

TURN ALLOCATION IN JAPANESE BUSINESS MEETINGS:
EMERGENCE OF INSTITUTIONALITY

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To my parents

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation uses conversation analysis as a theoretical and methodological framework to examine the organization of in-house business meetings that are conducted in Japanese. In particular, this study focuses on how institutionality becomes apparent within the participants' interactions. The data consists of six videotaped in-house meetings: three departmental staff meetings (*bukai*) and three interdepartmental meetings (*kaigi*.) The members' distinction between the two types of meeting is found to be crucial in this study. Using video-recordings of the business meetings, this study provides a detailed description of the participants' moment-to-moment interactional practices, even when no verbal interaction is involved.

The first objective of this study is twofold: (a) to investigate how participants orient to the boundaries that mark the beginnings and endings of meetings, and (b) to identify what members do (or do not do) during the pre-meeting period. It is common among the meetings in the data for the chairpersons to mark explicitly both a meeting's opening and closing. However, the patterns of premeeting organization differ between the two types of meetings.

Meetings in institutional settings tend to have a pre-established turn allocation system. The second objective of the present study is to investigate how precisely a turn-allocation system is operated in Japanese business meetings, and where the institutionality of the interaction emerges in that process. Identifying how reporters acquire their report turns, this study examines turn-allocation patterns specific to the reporting activities at meetings. It is also shown that the patterns of turn-allocation differ

between the two types of meetings and that they depend upon the way in which a topic is provided.

Through close observation of the participants' interactional practices, including their gaze and bodily movements, this study highlights the interactional patterns that are either common to all the in-house business meetings or particular to a type of meeting in the data. It is hoped that this study will not only yield insights into how meetings are organized in a Japanese business context, but will also promote a multimodal approach (as typified by the use of video-recorded data) to research on business interaction in Japanese.

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LIST OF TRANSCRIPTION SYMBOLS

Adopted from system developed by Gail Jefferson (see J. M. Atkinson & Heritage, 1984).

[]	overlapping utterances
[the point where overlapping talk begins
]	the point where overlapping talk ends
=	contiguous utterances, or continuation of the same utterance to the next line
(.)	micro pause
(0.0)	length of silence in tenths of second
<u>word</u>	some form of stress, signaled by pitch and/or amplitude
::	prolongation of the immediately prior sound
-	cut-off of the preceding sound
?	rising intonation
.	stopping fall in tone
,	continuing intonation
;	stronger rise than continuing intonation, but weaker than rising intonation
↑	Marked shifts into higher pitch in the sound immediately following the arrow
↓	Marked shifts into lower pitch in the sound immediately following the arrow
hhh	audible aspiration, possibly laughter
.hhh	in-breath audible aspiration, possibly laughter
w(h)od	within-speech aspiration, possibly laughter
WORD	loud sounds relative to the surrounding talk
°word°	relatively quieter than the surrounding talk
£word£	“smile voice” delivery
(word)	transcriber doubt
()	unintelligible part of utterances or utterance-part
((cough))	transcriber’s descriptions – including bodily movements

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE INTERLINEAR GLOSS

ACC	accusative	NEG	negative
ASP	aspect	NML	nominalizer
CAU	causative	NOM	nominative
CND	conditional	PST	past tense
CNJ	conjunctive	PFX	prefix
COP	copula	POL	polite suffix
DAT	dative	POT	potential
DES	desiderative form	PP	pragmatic particle
EMD	extra modest form	PSS	passive suffix
FL	speech filler	QT	quotative
HON	respect honorific	Q	question particle
HUM	humble honorific	REP	representative
INF	infinitive form	SE	sentence extender
INJ	interjection	SOF	softener
INS	instrumental	TAG	tag-like expression
LK	linking particle	TE	<i>te</i> -form
LOC	locative	VOL	volitional suffix
MOD	modal expression		

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Objectives

Meetings are ubiquitous activities. Even in the present where so much of our communication is done online, we still rely on the face-to-face interaction of meetings as a fundamental process of communication among members of many, if not all, institutions. Nobody would deny that members of institutions like schools, local governments, and businesses, spend a great deal of time participating in a variety of meetings. It is in these situations that we exchange information and ideas, discuss, argue and make decisions. Meetings provide an arena of essential communication within institutions. They are pervasive in, and central to, the life of institutions. Schwartzman (1989) recommends that we should view the meeting itself as a topic for study. Schwartzman says, “Instead of continuing to view meetings through a cultural lens that focuses on their content or ‘task,’ I suggest that researchers begin to examine their form and its various functions within cultural systems” (Schwartzman, 1989, p. 4). That is, we should carefully observe what is happening at meetings without being biased by our assumptions about cultural norms. Boden (1994) continues Schwartzman’s policy, and emphasizes the codeterminative relation between meetings (action) and organizations (structure). Boden (1994) comments, “The tiniest local moment of human intercourse contains *within* and *through* it the essence of society, and vice versa” (p. 5, emphasis in original), and she repeatedly suggests that there is no micro-macro distinction in the study of an organization. In an organization, people do their business through talk. Talk is thus “the lifeblood of all

organizations and, as such, it both shapes and is shaped by the structure of the organization itself” (Boden, 1994, p. 8). Boden further stresses the importance of studying organizations through talk—as they happen—because the dynamic structure of talk is “central to what organizations *are*, how they *work*, and even why they don’t” (Boden, 1994, p. 10, emphasis in original).

Although I agree with Boden’s claim, it is not my intention to discuss organizations per se based on the limited data. Instead, this study intends to describe the reflexive relationship between talk and institutions by examining ubiquitous in-house business meetings. Cuff and Sharrock (1985) express their objectives for studying meetings as follows:

Instead of treating the organization of meetings as a product of organizational parameters, however, we prefer to see how meetings constitute themselves, that is, how the activities making up a meeting contribute to its occurrence as a witnessable, recognizable, and orderly occasion. (p. 151)

Like Cuff and Sharrock (1985), my objective is to see how *institutionality* emerges during meetings. I will investigate how Japanese business institutions are “talked into being” (Heritage, 1984b, p. 290) through the participants’ actions on these occasions. In particular, I will examine how sequentially organized actions reflexively constitute institutional identities in the dynamic structure of meetings. In so doing, I will reveal what kinds of methods the participants employ in order to achieve a meeting.

1.2 Defining Meeting

Before reviewing some of the literature related to this study, I will first look at the possible definitions of meeting. Goffman (1961) uses the term *focused interaction* to refer to an interaction that “occurs when people effectively agree to sustain for a time a

single focus of cognitive and visual attention, as in a conversation, a board game, or a joint task sustained by a close face-to-face circle of contributors” (p. 7). Schwartzman (1989) points out that a meeting is a kind of what Goffman (1961) calls focused interaction, and specifically defines it as follows:

[A meeting is] a communicative event involving three or more people who agree to assemble for a purpose ostensibly related to the functioning of an organization or group, for example, to exchange ideas or opinions, to solve a problem, to make a decision or negotiate an agreement, to develop policy and procedures, to formulate recommendations, and so forth. (p. 7)

From Schwartzman’s point of view, a dyadic interaction does not constitute a “meeting” even if the two conversationalists meet each other in order to discuss something related to the business of their organization. M. A. Atkinson, Cuff and Lee (1978, p. 149) suggest that participants may orient to the following aspects of meetings:

1. Those present orient to meetings and to the course of events and activities in meetings as episodic.
2. Those present orient to the scheduling and controlling of these episodes and the talk within them.
3. Those present orient to meetings as having purposes which can be used to frame the business, and the episodic organization of the business.

By reference to the above suggestion by M. A. Atkinson, Cuff and Lee (1978), Schwartzman explains that a meeting characteristically consists of “multiparty talk that is episodic in nature, [where] participants either develop or use specific conventions (e.g., *Robert’s Rules of Order*) for regulating this talk” (1989, p. 7; see also p. 61).

Schwartzman distinguishes *unscheduled* meetings from *scheduled* meetings. The former occur within small groups out of an immediate or spontaneous necessity without prior planning whereas the latter have times, locations, participants and goals that are planned in advance. Schwartzman also notes that unscheduled meetings rarely have titles. While Schwartzman (1989, p. 62) explains that talk at unscheduled meetings is

“generally loosely regulated,” Boden (1994) chooses to emphasize the fact that unscheduled meetings display formality by having certain participants who open, close and facilitate them. However, unscheduled meetings are different from unplanned gatherings. This is made clear in Boden’s (1994) working definition of a meeting:

I define a “meeting” as a planned gathering whether internal or external to an organization, in which the participants have some perceived (if not guaranteed) role, have some forewarning (either longstanding or quite improvisatorial) of the event, which has itself some purpose or “reason,” a time, place, and, in some general sense, an organizational function. (p. 84)

Boden therefore excludes from “meetings” unplanned gatherings such as “the casual encounters in a colleague’s doorway, the shared cups of coffee or passing exchange at the water fountain or the insights of the executive washroom” (p. 84). After taking into consideration both Schwartzman’s and Boden’s definitions, I define a meeting as a gathering where three or more members (either internal or external to an organization) meet at a planned time and place, with a predetermined roster of participants, and a possible agenda, to discuss issues related to the operation of an organization. It may or may not be scheduled regularly, or well in advance.¹

In order to investigate how institutionality emerges within a meeting, I will employ conversation analysis (henceforth CA), in particular what is known as institutional CA, as the framework for this study. It is to a discussion of this framework that I now turn.

¹It should be noted that the participants in the present study use the Japanese word *kaigi* (equivalent to the English “meeting”) to refer to meetings in general (as described in my definition) as well as to a specific subcategory of meetings. I will discuss the emic categorization of meetings in the next chapter.

