). Introduction: Who needs 'identity'? In S. Hall, & P. Du Gay (Eds.), Questions of cultural identity (pp. 1-17). London: Sage Publications.

Handy Bosma, J, & Funayama, I. (1999, November). Japanese acknowledgement tokens and speakership recipiency: The nasal token and the so-token. Paper presented at the annual conference of the National Communication Association, Chicago.

Hatim, B., & Mason, I. (1990). Discourse and translator. London: Longman.

House, J., & Blum-Kulka. (1986). Interlingual and intercultural communication: Discourse and congnition in translation and second language acquisition studies. Tubingen: Gunter Narr Verlag.¨

Harold, G. (1967). Studies in ethnomethodology. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Hathaway, H. (1999). "An essential friendship": African Americans and Caribbean immigrants in Harlem. In T. B. Powerl (Ed.), Beyond the binary: Reconstructing cultural identity in a multicultural context (pp. 61-80). New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Heritage, J. (1984). Garfinkel and ethnomethodology. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Hermans, H. J. M., & Kempen, H. J. G. (1998). Moving cultures: The perilous problem of cultural dichotomies in a globalizing society. American psychologist, 53 (10), 1111-1120.

Hersey, P., & Blanchard, K. (1982). Management of organizational behavior: Utilizing human resources (4th ed.). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Hofstede, G. (1980). Culture's consequences: International differences in work-related values. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Hofstede, G. (1991). Cultures and organizations: Software of the mind. London: McGraw-Hill Book Company.

Holland, S.P. (1999). "From this moment forth, we are black lesbians": Querying feminism and transgressing Whiteness in Consolidated's *The business of Punishment*. In T. B. Powerl (Ed.), Beyond the binary: Reconstructing cultural identity in a multicultural context (pp. 139-162). New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Holstein, J. A., & Gubrium, J. F. (1995). The active interview. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Horiguchi, J. (1991, October). Aizuchi kenkyuu no gendankai to kadai [The current situation and problems of studies about *aizuchi*]. Nihongo-gaku, 10 (10), 31-41.

Howe, R. (1971). A path goal theory of leader effectiveness. Administrative Science Quarterly, 16, 321-338.

Hui, C. H., & Triandis, H. C. (1986). Individualism-Collectivisim: A study of cross-cultural researchers. Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 17(2), 225-248.

Inagaki, T., & Kaji, N. (1999). Nihon to chuugoku eien no gokai: Ibo bunka no shoutotsu [The clash of dissimilar cultures]. Tokyo, Japan: Bungei Shunjuu.

Junker, B. H. (1960). Field work: An introduction of the social science. Chicago: University Press of Chicago.

Kaplan, A. (1964). The conduct of inquiry. Rochelle Park, NJ: Hayden.

Kawai, H. (1975). Bosei shakai nihon no eien no shounen tachi [Forever boys in the maternal society of Japan]. Tokyo, Japan: Chuuou Kouron Sha.

Keating, E. (1998). Power sharing. New York: Oxford University Press.

Keating, E. (in perss). The ethnography of communication. In P. Atkinson, A. Coffey, S. Delamont, L. Lofland, & J. Lofland (Eds.), Handbook of Ethnography. London: Sage Publications.

Kendon, A. (1990). Conducting interaction: Patterns of behavior in focused encounters. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kendon, A. (1967). Some functions of gaze-direction in social interactions. Acta Psychologica, 26, 22-63.

Kim, M. (1993). Culture-based interactive constraints in explaining intercultural strategic competence. International and intercultural communication annual, 17. 132-150.

Kim. Y.Y., & Gudykunst W.B. (Eds.) (1987). Cross-cultural adaptation: Current approaches. Newbury Park: Sage Publications.

Kim. Y.Y. (1994). Intercultural personhood: An introduction of Eastern and Western perspectives. In L. A. Samovar & R. E. Porter (Eds.), Intercultural Communication: A reader (pp. 415-424). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishig Company.

Kim, Y. (1988). Theories in intercultural communication. Intranational and intercultural communication annual, 12, 1-21.

Kliefgen, J. A., & Frenz-Belkin, P. (1997). Assembling knowledge. Research on Language and Social Interaction, 30(2), 157-192.

Koester, J., Wiseman, R.L., & J.A. Sanders. (1993). Multiple perspectives of intercultural communication competence. International and intercultural communication annual, 17, 3-15..

Kochman, T. (1981). Black and white style in conflict. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Koester, J., Wiseman, R.L., & Samders, J.A. (1993). Multiple perspectives of intercultural communication competence. In R.L. Wiseman & J. Koester

(Eds.), International and intercultural communication annual, Volume 12: Intercultural communication competence (pp.3-15). Newbury Park: Sage Publication.