1.3 Business Meetings as Institutional Interaction

Although I have already started this chapter with the understanding that a business meeting is a kind of *institutional talk*, as opposed to ordinary conversation, it is not easy to draw a clear boundary between these two forms of discourse (Heritage, 1984b; Heritage, 2005; Heritage and Clayman, 2010; Schegloff 1999). It is often easier to say what does not belong to ordinary conversation than to define what it is (Heritage, 1984b; Heritage & Clayman, 2010). We intuitively distinguish *formal* talk (e.g., that which occurs during a wedding or in a courtroom) from ordinary conversation, even though participants of formal talk actually deploy interactional practices that are also common in ordinary conversation (Heritage, 2005; Heritage & Clayman, 2010). Most of the early work in conversation analysis focused on ordinary conversation (Heritage, 1984b; Heritage & Clayman, 2010). This line of work, often referred to as basic CA (or ‘pure’ CA in ten Have, 2001, 2007), examines the “institutional order of interaction” (Heritage, 1997, emphasis in original) and identifies interactional practices such as turn taking, sequence organization, the organization of repair, topical organization, and so on. As Schegloff (1996a, p. 4) puts it, “ordinary conversation is very likely the basic form of organization for talk-in-interaction.” It is also “the medium through which children first experience the world and people conduct a wealth of activities in their daily lives, regardless of differences in the wider social and cultural settings” (Kasper, 2009, pp. 13-14). Ordinary conversation provides us with “a kind of benchmark” (Drew & Heritage, 1992, p. 19) for other institutional forms of talk. Institutional talk must, in this sense, have its foundations in ordinary conversation (Drew, 2005).

CA is “a method of analysis, one that is not restricted in its application to ordinary conversation: instead it can be applied to all forms of talk-in-interaction” (Drew, 2005, p. 73). Therefore, it stands to reason that another line of CA, namely institutional CA (also known as applied CA) emerged in the late 1970s and has been drawing attention from researchers in a variety of fields. Whereas basic CA focuses on the institutional order of interaction, institutional CA examines “institutional order *in* interaction” (Heritage, 1997, emphasis in original). That is, like basic CA, institutional CA focuses on interaction, but in addition, it casts a spotlight on the ways “specific practices of talk embody or connect with specific identities and institutional tasks” (Heritage & Clayman, 2010, pp. 16-17). In terms of methodology, institutional CA is not fundamentally different from basic CA. The difference between these two lines of work is not, in fact, a methodological one. It is rather a difference in focus and application. Institutional CA differs from basic CA in “the phenomena to which attention is directed and the relevance of the research to training or professional development” (Richards, 2005, p. 3).

What makes talk institutional is the fact that the participants orient to an institution-specific element of the situation. Drew and Heritage (1992) propose three requirements for labeling talk institutional: (a) goal orientation tied to institution-specific identities, (b) special constraints on the participants’ legitimate contributions, and (c) inferential frameworks that are particular to institutional contexts (see also Heritage, 2005). The difficulty in specifying the distinction between ordinary conversation and institutional talk seems to imply that this division is somewhat arbitrary (Heritage, 2005). In the end, institutional talk is not defined by its “physical or symbolic settings” (Heritage 2005, p. 107) such as medical offices, business offices, or classrooms (Drew & Heritage,

1992). Institutional talk can occur in any setting, and likewise, “ordinary conversation can emerge in almost any institutional context” (Heritage, 2005, p. 107). Thus the shift between ordinary conversation and institutional talk may occur within a single encounter, as shown in this much-quoted excerpt from Drew and Sorjonen (1997):

(1.1) [J1More: 12:4] (from Drew & Sorjonen, 1997, p. 93)

- 1 Kate: Hey Jim?
 2 Jim: How are you Kate Fisher
 3 Kate: How are you doin’
 4 Jim: Well I’m doin’ all right [thank you very [much
 5 Kate: [We- [Well goo:d
 6 Jim: And lo:vely day it is.
 7 Kate: Oh:, isn’t it gor[geous=
 8 Jim: [Yes
 9 Kate: =I snuck out a lunch
 10 it’s [really [difficult to come [back
 11 Jim: [.hhh [You(h)oo [.hhh that was not-
 12 good
 13 Kate: See it (was [ese-)
 14 Jim: [You’re s’pose to stay in your office
 15 and work work work [h e h ha:h
 16 Kate: [Well-
 17 Kate: Jean and I went- she- she works in our office too
 18 we went together too: uh- .hhhh u:h do some
 19 shopping
 20 Jim: [Um hum
 21 Kate: [A:nd we each made each other come ba:ck,
 22 Jim: Atta girl, ye:s I know what you mean
 23 Kate: So maybe that’s the ke(h)y of going [like that
 24 Jim: [Huh huh huh
 25 Jim: That’s it
 26 Jim: ph .hhhhh [What’s up
 27 Kate: [Well-
 28 Kate: Well, I’ve had a call from Paul toda:y and after
 29 he called, I checked with your- terminal over
 30 there and they said our order’s not awarded . . .

It is evident from lines 28-30 that Kate has made this internal call to Jim for the purpose of discussing a work-related matter. However, before Kate begins this official business, she and Jim talk “in a way that might be considered ‘merely being sociable’” (Drew & Sorjonen, p. 93). In lines 1-25, both participants orient to their institutional identities (i.e., colleagues) in the way they talk about the topics of weather and shopping while evoking their obligation to work inside the office. Yet, it is only in line 26 where Jim marks the

shift in orientation to business by asking, “What’s up.” At the same time, Kate is also about to explain the official purpose of this call (line 27). In this way the participants distinguish between “sociable talk” (Drew & Sorjonen, 1997) and institutional talk within their interaction.

Although the boundaries between ordinary conversation and institutional talk may not always be as easy to determine as in the case illustrated above (cf. Schegloff, 1999), the fundamental principles and analytical procedures of CA remain the same when approaching data consisting of institutional talk. Yet it is critical for analysts of institutional talk to indicate that the participants orient to the particularly institutional characteristics of their interaction (Drew & Heritage, 1992). In order to determine if the particular data of our interest consists of institutional talk or not, Heritage (1997, 2005) recommends six areas to consider when looking for institutionality in an interaction:

1. Turn-taking organization
2. Overall structural organization of the interaction
3. Sequence organization
4. Turn design
5. Lexical choice
6. Epistemological and other forms of asymmetry
(Heritage, 1997, p. 164)

Institutional talk often involves “special turn-taking procedures” (Heritage, 2005). For example, “turn-type preallocation” is characteristic of interactions in court or news interviews, whereas “mediated turn allocation procedures” are commonly seen in chaired meetings (Heritage, 2005, p. 116). Other settings such as counseling and mediation also have special turn-taking systems that depart from the basic turn-taking organization proposed by Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson (1974).

The next step in understanding the institutionality of interaction is “to build an overall ‘map’ of the interaction in terms of its typical ‘phases’ or ‘sections’” (Heritage, 1997, p. 166). By identifying topic- or goal-bound sections within the interaction, we can also recognize “task-orientations which the participants routinely co-construct in routine ways” (Heritage, 1997, p. 168). Heritage (1997) stresses, “Overall structural organization, in short, is not a framework . . . Rather it is something that we’re looking for and looking at only to the extent that the parties orient to it in organizing their talk” (p. 168).

The third step, looking for the “sequence organization,” is the essence of the CA approach. In this step, we evaluate whether any particular actions, such as questions or answers, are initiated and advanced within a sequence. Then, in the fourth step, we can probe the institutionality of the interaction by looking at how each turn is designed. Heritage (1997, p. 170) notes that there are two aspects to consider when examining how a turn is designed: (a) “the action that the talk is designed to perform,” and (b) “the means that are selected to perform the action.” In other words, we should recognize not only what the participants accomplish through a particular turn, but also how they perform it.

Particular lexical choices also mark an interaction’s institutionality. For example, the participants’ choice of “descriptive terms” (e.g., *police officer*) over the more common, everyday terms (e.g., *cop*) is often characteristic of an institutional setting such as court (Heritage, 1997). Heritage introduces other kinds of institutionally specific lexical choices, such as “institutional euphemism” (e.g., *industry leadership* instead of *industry dominance*) and the use of *we* instead of *I* as the term of self-reference.

Finally, Drew and Heritage (1992) recommend that we look for asymmetries in members’: (a) participation in interaction, (b) previous knowledge of routine institutional

“knowhow,” (c) epistemological position on a particular issue, and (d) rights to access to knowledge (see also Heritage, 1997).

Heritage (1997, p. 197) says that four of the six characteristics (lexical choice, turn design, sequential organization, and overall structural organization) of institutional talk are organized in the same manner as Russian *matryoshka* dolls (where each doll sits inside the doll immediately larger than itself). Lexical choice is part of turn design; turn design is part of sequential organization; sequential organization is part of the overall structural organization (see also Heritage & Clayman, 2010, pp. 36-37). However, “turn-taking” and “asymmetry” are wild cards whose impact can work on all levels of interaction. In this study, a special turn-taking system, mostly controlled by chairpersons, is a common feature of all meeting in the data. Chairpersons employ two different styles of turn management depending on the type of meeting. This difference in styles has an impact on the four levels of interaction: the overall structural organization, the sequential organization, the turn design, and the lexical choice. I will discuss two distinctive turn-allocation patterns in both Chapter 4 and Chapter 5. In contrast, all the meetings in the data are alike in that they exhibit clear openings and closings. I will discuss this topic in Chapter 3.

One might easily imagine that “asymmetry” is to be found in power relationships among members in business settings. However, it is a founding principle of CA that researchers should not take a pre-existing institutional context for granted nor assume its determinative role in advance (Heritage, 1997, 2005). Instead, CA assumes that “it is fundamentally through interaction that context is built, invoked and managed, and that it is through interaction that institutional imperatives originating from outside the

interaction are evidenced and made real and enforceable for the participants” (Heritage, 1997, p. 163). CA does not allow us to infer a relative power of a participant from knowledge of his or her identity or even the context itself. But instead, CA considers context and identity as “both a project and a product of the participants’ actions” (Heritage, 1997, p. 163).

Although Drew and Heritage’s (1992) six characteristics of institutional talk are useful in identifying the institutionality of interaction, Schegloff (1991, 1992a, 1992b, 1992c), urges CA researchers who are studying institutional talk to carefully observe two issues. One is the problem of determining the relevance of contextual information to the analysis itself. For example, how relevant are the participants’ identities to the interaction? A person can be categorized in many ways, such as by gender, occupation, race and so on. If two people are talking at a hospital, how do we know, and how can we show, that the particular identities of the participants matter in their interaction? Even if one of them is a doctor and the interaction takes place at a hospital, it does not guarantee that the person orients to his or her identity as a doctor within a particular interaction. Schegloff explains that in order to make a connection between the category (i.e., identity of the participant, in this case) and what is going on in the interaction, a category has to be “demonstrably relevant *to* the participants, and at that moment—at the moment that whatever we are trying to provide an account of occurs” (1992c, p. 109, emphasis in original). Categories such as *doctor* and *patient* are relevant for the participants, and not only for the researchers, “for producing and interpreting conduct in the interaction” (Schegloff, 1992c, p. 109).

The second of Schegloff's issues is related to the first. Taking the case of an interaction at a hospital again, the characterization of the context as "in the hospital" conjures "particular aspects of the setting and not others" (Schegloff, 1992, p. 111).

Schegloff notes:

Even if we can show by analysis of the details of the interaction that some characterization of the context or the setting in which the talk is going on (such as "in the hospital") is relevant for the participants, and that they are oriented to the setting so characterized, there remains another problem, and that is to show how the context or the setting (the local social structure), *in that aspect*, is procedurally consequential to the talk. How does the fact that the talk is being conducted in some setting . . . issue in any consequence for the shape, form, trajectory, content, or character of the interaction that the parties conduct? And *what is the mechanism by which the context-so-understood has determinate consequences for the talk?* (1992, p. 111, emphasis in original)

These two issues are certainly important when analyzing institutional talk since it is easy for researchers to be tempted to seek an explanation for their belief about the strong connection between a particular context and a particular action. As I will review in the next section, certain sociolinguistic studies have found a correlation between participants' identities (such as hierarchical status and gender) and their linguistic practices in the workplace, while other scholars debunk what they see as the folk notion that posits such a connection. My position as a CA researcher is as follows: Pre-existing contexts should not determine the course of the analysis unless they are both (a) demonstratively relevant to the participants in their interactions, and (b) they are procedurally consequential to their talk.

I have illustrated the basic principles and procedures of CA (particularly institutional CA), and the issues related to the treatment of context in this approach. As the field of institutional CA has grown, an increasing number of CA scholars have

studied business meetings. In the next section, I will look at previous studies that have been concerned with meetings, in both the CA and non-CA traditions.

1.4 Previous Studies on Meetings

To the best of my knowledge, the earliest micro-analysis research on a business meeting in situ is the study by M. A. Atkinson et al. (1978), in which the authors analyze the episodic order of the recommencement of a meeting. They investigate: (a) how the participants recognize one individual's utterance "Right-e:r-" as a "summons-to-a-meeting," (b) how subsequent action confirms such recognition, and (c) how the methods and machinery used in this sequence serve to sustain and achieve the meeting (M. A. Atkinson et al., 1978). Using the approach pioneered by Garfinkel, Cuff, and Sharrock (1985) also demonstrate how participants' activities collaboratively contribute to organize a meeting. In that study, Cuff and Sharrock intentionally avoid defining a meeting since their approach insists on the members' perspective rather than on the researchers' concerns. Cuff and Sharrock (1985) note:

Researchers, like any other members of society, can commonsensically recognize a meeting when they see it. From this basis, then, we go on to describe the ways in which the parties to such meetings . . . can be seen to engage in the in situ production of the local visibility of recognizably everyday activities and settings. (p. 158)

Cuff and Sharrock consider a meeting to be a culturally shared, and thus recognizable, event, which does not need to be defined in the researchers' own words. Cuff and Sharrock's practice of giving priority to categories has inspired me to take a serious look at the ways participants categorize meetings in this study.

Another early study of meetings is Schwartzman's (1989) book-length study. As described above, Schwartzman proposes to de-familiarize researchers with the mundane activities of meetings in order for "anthropology to function as a form of cultural criticism" (1989, p. 11). Schwartzman (1989) says:

By approaching a social system 'backwards,' it is possible to question taken-for-granted assumptions and activities and throw them into relief for description and interpretation. When placed in the foreground, . . . it is possible to see how meetings can both generate and maintain organization by providing individuals with activity and with a way to make sense of this activity and their relationships to each other. It is also possible to see how the process that a meeting puts into place may produce results that are unanticipated by, and even nonsensical to, participants. (pp. 11-12)

Schwartzman thus argues not only that organization is enacted in a meeting, but that a meeting's outcomes are dynamically produced in the process. Both of these ideas are also evident in Boden's (1994) comprehensive research on a variety of American meetings in both business- and non-business settings.² Boden integrates principals of ethnomethodology while adopting a CA approach in locating, for example, decision-making (rather than decisions per se) within the flux of talk at a meeting. Elsewhere, Boden (1995) focuses on the ways negotiation surfaces and submerges in the fluid process of talk at meetings, and argues that negotiation is "not *external* to local environments of action," but "is conjured, moment to moment" (p. 99, emphasis in original). As Taylor and Van Every (2000) put it, "Boden has, with great skill and a truly remarkable facility of language, drawn a communicational portrait to an intersubjective universe, always locally grounded, yet nevertheless globalizing" (p. 15).

²Boden (1994) collected the data for her study over four years. The data collection sites include: a university administrative department, a travel agency, a banking and brokerage institution, a local TV station, two hospitals and two research offices. She also used meetings recorded in the Oval Office of the White House during the Kennedy administration, which were available through the archives of the Kennedy Presidential Library in Boston.

After Boden's pioneering work (1994), there have been a growing number of ethnomethodology/conversation analysis (henceforth EM/CA) studies on business meetings. In a special issue of *Culture and Organization*, a collection of contributions to the conference "Ethnomethodology: A Critical Celebration" (which took place at the University of Essex in 2002), Richards (2004) says, "Boden's work has done much to encourage conversation analysts and ethnomethodologists to broaden their horizons, particularly into the worlds of management and organizations" (p. 103). This special issue includes Hugill's (2004) study concerning both categories and sequences in project meetings between builders and their clients. The same issue also presents a study by Samra-Fredericks (2004), who adopts the hybrid approach of EM/CA and ethnography to examine a micro segment from a meeting among elite managers. Ethnography enables Samra-Fredericks to gain insight into the participants' strategy initiative, while EM/CA reveals how organization surfaces in the unfolding of activities within talk.

Beach's (1990) single episode analysis is another early CA study of a meeting. Beach examines a focus group meeting, and demonstrates how the "facilitator" uses *okay* as a pre-closing device before shifting to the next topic. Barns (2007) finds that the chair's pre-closing formulation supplies a smooth transition to the next topic after receiving a non-response. In other words, non-response elicits a consequence. Bilmes (1995) also uses CA to examine a negotiation sequence that occurred at a meeting in a division of the Federal Trade Commission. In his analysis, Bilmes refers to his concept of *response priority* (see also Bilmes 1993), and explains how the negotiation comes to an end when one party fails to provide a first priority response.

In analyzing another sequence from the Federal Trade Commission meeting, Bilmes (2009) proposes a taxonomic solution for understanding the members' discussion. Bilmes considers sequential analysis to be the primary concern of CA, and integrates it with membership categorization analysis (henceforth MCA) as well as ethnosemantics within his analytical framework, identifying meaning as being given structure by the participants through their talk. The hybrid of sequential analysis and MCA also constitutes the framework of Housley's (2003) study of interaction in a multidisciplinary team. Housley examined meetings of a multidisciplinary social work team assembled in order to aid a community affected by serious flooding. Based on an analysis of audio-recorded meetings among team members (who came from a variety of professional and non-professional backgrounds), Housley shows that the meeting participants not only accomplish and recognize their roles through their interactions within their meeting talk, but also use such roles as a resource for further work. Housley says, "Role is not imposed from above, but is an emergent property of team members work within meetings," and he reinforces the idea that role is a "locally ordered and interactionally achieved device" (Housley, 2003, p. 82).

Videotaped data has become common in recent CA research into business meetings. As a result, these analyses are based on empirical evidence collected not only from the participants' verbal utterances but also from their embodied actions including eye gaze, head movement and facial expressions. Mirivel and Tracy's (2005) CA study suggests that there are four different types of premeeting talk: small talk, work talk, meeting preparatory talk, and shop talk. In the videotaped data, Mirivel and Tracy find that the participants are accustomed to bringing their own water bottles. The researchers

argue that such behavior, in addition to explicit comments regarding high-calorie foods, function as a local enactment of a collective health consciousness, which coincides with the participants' common institutional identity. Based on the analysis of ten videotaped meetings that involve female workers, Ford (2008) rejects a priori assumptions of gender differences in terms of participation patterns. Whereas both Mirivel and Tracy (2005) and Ford (2008) look at meetings in the United States, Barske (2006, 2009) uses data collected at business meetings in Germany. In particular, Barske (2009) finds that meeting facilitators use the freestanding *ok* as a tool to achieve the institutional task of "doing-being-facilitator" in various ways. While these studies investigate mono lingual meetings, Mondada (2004) examines a corpus of videotaped video conferences of French and German-speaking surgeons who participate from different locations in Europe. Although the conferences set English as their *lingua franca*, the participants make no pretence of limiting their conversation to a single language. Rather than being based upon their linguistic competence, the participants' use of French, German, or English depends on an ad-hoc choice of methods to achieve co-participation and co-membership on a moment-to-moment basis (Mondada, 2004).