Konaka, I. (1990). Redundant, overlapping organization: A Japanese approach to managing the innovation process. California management review reprint series, 32 (3), 27-38.

Kume, T., & Toyama., J. (2001). Ibunka sesshoku chushin no riron [Theories focusing on intercultural contacts]. In S. Ishii, T. Kume., & J. Toyama (Eds.), Ibunka. komyumikeeshon no riron [Theories in intercultural communication], (pp.111-136). Tokyo, Japan: Yuhikaku Books.

Kubota, M. (1994). Komyunikeeshon to shite no aizuchi: Amerikajin to nihonjin ni mirareru hyougen no chigai [Aizuchi as communication: Differences in expressions observed in American and Japanese individuals], Ibunka Kyoiku, 8, 59-77.

Labov, W., & Waletzky, J. (1967). Narrative analysis: Oral versions of personal experience. In J. Helm (Ed.), Essays on the verbal and visual arts (pp. 12-44). Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Labov, W. (1972). Language in the inner city: Studies in the Black English vernacular. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Lebaron, C.D., & Streeck, J. (1997). Built space and the interactional framing of experience during a murder interrogation. Human Studies, 20, 1-25.

Lerner, G.H. (1996). "Semi-permeable" character of grammatical units in conversation. In E. Ochs, E.A. Schegloff, & S.A. Thompson (Eds.), Interaction and Grammar (pp. 238-276). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Levinson, S.C. (1979). Activity types and language. Linguistics, 17, 365-399.

Levinson, S. C. (1992). Activity types and language. In P. Drew & J. Heritage (Eds.), Talk at work: Interactions in institutional settings (pp. 66-100). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Lincoln, J., & Kalleberg, A. (1990). Culture, control, and commitment: A study of work organization and work attitudes in the United States and Japan. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Li, N. (2000). Chuugoku-jin to no koushoujutsu: Naze nihon-jin wa itsumo chuugoku-jin ni koushou de makeruka? [How to negotiate with the Chinese: Why do Japanese people always lose their negotiation with Chinese people?]. Tokyo, Japan: Gakuse-sha.

Liu, K. (1987, November). Denwa de no aizuchi hindo no chuunichi hikaku [The comparison between China and Japan on the frequency of *aizuchi* in telephone conversations]. Gengo, 16(12).

Lustig, M.W., & Koester, J. (1999). Intercultural competence: Interpersonal communication across cultures. New York: Longman.

March, R.M. (1988). The Japanese negotiator: Subtley and strategy beyond western logic. Tokyo: Kodansha International.

Martin, J. N., & Hammer, M. R. (1989). Behavioral categories of intercultural communication competence: Everyday communicators' perceptions. International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 13, 303-332

Martin, J. N. (1993). Intercultural communication competence: Review. In R.L. Martin, J., & Nakayama, T. (1997). Intercultural communication in contexts. Mountain View, CA: Mayfield Publishing Company.

Martin, J., & Nakayama, T. (1999). Thinking dialectically about culture and communication. Communication Theory, 9, 1-25.

Matsuda, Y. (1988, December). Taiwa no kyouiku-gakku—Aizuchi ni kanshite [Education studies on dialogue—on *Aizuchi*]. Nihongo-gaku, 7, 59-66.

Maynard, S. K. (1986). On back-channel behavior in Japanese and English casual conversation. Linguistics, 24, 1079-1108.

Maynard, S.K. (1987, November). Nichibei kaiwa ni okeru aizuchi hyougen [Expressions of aizuchi in Japanese and American English conversations]. Gengo, 16 (12), 88-92

McPhail. M. (1997). (Re)constructing the color line: Complicity and black conservatism. Communication Theory, 7, 162-177.

Metzger, M. (1995). The paradox of neutrality: A comparison of interpreters' goals with the realities of interactive discourse. Unpublished Doctoral dissertation, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.

Metzger, M. (1999). Sign language interpretation: Deconstructing the myth of neutrality. Washington, D.C.: Gallaudet University Press.

Miller, L. (1991). Verbal listening behavior in conversation between Japanese and Americans. In J. Blommaert & J. Verschueren (Eds.), The Pragmatics of Intercultural and International Communication: Selected Papers of the International Pragmatics Conference, Antwerp, August 17-22, 1987 (Volume III), and the Ghent Symposium on Intercultural Communication (pp. 111-130). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Miller, L. (1995). Two aspects of Japanese and American co-worker interaction: Giving instructions and creating rapport. Journal of Applied Behavioral Sciences, 31(2), 141-161.