In addition to Mondada (2004), there are a growing number of CA studies concerning business meetings conducted in European settings. For example, Clifton (2009) examines a management team meeting at a language school in France. Clifton's single-case analysis, which is informed by both CA and MCA, reveals that although announcing a decision is a category-bound activity unique to the chairperson, other participants can also "influence" the decision-making process by gaining the alignment of the decision announcer. Clifton's moment-to-moment analysis of the in-situ production

of the decision-making sequence shows that “influence” is not possessed by a particular participant, but is instead socially situated. In the same special issue of *Journal of Business Communication*³ that contains Clifton’s (2009) study, Nielsen (2009) presents her analysis of interactions between managers and employees at meetings in multiple Danish firms. Nielsen finds that managers often initiate the repair of employees’ turns in which they express their experiences and observations in their own words by reinterpreting them from the organization’s point of view. In so doing, managers establish organizational culture and thus socialize their subordinates during the flux of meeting talk (Nielsen, 2009).

Although heavily outnumbered by those in European contexts, there are also a few CA studies of meetings in Asian languages. For example, Wei, Hua and Yue (2001) use CA to examine negotiation talk among Mandarin-speaking Chinese business people. They find that, in order to achieve harmony at an interpersonal level, Chinese business people in particular strive to ensure conversational coherence. In Japanese, Saft (2000, 2001, 2007a, 2009) uses a CA framework to examine faculty meetings at a Japanese university. I will review Saft’s studies in detail in the next section.

Besides the CA studies of meetings I have described above, many sociolinguistic studies focusing on meetings in English (e.g., Holmes, 2000; Holmes, Stubbe, & Vine, 1999, Tracy & Naughton, 2000) provide insight into what members do to achieve a meeting. For example, based on their investigation of interactions among government workers in New Zealand, Holmes et al. (1999) find that superiors at work use certain speech acts and linguistic forms to “do power” at meetings. In addition, Holmes (2000) as

³In this special issue of *Journal of Business Communication*, Asmuß and Svennevig (2009) provide a comprehensive overview of workplace studies that focus on interaction at meetings.

well as Tracy and Naughton (2000) focus on participants' use of "small talk" before or within a meeting. Holmes (2000) finds that workers at government offices in New Zealand use small talk not only as a tool to manage good relationships in the workplace but also as a tool to display power. Institutional characteristics may also play a role in members' interactions. For example, Tracy and Naughton (2000) examine team meetings among the staff of a hospice, and conclude that the use of positive comments on a third party is a way for the members to display their identity as professionals who respect the philosophy of the hospice.

Among linguists of the intercultural communication field (e.g., Bargiela-Chiappini & Nickerson, 2002; Harris & Bargiela-Chiappini, 2003), there has been a movement to study business settings as sites of language context, with some scholars focusing in particular on business meetings. For example, Poncini (2002) examines an Italian company's distributor meetings, in which distributors coming from different countries communicate primarily in English. Poncini (2002) points out that the differences in stance that the participants display in their language use reflects and construes both their roles at the meeting as well as the business relationship they have outside the meeting. Bilbow (1995, 2002) compares the use of speech acts, such as *directives* (1995) and *commissives* (2002), of Cantonese-speaking Chinese workers and English-speaking Westerners when they communicate in English. Bilbow's (1995) study finds that both Chinese and Western participants tend to make their requests for cooperation indirectly regardless of the urgency and content of these requests. Interestingly, however, only a few Chinese participants made requests during the recorded meetings. Bilbow (2002) also finds no significant difference in terms of the

frequency of the production of commissives between Chinese and Western participants. However, Bilbow notices that Western participants spontaneously initiate a commissive act in the form of an offer whereas Chinese participants only utter a commissive act as a response to one (Bilbow, 2002).

From the time meetings gained researchers' attention as sites for interactional discourse studies, there has been growing interest in the function of laughter during meeting talk. Kangasharju and Nikko (2009) point out that laughter serves to create a collegial atmosphere and to ease the process of shifting from the premeeting talk to the meeting proper. Joint laughter also helps to end topics as well as to reduce the tension caused by problematic subjects (Kangasharju & Nikko, 2009). Laughter can serve to accomplish *remedial work* (see Goffman, 1971) when a face-threatening act is committed (Kangasharju & Nikko, 2009). Vöge (2010) examined weekly meetings within the Human Resources department of a company in Germany, and focused on occasions where the participants used laughter in complaint sequences. Vöge finds that complaining members use laughter to mediate the impact of their complaints, according to the relative status of the complaine. Similarly, Markaki, Merlino, Mondada, and Oloff (2010) investigate occurrences of laughter at a multinational meeting, focusing in particular on an incident where the pronunciation of a last name turns into a laughing matter that is the result of an ethnic joke. Markaki et al. find that participants from different cultural backgrounds use laughter as an occasion to become closer and thus achieve affiliative work. The study also finds that laughter works to disaffiliate the "laughed at" subgroups in this business context (Markaki et al., 2010). Based on the framework of interactional sociolinguistics, Rogerson-Revell (2007) looks at how humor is used in intercultural

business meetings. The study finds that the combination of using humor and a shift between formality and informality is a “double-edged sword”: it may promote collaboration and inclusion among some participants while the collusion and exclusion of others (Rogerson-Revell, 2007).

As I have illustrated above, business and non-business meetings have been widely accepted as sites for sociological and sociolinguistic investigation. The majority of these studies examine meetings conducted in English, including cases where English serves as a lingua franca in multicultural contexts. Although the studies that focus on meetings in Japanese are still limited in number, we can gain insight into meeting talk in Japanese by reviewing the literature that exists. I will review this literature in the next section.

1.5 Research on Japanese Business Discourse and Meetings

Various authors have written ethnographic research on the Japanese workplace intended for a Western audience (e.g., Alston & Takei, 2005; Kondo, 1990; Ogasawara, 1998; Raz, 2002; Yoshimura & Anderson, 1997). Although these ethnographic studies are compiled from information documenting the researchers’ careful observations and numerous interviews with members of the work community, their approach does not involve the examination of recorded interactions among workers in the workplace. Examination do exist, however, of the communication between Japanese and English speakers at work (e.g., Marriott, 1995a, 1995b; McCreary, 1986; Miller, 1994; Yamada, 1990, 1992, 1997). For example, Miller (1994) examined interactions among Japanese and American office workers in a Japanese business office. Miller points out that an American worker in her study had assumptions concerning the purposes and goals of

business meetings that differed from those of his Japanese coworkers, and that such differences caused misunderstandings when the participants were talking in a mixture of English and Japanese. Although Miller's (1994) study reveals that workers might hold conflicting views about the value of a meeting in a multicultural work setting, the activity she examines is not a business meeting of the form as defined by Boden (1994). Instead, it is a spontaneous exchange among coworkers. Not many studies have used Japanese meetings as data. Indeed business meetings are outside the scope of the comparative studies that I listed above (see, however, Yamada, 1990, 1992).⁴ In an exception, Yamada (1992) compared two different weekly meetings among middle-management bank officers: one among three Americans, and another among three Japanese. Yamada found significant differences between the two meetings in terms of the ways in which the participants introduce and organize their topics. In the study, Yamada explains that such differences reflect cultural-specific views of meetings: Americans consider meetings to be impersonal interactions where they report, discuss and make decisions based on an agenda, whereas Japanese view meeting talk as an opportunity to build personal relationships (Yamada, 1992). Yamada also argues that because Japanese people value teamwork, rather than individual task responsibility, they do not rely on a predetermined agenda when allocating talk turns during a meeting. The topic of each participant's talk is locally determined and approached in a roundabout way (Yamada, 1992). Although Yamada's (1992) findings confirm previous reports on the Japanese culture (e.g., Kondo, 1990; Nakane, 1970), the present study finds it difficult to accept such generalizations. I will discuss this later in Chapter 6.

⁴Yamada (2007) presents only English translations of transcripts derived originally from interactions in Japanese.

Although they are still limited in number, some recent sociolinguistic studies have examined recorded meetings in institutional settings in order to investigate such issues as face-work and politeness in Japanese discourse (e.g., Cook, 2011; Geyer, 2008; Hiromasa Tanaka, 2011; Hiromasa Tanaka & Sugiyama, 2011). Hiromasa Tanaka and Sugiyama (2011) observe that, during intra-organizational meetings, Japanese speakers tend to avoid direct confrontation in order to save others' face and maintain harmony by allowing the presence of ambiguity in the result of their argument. The authors note that English is used as a lingua franca in business contexts with Japanese and Western participants. It is also pointed out that Japanese speakers' negative transfer of Japanese-specific discourse strategies to their English business discourse may prevent them from actively participating in business meetings with their Western business partners. Hiromasa Tanaka and Sugiyama conclude that the ways in which Japanese speakers interact with each other during actual meetings should be further studied. Geyer (2008) defines *facework* as "behavior that displays and acknowledges others' and the speakers' interactional self-image" (p. 7), and investigates how such facework is constructed, displayed and negotiated by participants during secondary school faculty meetings in Japan. Focusing on discursive practices such as collaborative disagreement, teasing, and trouble talk, Geyer points out that facework is progressively achieved through an extended stretch of multiple turns during a given meeting. Also in the context of a meeting, Cook (2011) investigates how Japanese speakers actually use referent honorifics, which have often been described as markers of politeness. Focusing on the use of referent honorifics during an in-house meeting at a Japanese company, Cook reveals that the participants frequently use these particular linguistic resources in speech

acts such as requests and descriptions of an absent third party's actions in order to construct their institutional identities rather than merely to display politeness. Cook finds that neither Brown and Levinson's politeness theory (1987) nor Ide's theory of discernment (2006) adequately explains such strategic use of referent honorifics.

In general, studies investigating actual interactions that take place inside Japanese corporations are still scarce. This can probably be attributed to the reluctance of business organizations to grant permission to tape-record workers' interactions (Barske, 2006; Boden, 1994; Handford, 2010; Saito, 2009; Hiromasa Tanaka & Sugiyama, 2010). It is worth noting that studies by Saito (2009, 2010) and Yotsukura (2003) provide valuable resources for gaining insight into interactions among workers in Japanese business settings. For example, based on her large collection of tape-recorded business transactional telephone conversations, Yotsukura (2003) presents nearly 200 excerpts of transcribed service calls that took place in six different organizations in Japan. Yotsukura recognizes four stages in the organization of service calls (opening, topic introduction, main business discussion, and closing), and finds that certain linguistic formulations such as the *business salutation*, introductory remarks (*maeoki*), and pre-closing comments ending with the pattern *-masu n(o)de* are used at points of transition from one stage to another (Yotsukura, 2003).

Saito (2009, 2010) examines tape-recorded interactions between superiors and subordinates, and finds that members exploit linguistic resources in ways different from those explained in the previous literature. For example, Saito (2009) examines the formulation of directives by male superiors at a Japanese company, and finds that their choices of directive forms are not determined entirely by gender or the possession of

power. Contrary to previous studies that insist on a direct link between speakers' genders and their choice of linguistic forms, Saito finds that male superiors' choices of directive forms stem from contextual factors such as degree of request imposition on the addressee, and on the addressee's own gender. Saito further argues that the male superiors in her study adjust the social distance between themselves and their subordinates by drawing on the directive forms that index both positive politeness and negative politeness. Saito's discourse analytic study clearly shows that the popular notion of a direct link between Japanese male speakers and their linguistic practices needs to undergo close scrutiny and have its validity measured using authentic data.

As I have illustrated above, there are a limited number of studies examining actual institutional interactions among individuals in the Japanese workplace at present.⁵ Japanese meetings seem to remain off limits to scholars. Saft's (2000, 2001, 2007a, 2009) studies of faculty meetings are remarkable not only because they examine hard-to-find data, but also because they approach this data using a CA framework. Saft examines how argument is achieved in faculty meetings called *kyooshitsu kaigi* ('classroom meeting') at a Japanese university.⁶ Instead of approaching argument as a destructive phenomenon, Saft presents it as a socially ordered activity created by the participants of a meeting. Saft finds that by having a "reporting space" in its structure, the *kyooshitsu kaigi* provides participants with opportunities not only to make reports but also to express opposition (Saft, 2000, 2001, 2007a.). Opposition is initiated, recognized, and argued over in the confines of the reporting space. Saft (2000, 2001, 2009) points out that some linguistic

⁵Not all conversations that take place inside an institution are *institutional*. See page 8 in this chapter for Drew and Heritage's (1992) proposition regarding what constitutes *institutional talk*.

⁶Saft (2009) does not say his meeting data was taken from "*kyooshitsu-kaigi*" ('classroom meetings.'). However, since he explains that the faculty meeting where he collected data was "departmental," I assume that Saft (2009) also uses his corpus of "*kyooshitsu-kaigi*."

items, such as the opposition markers *tada* (“but”), *demo* (“but”) and *iya* (‘no’), the deictic item *soo* (‘that’), the hedge *maa* (‘well’) and *aa* (‘oh’) are “resources” that allow the participants to move from one stage to another in the sequence of an argument. In addition, Saft (2000, 2007a,) finds that *aizuchi* (‘back-channels’) serve as another important resource for participants to indicate the transition from a “reporting framework” to a “two-party framework” (or a “discussion framework” [Saft 2007a,]) in which one’s opposition is recognized and taken into consideration by the reporter.⁷ Since what is discussed and decided in *kyooshitu kaigi* is important as far as it influences university business, Saft (2000) argues that the organization of *kyooshitu kaigi* is probably a vehicle for putting the institution in its place.

1.6 Organization of the Dissertation

This dissertation has six chapters. In Chapter 1, I have described my research objectives, emphasizing my interest in examining how institutionality emerges within the dynamic process of interaction among members of in-house business meetings in Japanese. This chapter also provides a literature review, including some of the concepts and concerns of CA, the approach that frames this study both theoretically and methodologically. In addition, studies on business meetings in different languages and using different approaches are discussed.

In Chapter 2, I describe the data, providing a description of how I gained access to the business organizations that became my data-collection sites. This chapter also

⁷Saft (2007b) also examines the use of *aizuchi* in a political discussion program. He argues that by using *aizuchi*, the moderator not only establishes and maintains a two-party alignment between himself and one of the panelists, but also secures his chance to talk. That is, *aizuchi* is an important resource that allows the moderator to control the organization of the talk in the discussion program.

presents basic information about the business organizations that I visited. A list of the six meetings videotaped for this study is also included. I also discuss the methodology of this study, along with the related issues of reliability and validity. The chapter also addresses the importance of a well-balanced relationship between CA and ethnography. It concludes with the research questions that motivated this study.

Chapters 3, 4 and 5 are devoted specifically to the analysis of Japanese in-house meetings. In Chapter 3, I concentrate primarily on pre-meeting sequences, and the openings and closings of meetings, and discuss some recurring practices that members employ in these situations. In Chapter 4, I focus on the weekly departmental staff meeting (which members collectively call *bukai*) and examine how report turns are distributed among the participants. In Chapter 5, I shift my focus to large interdepartmental and interorganizational meetings (which members refer to generally as *kaigi*, but which are also given specific individual titles), and analyze how report turns are allocated among a large number of participants. In comparison to the findings of Chapter 4, Chapter 5 reveals the differences in organization of two types of meetings (departmental staff meetings [*bukai*] and large interdepartmental or interorganizational meetings [*kaigi*]) in terms of turn-allocation patterns.

Chapter 6 concludes this study by summarizing the findings, and discussing the implications of this study, while describing some thoughts about future research.

CHAPTER 2

DATA, METHODOLOGY, AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

2.1 Introduction

As has frequently been noted, gaining access to business organizations is the primary challenge for researchers who wish to study interaction in the workplace or other institutional settings (e.g., Barske, 2006; Boden, 1994; Saito, 2009). In this chapter, I will first describe the site where I collected the data for this study and how I gained access to the organizations. Next, I will discuss the key methodological principles and practices of CA and how they are implemented in this study. I will then consider how reliability and validity are secured in CA and how the design of this study addresses these quality criteria. Turning to the relationship of CA and ethnography, I will argue for adopting Maynard's (2003) recommendation of "limited affinity." Finally, I will present the research questions.

2.2 Data

The data for this study were collected at several companies, all of which are affiliated as a part of the corporate collective known as STAR Group.¹ Figure 2.1 shows the groups' management structure in outline form.² The main business of STAR Group includes the manufacturing and sales of office supplies, office machines, office furniture and educational equipment, the designing and construction of office and other

¹All the names of companies, people and products appearing in this study are pseudonyms.

²In order to protect the organization's anonymity, the organizational structure has been slightly modified in Figure 2.1. However, it is still informative enough to give the readers a general idea about the management structure of STAR Group.

commercial spaces, distribution services, and both catalogue and online sales of the group's own products as well as the merchandise of other companies.

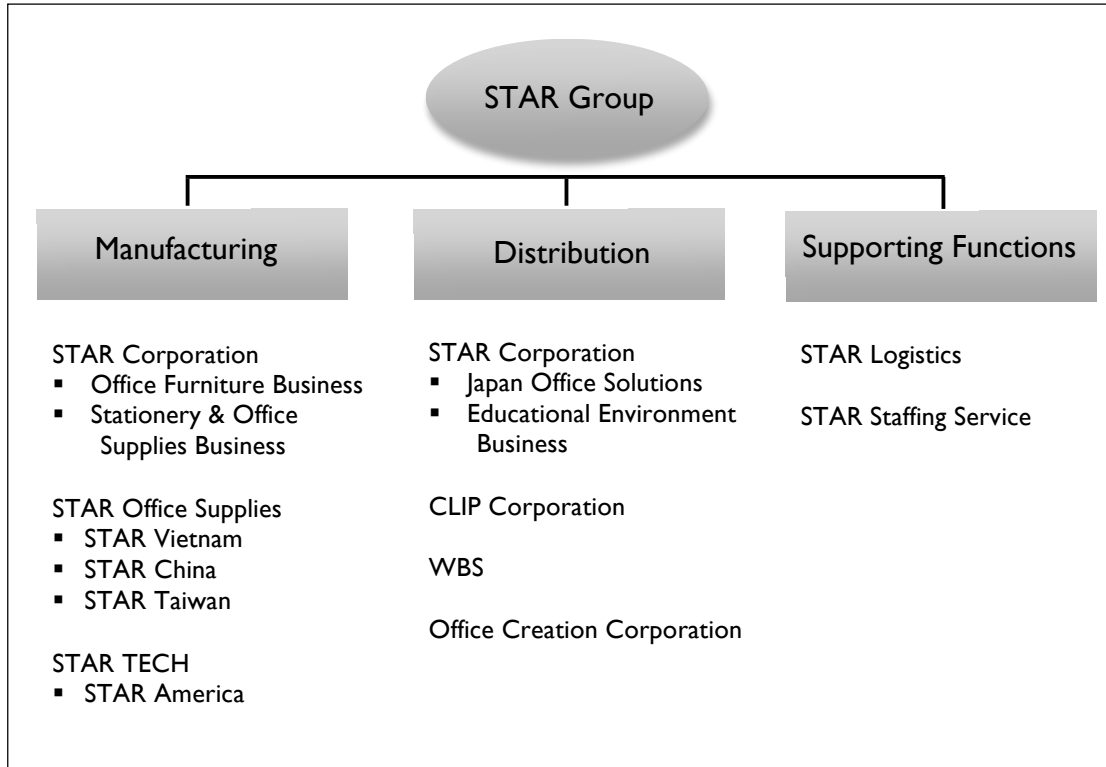


Figure 2.1. STAR group management structure.