Mitchell, D.T. (1999). The accent of "loss': Cultural crossings as context in Julia Alvarez's How the Garcia Girls Lost Their Accents. In T. B. Powerl (Ed.), Beyond the binary: Reconstructing cultural identity in a multicultural context (pp. 165-184). New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Mizuno, Y. (1988). Chuuugoku-go no aizuchi [Chinese back-channels]. Nihongo-gaku,7(13), 18-23.

Mizutani, N. (1983). Aizuchi to outou [*Aizuchi* and responses]. Tokyo, Japan: Chikuma Shobou.

Mizutani, N. (1988, December). Aizuchi-ron [Theories of *aizuchi*]. Nihongo-gaku, 7 (12), 4-11.

Moon. D. (2000). Interclass travel, cultural adaptation, and "passing" as a disjunctive inter/cultural practice. In M.J. Collier (Ed.), Constituting cultural difference through discourse (pp. 215-240). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Nagashima, Y. (1998). Daigaku no taiiku-kai ni okeru koshoo [Terms of address in a college sport club]. Nihongo-gaku, 17(8), 45-49.

Philipsen, G (1975). Speaking "like a man" in Teamsterville: Cultural patterns of role enactment in an urban neighborhood. Quarterly Journal of Speech, 61, 13-22.

Phillipsen, G. (1986). Mayor Daley's council speech: A cultural analysis. Quarterly Journal of Speech, 72, 247-260.

Phillipsen, G. (1989). Speech and the communal function in four cultures. In S. Ting-Toomey & F. Korzenny (Eds.), Language, communication and culture: Current directions (pp. 79-92). Newbury Park, CA: Sage

Powell. T. B. (Ed.). (1999). Beyond the binary: Reconstructing cultural identity in a multicultural context. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Powell. T. B. (1999). Introduction: Re-Thinking cultural identity. In T. B. Powerl (Ed.), Beyond the binary: Reconstructing cultural identity in a multicultural context (pp. 1-16). New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Price Herndl, D. (1999). Miscegen(r)ation or Mestiza discourse?: Feminist and racial politics in *Romona and Iola Leroy*. In T. B. Powerl (Ed.), Beyond the binary: Reconstructing cultural identity in a multicultural context (pp. 261-275). New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Redding, S. G., & Pugh, P. (1986). The formal and informal: Japanese and Chinese organization structures. In S. R. Clegg, D. Dunphy, & S.Redding (Eds), The enterprise and management in East Asia (pp.54-65). Hong Kong: Center for Asian Studies.

Riessman, C.K. (1993). Narrative analysis. Newbury Park: Sage Publications.

Ribak. R. (2000). “In the beginning . . . “: Israeli Jews and Arabs construct *Intifadas* and Selves. In M.J. Collier (Ed.), Constituting cultural difference through discourse (pp. 295-318). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Roger, E. (1999). Georg Simmel's concept of the stranger and intercultural communication research. Communication theory, 9, 58-74.

Roy. C.B. (2000). Interpreting as a discourse process. New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ruben, B.D. (1977). Human communication and cross-cultural effectiveness. International and intercultural communication annual, 4, 98-105.

Sacks. H. (1995). Lectures on conversation. Oxford, UK/Cambridge, USA: Blackwell Publishers.

Saito, K. (1993). Akaruchureeshon no shinri [Pshychology of acculturation]. In N. Nakanishi (Ed.), Kokusai kyoiuku ron [Theories on international education], (pp. 236-249). Tokyo, Japan: Soyusha.

Sankei Shinbun Gaishin-bu (Ed.). Chuugoku-jin no koushou-jutsu [Chinese skills of negotiation] Tokyo, Japan: Bungei Shunjuu.

Sarbaugh, L. (1988). A taxonomic approach to intercultural communication. In Y.Y. Kim & W.B. Gudykunst (Eds.) Theories in intercultural communication (pp.22-38). Newbury Park: Sage

Sarros, J. (1992). What leaders say they do: An Australian example. Leadership and Organizational Development Jounal,13, 21-27.

Saville-Troike, M. (1989). The ethnography of communication. Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers.

Schutz, A. (1967). The Phenomenology of the social world. Evaston, IL: NorthwesternUniversity Press.

Schewartzman, H.B. (1993). Ethnography in organizations. Newbury Park: Sage Publications,

Scollon, R., & Scollon, S.B.K. Narrative, literacy and face in interethnic communication.Norwood, N.J.: Ablex.

Scollon, R., & Scollon, S.W. (1995). Intercultural communication: A discourse approach. Oxford, UK: Blackwell.

Schegloff, E.A. (1968). Sequencing in conversational opening. American Anthropologist, 70, 1075-1095.

Schegloff, E.A. (1984). On some gestures' relation to talk. In J. Maxwell & J. Heritage (Eds.), Structures of social action: Studies in conversation analysis, (pp. 266-298). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Shuter, R., & Wiseman, R.L. (1994). Communication in multinational organizations: Conceptual, theoretical, and practical issues. In R.L. Wiseman & R.Shuter (Eds.), International and intercultural communication annual, Volume 13: Communicating in multinational organization (pp. 3-11). Thousand Oaks, Sage publications.

Sikkema, M., & Niyekawa, A. (1987). Design cross-cultural learning. Yarmouth, ME: Intercultural Press, Inc.

Singhal, A., & Nagao, M. (1993). Assertiveness as communication competence: A comparison of the communication styles of American and Japanese students. Asian Journal of Communication, 3(1), 1-18.

Smith, A., & Tayeb, M. (1988). Organizational structures and processes. In M Bond (Ed.), The cross-cultural challenge to social psychology (pp. 116-127). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Spitzberg, B.H. (1987). Issues in the study of communicative competence. In B. Dervin & M.J. Voight (Eds). Progress in Communication sciences (Vol. 8, p. 1-46). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Spitzberg, B., & Brunner, C. (1991). Toward a theoretical integration of context and competence inference research. Western Journal of Speech Communication, 55, 28-46.

Spitzberg, B.H., & Cupach, W.R. (1984) Interpersonal Communication competence. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Spizberg. B.H., & Hecht, M.L. (1984). A component model of relational competence. Human Communication Research, 10, 575-599.

Steward, A.C. (1982). Amerika jin no shikou hou [American way of thinking] (T. Kume, Trans.). Tokyo, Japan: Sogensha.

Stewart, L. (1988). Japanese and American management: Participative decision making. In L.A. Samovar & R.E. Porter (Eds.), Intercultural communication: A reader (5th ed., pp.182-185). Belmont, CA: Washington.

Streeck, J., & Hartge, U. (1992) Previews: Gestures at the transition place. In P. Auer, & A. D. Luzio (Eds.), The contexualization of language (pp. 135-157). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Streeck, J. (1994). Gesture as communication II: The audience as co-author. Research on Language and Social Interaction, 27(3), 239-267.

Streeck, J. (1995). On projection. In E.N. Goody (Ed.), Social intelligence and interaction, (pp.87-110). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sugito, S. (1987). Kotoba no aizuchi to miburi no aizuchi [Verbal back-channels and non-verbal back-channels]. Nihongo Kyoiku, 67, 48-59.

Sunaoshi, Y (1999). Collaboration on reaching understanding: Interactions and negotiations in Japanese manufacturing plants in the US. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, The University of Texas at Austin

Szatrowski, P. (2000, February). Relation between gaze, head nodding and *aizuchi* at a Japanese company meeting. Paper presented at the annual meeting of Berkeley Linguistic Society, Berkley, CA.

Tai, E. (1996). Passing as a native in social interaction: Taiwanese in a changing Japanese society. Research on Language and Social Interaction, 29(2), 97-123.

Tannen, D. (1984). Conversation style: Analyzing talk among friends. Norwood, N.J.: Ablex.

Tannen, D. (1985). Cross-cultural communication. In T. van Dijk (Ed.), Handbook of discourse analysis, 4, 203-215.

Thornton, S. (1990). Leadership traits that work worldwide. Association management, 42, 22-34.

Ting-Toomey, S. (1985). Toward a theory of conflict and culture. In W. Gudykunst, L. Stewart, & S. Ting-Toomey (Eds.), Communication, culture, and organizational processes (pp. 71-86). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Ting-Toomey, S. (1987). Intercultural conflicts: A face-negotiation model. Paper presented at the Temple University Discourse Conference, Philadelphia.

Ting-Toomey, S. (1988). Intercultural conflicts: A face-negotiation theory. In Y. Kim & W. Gudykunst (Eds.), Theories in intercultural communication (pp.213-238). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Ting-Toomey, S. (1993). Communicative resourcefulness: An identity negotiation perspective. International and intercultural communication annual, 17, 72-111.

Ting-Toomey, S. (1994). Managing intercultural conflicts effectively. In L.A. Samore & R.E. Porter (Eds.), Intercultural communication, (pp. 360-372). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Triandis, H.C. (1973). Culture training, cognitive complexity, and interpersonal attitudes. In D. Hoopes (Ed.), Readings in intercultural communication (Vol. 2, pp. 55-67). Pittsburgh: Regional Council for International Education.