Like other researchers (Barske, 2006; Boden, 1994; Ford, 2008; Saito, 2009), I used my personal network to gain access to STAR Group. This network enabled me to obtain permission to work with the Secretariat Division of STAR Corporation, which eventually made further arrangements for my visits. I asked the Secretariat Division if it would be possible to videotape “a variety of meetings (*kaigi*).” In response to requests made on my behalf from the Secretariat Division, two divisions of STAR Corporation (Office Supplies Division and Corporate Head Planning Division) and two other affiliate

companies (STAR Office Supplies and STAR TECH) agreed to let me visit their meetings.³

After confirming the consent of the four groups, I asked the Secretariat Division to send me a list of in-house meetings available during the two-week period that I initially set up for my data collection. Because of my previous career, I was already familiar with the business of STAR Group, and had some knowledge of their industry. For this reason, I did not have to conduct extensive ethnographic research on site, and I was able to limit my visit to STAR Group to two weeks. I also visited their office in 2002 and 2004 in order to conduct a pilot study.⁴ In addition, the managers, Mr. Gonda of Office Supplies Division and Mr. Sakai of Corporate Head Planning Division, became my informants, agreeing that I could contact them even after my data-collection sessions.

All the meetings on the list were located at the head-office building of STAR Group in Tokyo. Since some of the meetings were scheduled at the same time, I had to choose eight meetings out of the list that I could visit without a time conflict. However, I was unable to attend one of them due to a last-minute change in their schedule. In addition, out of the seven meetings I recorded, I found that the recording quality of one of them was too poor to transcribe. Therefore, I used the recordings of six meetings for this study.

³Initially, I requested a visit to the CLIP Corporation, one of the affiliate companies of STAR Group. However, I could not obtain permission to conduct my research at CLIP because it was a publicly listed company. According to the legal department of CLIP, they would have to go through certain legal procedures in order to allow me to videotape in their office. Since there was no precedent for this situation, they could not take my request.

⁴I videotaped some meetings in 2002. My visit in 2004 did not involve any recording. I was there to talk to an executive member of STAR Group about the possibility of my data-collection during the following year.

There were two more small meetings (called *uchiawase* by the participants) that I had a chance to videotape.⁵ None of *uchiawase* meetings were included on the list that the Secretariat Division originally prepared for me because apparently *uchiawase* were not considered *kaigi* (“meeting”), the word I had used in my initial request to the Secretariat Division.⁶

For my data-collection, I visited the STAR Group’s office building in Tokyo, where the headquarters of STAR Corporation and some of the affiliated companies are located. Prior to my visit, I sent the Secretariat Division a consent form that needed to be signed by the participants of this study (i.e., the participants of each meeting). The participants signed the form either before or at the meeting.⁷ The meetings usually began without my presence being mentioned except for two meetings (the departmental staff meeting of STAR Office Supplies and the Quality Control Committee meeting) where Gonda introduced me to the participants just before the meeting began. Since it was not the first time that I had videotaped their meetings, there was no particular sign of uneasiness among the participants. The present study is based on the data collected at the six meetings. Three of these are departmental staff meetings, which the members called *bukai*. The two interdepartmental meetings and one interorganizational meeting are called either *kaigi* collectively or by the specific title shown in Table 2.1.

⁵The data from small meetings (*uchiawase*) was not included in this study.

⁶English equivalents of *uchiawase* include, but no limited to, the terms ‘meeting’ ‘preliminary discussion’ ‘business table’ and ‘huddle.’

⁷In addition to stating my assurances that I would protect their privacy at both individual and organizational levels in the consent form, I also had to sign a nondisclosure agreement in order to attend *bukai* of the Corporate Head Division of STAR Corporation.

Table 2.1

Summary of Videotaped Meetings

Category of meeting*	Organization	Unit	Number of participants	Chair
<i>Kaigi</i> (Interdepartmental & interorganizational meeting)				
<i>Sekyuritii bijinesu purojekuto</i> (Security Business Project)	STAR Group	Multiple divisions of STAR Corp. & affiliated companies	14	Maeda
<i>Hinshitsu kanri iinkai</i> (Quality Control Committee)	STAR Office Supplies (SOS)	Multiple divisions	15	Okuda
<i>Kee'ee shikkoo kaigi</i> (Executive Management Meeting)	STAR Office Supplies (SOS)	Multiple divisions	13	Gonda
<i>Bukai</i> (Departmental staff meeting)				
<i>Bukai</i>	STAR Office Supplies (SOS)	Corporate Planning	6	Imada
<i>Bukai</i>	STAR Corp.	Corporate Head	6	Sakai
<i>Bukai</i>	STAR TECH	Marketing	7	Hayama

*Indigenous categories used by the participants

2.3 Methodology

In this section, I will first describe how I collected the data and discuss the empirical method I adopted for the analysis. I will also discuss issues of reliability and validity in relation to CA. Some consideration is also given to the role of ethnography in CA studies of institutional interaction.

2.3.1 Data collection and analysis. During a two-week period, I videotaped nine meetings, including two small *uchiawase* meetings (which are not included in this study) as well as one inter-departmental meeting, which I had to remove from the corpus due to

the poor quality of the recording. In order to capture each meeting in its entirety, starting from the pre-meeting phase, I arrived at the designated conference room at least 30 minutes earlier than the scheduled time of each meeting, and set up two camcorders on tripods diagonally across from each other in two corners of the room.⁸ I also placed two digital voice recorders on the table as a backup for the video-recordings (Emmison, 2011; Heath, 2011; Heath, Hindmarsh & Luff, 2010). I was present at all the meetings as “a non-participant observer” (Kawulich, 2005). By using 60 and 90 minute-tapes in either camera during the first round I avoided having to change tapes at the same time. Apart from the times when I was changing tapes, I was seated away from the participants taking notes concerning anything that I noticed about their actions as well as unfamiliar terms that they used. After each meeting, I consulted the chairpersons or my informants about any unfamiliar terms that I had heard. These were not retrospective interviews about what the participants could recall. They were member consultations for the “ethnographic explication” of “meanings that participants take for granted but that are not transparent either for an analyst or a reader of a conversational extract” (Maynard, 2003, p. 74).

The video-recordings were transcribed using the transcription conventions developed by Gail Jefferson. Because the meetings were conducted in Japanese, I used the standard three-tier format in which the interlinear gloss indicates either the meaning or the morphosyntactic category of each unit in the Japanese utterance.⁹ The interlinear

⁸Sometimes I could not enter the conference room as early as I intended because another group was using the room when I arrived.

⁹I have adopted the Hepburn system to romanize Japanese transcripts in the manner recommended by Minami (1995) as a guideline for CHILDES in Japanese. Therefore, long vowels are represented with double vowels (e.g., *-oo*). However, I followed the conventions of the Hepburn system for titles and proper names in reference.

gloss is followed by a functionally equivalent translation into idiomatic English (see transcription conventions and abbreviations of morphosyntactic categories pp. xii-xiii).

2.3.2 Reliability. *Reliability* and *validity* are considered to be the standard criteria for quality in a scientific study. Since CA aspires to be “a natural observational science” (Sacks, 1984), it is necessary for CA research to meet these criteria. According to Kirk and Miller (1986, p. 20), reliability refers to “the degree to which the finding is independent of accidental circumstances of the research.” This means that a study has to have the same result whenever someone else conducts it according to the procedures established by the original researcher. Sacks (1984) says:

Sociology could not be an actual science unless it was able to handle the details of actual events, handle them formally, and in the first instance be informative about them in the direct ways in which primitive sciences tend to be informative – that is, that anyone else can go and see whether what was said is so. And that is a tremendous control on seeing whether one is learning anything. (p. 26)

This desire motivated Sacks to look for “some set of materials that would permit a test; materials that would have the virtue of permitting us to see whether it was possible, and if so, whether it was interesting” (Sacks, 1984, p. 26). Sacks describes how he came up with the solution:

It was not from any large interest in language or from some theoretical formulation of what should be studied that I started with tape-recorded conversations, but simply because I could get my hands on it and I could study it again and again, and also, consequentially, because others could look at what I had studied and make of it what they could, if, for example, they wanted to be able to disagree with me. (Sacks, 1984, p.26)

In addition to the practice of using tape-recorded data, CA demands that the data be transcribed in order “to make *what* was said and *how* it was said available for analytic consideration at first for the analyst who does the transcribing, and later for others,

colleagues, and audiences” (ten Have, 2007, p. 32, emphasis in original). The transcription conventions developed by Gail Jefferson enable CA researchers not only to include detailed information of “what was said and how it was said,” but also to share the information with others. CA ensures reliability by establishing principles for data collection, data analysis, and presentation.

While reaffirming that CA is designed to ensure the reliability of research, Peräkylä (1997) points out that audio and video-recorded data alone might not be inclusive enough to capture aspects of social interaction, such as “(a) medium- and long-span temporal processes, (b) ambulatory events and (c) impact of texts and other ‘non-conversational’ modalities of action” (p. 204). In a discussion of possible methods to capture “temporal processes,” for example, Peräkylä recommends a longitudinal study design that allows researchers to record a series of events. In line with this recommendation, ten Have (2007) suggests recording a series of meetings where one meeting may function as a primer for those that follow (see also Boden 1994). Observation of consecutive meetings might be necessary in order to trace how topics, agendas, and social relationships evolve over time, or how novice members become experienced participants. Because the purpose of the present study is to examine how business meetings in Japanese companies are systematically organized, however, longitudinal data is not necessary. Rather, it is important that the data corpus includes a variety of meetings. I was primarily concerned with recording the relatively “short-span” temporal trajectory of each meeting, including the pre- and post-meeting processes.

In order to capture as many “ambulatory events” as possible on videotape, I set up two compact camcorders in opposite corners of each conference room (cf. Goodwin,

1993; Zuengler, Ford & Fassnacht, 1998). Even with two cameras, blind spots were inevitable.¹⁰ In addition to using multiple cameras, Peräkylä (1997) recommends collecting ethnographic data in the manner demonstrated by Goodwin (e.g., 1994, 1995, 1996a, 1996b). I will discuss the use of ethnography in CA in a separate section below.

Peräkylä (1997) also stresses the importance of considering the “impact of ‘non-conversational’ modalities of action” on the organization of social interaction. For example, Firth (1995) describes how the written messages exchanged between commodity traders relate to the development of their subsequent negotiations on the phone. Button and Sharrock (2000) show that the development of a problem-solving discussion in a meeting among engineers corresponds to the participants’ practice of reading the Fault Report Form in a step-by-step manner. Other studies also point out the relation between texts and talk organization in institutional settings. For example, Jenkins and Barber (2006) show that it is necessary for researchers to examine the relevant textual documents in order to understand the members’ interactional practices during Drug and Therapeutic Committee meetings. Jones (2007) finds that the assessment interviews that nurses conduct with patients consistently involve “nursing records” during the course of the interactions.

In the present study, however, the original written documents (e.g., handouts) used during the meetings were not available to the researcher due to their confidential nature.¹¹ Although the unavailability of the documents might limit the analysis to some extent, it should not undermine the reliability of the study. As Peräkylä (1997) puts it,

¹⁰In my future work, I hope to use cameras wide-angle lenses (cf. Ford, 2008) in order to reduce blind spots regardless of the size of the room.

¹¹Button and Sharrock (2000) also note that the original Fault Report Form (FRF) used during the interaction they examined was not available to them. They present a copy of another FRF as an example instead.

“*[C]onversation analytic studies do not aim at describing all aspects of social organization*” (p. 205, emphasis in original). In fact, “whether one needs additional data apart from the recordings does seem to depend, on the one hand, on one’s theoretical-methodological outlook, and on the other, on the kinds of activities one wants to study” (ten Have, 2007, p. 78). Because the purpose of the present study is to account for some of the fundamental organizational practices through which the participants accomplish in-house meetings as situated and coordinated social activities, having to make do without the documents does not compromise the reliability of the analysis.

There are three design features that are pertinent to ascertaining the reliability of this study: the selection of what is recorded, the technical quality of the recordings, and the adequacy of the transcripts (Peräkylä, 1997). When concerning “the selection of what is recorded,” both the content and the quantity of the recordings influences the reliability of the study. As described above, this study is based on six meetings recorded in Japanese business offices. Although the corpus is not necessarily large, the selection of these meetings allows me to examine a variety of turn-allocation phenomena.

Aside from a defective external microphone that rendered the recording of one meeting unusable, the use of two camcorders was successful in that it allowed me to simultaneously capture the participants’ verbal and non-verbal actions. A growing number of CA studies incorporate bodily movements into the analysis of interaction in work settings, such as business meetings (Barske, 2006, 2009; Ford, 2008; Mirvel & Tracy, 2005), excavation work (Goodwin, 1994, 1996a, 2003), surgical demonstrations (LeBaron & Koschmann, 2003; Mondada, 2011; Zimel, Koschmann & LeBaron, 2011),

and doctor-patient interactions (Heath, 1997; Modaff, 2003; Mirivel, 2011)¹². Heath (1997) stresses that bodily movements are intricately tied to the sequential organization of talk-in-interaction. Heath notes:

The emergent and sequential organization of interaction is also relevant to how we might consider the contextual or *in situ* significance of visual conduct and the physical properties of human environments. Gestures and other forms of bodily conduct arise in interaction, people not infrequently use artefacts when talking to each other, and it is not unusual for aspects of the physical environment to become relevant within the course of social activities. (Heath, 1997, p. 187)

In this study, as we will see in the next chapter, attention to bodily movements as well as gaze direction helps us to understand how members organize a meeting dynamically even when no verbal action transpires. Thus the use of video recordings enhances the reliability of the study.

Lastly, as Peräkylä (1997) observes, adequate transcripts are essential to the reliability of any CA study. Although transcripts can never replace recorded data (Heritage & Atkinson, 1984), they are central to the methodology of CA. Transcripts are “selective, ‘theory-laden’ renderings of certain aspects of what the tape has preserved of the original interaction, produced with a particular purpose in mind, by this particular transcriptionist with his or her special abilities and limitations” (ten Have, 2007, p. 95). Because of these multiple, mostly unavoidable constraints, I will clarify three major considerations of my policy for transcribing the video-recordings of the Japanese business meetings in this study.

First, the participants are identified by last name (pseudonym) only, and I do not use reference terms for institutional identities such as “manager” or “president” in the

¹²Streeck, Goodwin and LeBaron’s (2011) edited collection includes a number of studies devoted to the analysis of embodied interaction. The volume also provides a comprehensive review of the related literature.

transcripts unless the participants use them. Some MCA scholars (e.g., Hester & Francis, 2000; Watson, 1997) assert that the use of occupational categories, such as “doctor” or “patient,” in institutional CA as the presupposes identity, which is seen as being in conflict with CA’s policy of withholding a priori categorization. I do not consider the use of such occupational categories as necessarily violating the principles of CA if it is the membership knowledge that is fundamental to a given interaction. However, CA analysts should be cautious about assuming that a certain relationship or role is based on the members’ institutional status even though the status is membership knowledge.¹³

Second, the transcripts include not only detailed representations of verbal conduct but also of any non-verbal (inter)action when it is demonstrably “procedurally consequential” (Schegloff, 1991, 1992b) for the participants. When textual description alone of non-verbal features, such as bodily movements or gaze, does not seem adequate to represent the actual phenomenon, I use outlined illustrations of still images in order to help readers reconstruct the scene.

Third, in order to address the typological differences in sentence structure between Japanese (SOV) and English (SVO), I have adopted the well-established three-tier format for the transcript. In the three-tier format, the intra-linear gloss, which

¹³For the use of categorical identities in institutional CA, I agree with Watson (2000), who insists: The real ‘promiscuity’ issue concerning membership categorization turns on whether categorial activities figure in diffuse and unexplicated ways in current conversation analytic and institutional talk program work on local sequential ordering and whether categorization practices can be shown to locally operate as part of members’ communicative competence with reference to given instances. In this sense, categorization activities may be analyzable as part of the organization of conversation, where the explication of sequence may be inadequately done without it. Moreover, the tacit assumption of categorical identities works as one of conversation analysis’s and the institutional talk program’s actual *techniques* of privileging sequence. (p. 385, emphasis in original)

indicates the syntactic information of the original utterance, helps non-Japanese speakers get an idea about the original turn structure.

As Peräkylä (1997) puts it, the “reliability of observations in conversation analytic research (as in any other empirical method) can only be achieved through serious effort” (p. 207). The “serious effort” that I have made, as described above, should ensure the reliability of the present study.

2.3.3 Validity. The interpretation of an observation is valid when “the researcher is calling what is measured by the right name” (Kirk & Miller, 1986, p. 69). As described in Chapter 1, CA is designed to tackle this issue by examining talk-in-interaction as a phenomenon in its own right. In CA, as Peräkylä (1997) notes, “[the] commitment to naturalistic description of the interaction order (Goffman, 1983) and the social action taking place within that order (cf. Sacks, 1984) gives a distinctive shape to the issues of validation” (p. 207). For example, the results of CA research should exhibit “apparent validity” (Kirk & Miller, 1986). Findings, such as a particular contextual phenomenon, must be transparently plausible to careful readers of the transcript while offering them new insights at the same time.

It is also important for CA studies to demonstrate that the researchers are concerned not with their interpretation of the participants’ talk, but with the participants’ own interpretation of their talk-in-interaction. In general, “a turn’s talk will display its speaker’s understanding of a prior turn’s talk, and whatever other talk it marks itself as directed to” (Sacks et al., 1974, p. 728). Furthermore, “while understanding other turn’s talk are displayed to co-participants, they are available as well to professional analysts”

(Sacks et al., 1974, p. 729). CA's emphasis on the sequential organization of talk makes it possible for researchers to assure validity by providing proof that their interpretation of the participants' multimodal utterances (Goodwin, 2006) is consistent with that of the participants. With the next-turn proof procedure, CA extends an endogenous property of interaction – the participants' constant display of their understanding of prior turns – into a methodological practice for verifying analytical claims.