Triandis, H.C. (1988). Collectivism vs. individualism: A reconceptualization of a basic concept in cross-cultural phychology. In B. Verma & C. Bagley (Eds.), Cross-cultural studies of personality, attitudes, and cognition (pp. 60-95). London.: Macmillan.

Triandis, H.C. (1990). Cross-cultural studies of individualism and collectivism. In J. Berry, J. Dragums, & M. Cole (Eds.), Cross-cultural perspectives. Lincoln: University of Nebraska.

Triandis, H.C. (1994). Culture and social behavior. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Triandis, H.C. (1995). Individualism and collectivism: New directions in social psychology. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Tsukahara, W., & Ward, N. (1997, September). Rikai o kaisanai kaiwa genshou to shite no aizuchi [*Aizuchi* as a conversational phenomenon without understanding]. Gengo, 90-97.

Tsutusi, K (2000). A new direction of Intercultural Communication Studies. Paper presented at the Annual Convention of the National Communication Association, Seattle, WA.

Vroom, V., & Yetton, P. (1973). Leadership and decision making. Pittsburgh: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Wadensjö, C (1998). Interpreting as interaction. London/New York: Longman.

Watanabe, F. (1995). Ibunka sesshoku no shinrigaku [Psychology of intercultural contacts]. Tokyo, Japan: Kawashima Shoten.

Wei. Z. (2001, June). Why do Chinese discuss and argue more than Japanese?: An analysis from philosophical, cultural, and social perspectives. Paper presented at the annual convention of the Communication Association of Japan, Tokyo, Japan.

White, S. (1989). "Backchannel is across cultures: A study of Americans and Japanese. Language in Society, 18, 59-76.

Wiseman, R. L. & J. Koester (Eds.), International and intercultural communication annual, Volume 12: Intercultural communication competence (pp.16-32). Newbury Park: Sage Publication.

Wiseman, R. L. (1980). Toward a rules perspective of intercultural communication. Communication, 9, 30-38.

Wiseman, R. L., & Abe, H. (1984). Finding and explaining differences: A reply to Gudykunst and Hammer. International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 8, 11-16.

Wiseman, R.L., & Abe, H. (1986). Cognitive complexity and intercultural effectiveness. In M. McLaughlin (Ed.), Communication yearbook 9 (pp.611-624). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Wiseman, R.L., Hammer, M.R., & Nishida, H. (1989). Predictors of intercultural communication competence. International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 13, 349-370.

Wittenberug-Cox, A. (1991). Delivering global leaders: Top multinationals are putting high fliers through an exclusive management course. International management, 46 (1), 52-53

Wong. J., & Olsher. D. (2000). Reflections on conversation analysis and nonnativespeaker talk: An interview with Emanuel A. Schegloff. Issues in applied linguistics, 11(1), 111-128.

Yngve, V.H. (1970). On getting a word in edgewise. Chicago Linguistic Society, 6, 567-578.

Yong, K. G. (1987). Taleworlds and storyrealism: The phenomenology of narrative. Boston: Martinus Nijhoff.

Yoshikawa, M. (1978). Some Japanese and American cultural characteristics. In M. Prosser (Ed.), The cultural dialogue: An introduction to intercultural communication (pp. 220-251). Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Vita

Izumi Funayama was born in Tomokomai, Hokkaido, Japan, on January 22, 1967, to Tomikazu and Chizuko Funayama. In March, 1985, she graduated from Mito Daiichi High School, Mito, Ibaraki, Japan. In March, 1990, she received her Bachelor of Arts degree from Waseda University, Tokyo, Japan. From April 1990 to March 1993, she worked as a junior marketer at Asatsu, Inc., Tokyo, Japan. In August, 1995, She received her Master of Arts degree in Communication from Ohio University. In August, 1996, she entered the Ph.D. program in the Department of Speech Communication (the Department of Communication Studies at the present time) at the University of Texas at Austin. From June to August, 1999, she worked as a translator at Shanghai Asatsu, Shanghai, Ltd., Shanghai, China. In 1997, 1998, and 1999, she taught Japanese language in the Department of Asian Studies at the University of Texas at Austin. In 1999 and 2000, she worked as a teaching assistant of the class of Intercultural Communication in the Department of Communication Studies at the University of Texas at Austin.

Permanent address: 3-29-2-201 Chuo, Ushiku, Ibaraki, 300-1234 Japan

This dissertation was typed by the author.