By closely observing CA principles and analytical practices, the present study maintains validity in the two ways described above. The transcripts make the findings transparent to the readers while also showing that the analysis of any phenomenon is in accordance with the participants' treatment of it.¹⁴

In the case of institutional CA, any connection that the researchers make between the data and the institutional context also needs to be a valid one (Peräkylä, 1997). Two basic concepts proposed by Schegloff (e.g., 1992b), “relevancy of categorization” and “procedural consequentiality of context” (see Chapter 1 for detailed discussion of these concepts), serve as criteria for testing the validity of claims concerning the institutional character of an interaction (Peräkylä, 1997).

2.3.4 CA and ethnography. CA avoids including ethnographic descriptions of the data in order to focus on the dynamics of real-time interaction within the recordings. However, this does not mean that CA denies any of the contributions of ethnography. For example, Maynard (2003), who has studied doctor-patient interaction in clinical settings, says, “my research, primarily based on audio and video recordings of interaction, also has

¹⁴A further method to prove the validity of an analysis is the examination of deviant cases. Lapper (2000) notes, “if a deviant case cannot be explained within the emerging pattern being studied, then the working hypothesis about the pattern must be revised” (p. 175).

been heavily ethnographic” (p. 65). Maynard considers “ethnography as an ineluctable *resource* for analysis, using it in a relationship with CA that is one of *limited affinity*” (Maynard, 2003, p. 65, emphasis in original). The relation between CA and ethnography is “limited” because CA requires “proper *analytic control* of contextual information” (Maynard, 2003, p. 70, emphasis in original). Without such control, “investigators paradoxically may *lose* data in which the produced orderliness or important facets of social organization actually reside” (Maynard, 2003, p. 70, emphasis in original). By “analytical control” Maynard (2003) refers to CA’s two validity criteria described in the previous section: i.e., *relevancy of categorization* and *procedural consequentiality of context* (see also Chapter 1). Contextual information should not be randomly imported into the analysis of an interaction. If analysts presuppose the omnirelevant influence of social and institutional contexts in the members’ social practices, they run the risk of underanalyzing these practices. In this sense, Maynard warns that drawing on ethnographic contextualization may actually lead to a loss of interactional detail that is meaningful and consequential for the participants. Therefore, Maynard proposes a limited role for ethnography in the practice of CA. Maynard (2003, p.73) recommends three ways ethnography can be used in the context of CA: (a) to describe settings and identities, (b) to explain unfamiliar terms, phrases, and courses of action, and (c) to explain unusual sequential patterns.

As stated earlier, my transcript identifies all participants by their name and not by their title (except for the “chair.”) Maynard (2003) explains: “without choosing which features and activities to concentrate upon analytically in a setting, and which features therefore to describe ethnographically in the background, investigators are faced with an

enormously complicated task . . . in which all prominent features of a setting . . . require inquiry before any one of them can be investigated” (p. 74). In the present study, I give analytical priority to turn-taking and other interactional practices while keeping the participants’ identities in the background. However, I occasionally provide extensive descriptions of ethnographic contexts that I consider necessary for readers to understand the *content* of the interaction. There are “meanings that participants take for granted but that are not transparent either for an analyst or a reader of a conversational extract” (Maynard, 2003, p. 74). It is often the case that an “insider’s understanding of terms, phrases, and courses of action” (Maynard, 2003, p. 74), needs to be clarified in order for both the analyst and the readers to understand an interaction in institutional contexts such as an airline cockpit (Nevile, 2001) or a division meeting of the Federal Trade Commission (Bilmes, 1995).

Another concern for the present study is to avoid distorting *emic* categories while translating them into English. For example, the participants in the data commonly refer to their departmental staff meetings as *bukai* while distinguishing these from *uchiawase*, small, topic-driven meetings among a small number of people.¹⁵ If I translated both categories with the English term “staff meeting,” the distinction that the members draw between the two categories of meetings would be rendered unavailable.

In addition to the presentation of ethnographic information, analysts must be competent enough to understand the data in the first place. They need to already have or develop what Nevile (2004) calls a “disciplinary competence,” without which they might not be able to understand what is happening in a specific institutional setting. For the

¹⁵I cannot define *uchiawase* by specifying the possible number of participants expected at the meeting. However, the two small meetings referred to as *uchiawasse* by the members of STAR Corporation consisted of two or three people.

present study, I had already acquired my disciplinary competence in this particular industry (i.e., the sales and manufacturing of office supplies and furniture) as well as my familiarity with the organization (i.e., STAR Group) through earlier career experiences.

2.4 Research Questions

As described in Chapter 1, this study will examine the reflexive relationship between talk and institutions by shedding light on in-house business meetings in Japanese companies. I will investigate how institutions are “talked into being” (Heritage, 1984, p. 290) through participants’ practices at meetings. In particular, I will examine how sequentially organized actions reflexively constitute institutional identities. In so doing, I will identify the methods that the participants employ in order to achieve a meeting.

In order to pursue these objectives, I have adopted CA as the theoretical and methodological framework. The meetings I videotaped are small staff meetings called *bukai*, and large interdepartmental and inter-organizational meetings, which bear their own titles, designated “X” as in “X *kaigi*.” The difference in naming suggests that members regard the two categories of meetings as different. Boden (1994) gives an overview of her corpus of meetings in American business and non-business settings, and briefly mentions that staff meetings are generally more casual when compared with large meetings. There has been as yet no study that seriously considers the differences between various types of meeting. Because members in Japanese companies *do* differentiate between these two categories, the present study will reflect their *emic* perspectives. Observing the principles and methodology propounded by CA, I will thus address the following questions:

- What are the overall features of organization at Japanese in-house business meetings?
- How do the participants manage the transition from the pre-meeting phase to the meeting proper?
- How are turns allocated in departmental staff meetings (*bukai*)?
- How are turns allocated in interdepartmental and inter-organizational meetings (*kaigi*)?

These questions will be addressed and answered in the next three chapters.

2.5 Summary

In this chapter, I first described the data, including an overview of the companies where it was collected. I also explained how I obtained the companies' permission to videotape their in-house meetings. As many scholars have pointed out, it is a researcher's personal network that allows them to gain access to business organizations as sites of data-collection. The present study is no exception.

The issues of reliability and validity were discussed in relation to CA, my theoretical and methodological framework. The principles of CA are specifically designed to tackle these issues. The inclusion of ethnography in CA is possible, and even necessary in some cases, but it requires a certain level of discipline.

Finally, I stated my research questions concerning the organization of Japanese in-house business meetings. In the next chapter, I will begin analyzing talk-in-interaction at meetings, focusing in particular on the opening and closing process of each meeting.

CHAPTER 3

SECTION BOUNDARIES: OPENINGS AND CLOSINGS

3.1 Introduction

As discussed earlier, Heritage (1997, 2005) and Heritage and Clayman (2010) describe six dimensions of institutional talk where institutionality can be found. One place where the researcher can look for institutionality is at the level of “overall structural organization.” This includes openings and closings as well as “goal- or task-oriented sections” (Heritage & Clayman, 2010, p. 42) that emerge between them. By examining each of these sections, we not only “identify task orientations which the *participants* routinely co-construct in routine ways” (Heritage & Clayman, 2010, p. 42, emphasis in original) but also see the ways the participants withdraw from those orientations. Overall structural organization is not a framework but rather “something we’re looking for and looking at only to the extent that the parties orient to it in organizing their talk” (Heritage and Clayman, 2010, p. 43).

Conversational openings have been discussed extensively for telephone conversations, especially in institutional settings in English (e.g., Baker, Emmison & Firth, 2001; Firth, 1995b; Hopper, 1992; Hutchby, 1996; Schegloff, 1986; Whalen & Zimmerman, 1990, 2005; Zimmerman, 1984). Some studies has been conducted on telephone conversations in non-English languages, such as Dutch (Houtkoop-Steenstra, 1991), Swedish (Lindström, 1994) and Japanese (Yotsukura, 2003). These studies have established that there exist patterns of openings particular to each language, and they point out that any variant cases are the result of the interlocutors’ orientation to such

canons. These procedures require the participants' attention and collaboration. Some scholars have looked at the opening process of meetings and found that, as in telephone conversations, meetings employ repetitive patterns (Barske, 2006; Boden, 1994; Cuff & Sharrock, 1985; Ford, 2008). Just as the cooperation of two parties (i.e., a caller and a call-taker) is necessary for opening the conversation, the transition from premeeting to meeting proper requires the participants to work together to shift their collective attention to the meeting itself (M. A. Atkinson, Cuff & Lee, 1978; Barske, 2006; Boden, 1994; Cuff & Sharrock, 1985; Ford, 2008).

To my knowledge, there is less CA literature focusing on conversational closings than on openings (see Antaki, 2002; Button, 1987, 1990; LeBaron and Jones, 2002; Pavlidou, 1998; Schegloff & Sacks, 1973, for exceptions). For institutional contexts, Yotsukura's (2003) study includes an examination of the closings of business telephone conversations in Japanese. Boden (1994) also devotes a few pages to describing the closing sequences of business meetings in America. Closing a conversation is inherently problematic because the organization of turns "generates an indefinitely extendable, but internally undifferentiated, string of turns" (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973, p. 323). Therefore, participants need to create "closing sections" where the proper pre-closing sequence allows the participants to collaborate in terminating the transition rules (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973).

In contrast to multiple studies examining talk that defines the openings and closings of business meetings, talk during the premeeting has received little attention in the CA literature. As an exception, a study by Mirivel and Tracy (2005) points out that premeeting talk does not necessarily consist entirely of small talk and comes in four

different varieties. Because the premeeting occurs before the meeting proper begins, it is useful when examining the process through which the participants transition from non-meeting to meeting practices. In this chapter, I will first examine the premeeting sequences of business meetings. This is followed by an examination of the opening and closing sequences of the meetings, respectively.

3.2 Premeeting Activities

The first example of premeeting activities is from the Executive Management Meeting (*kee'ee shikkoo kaigi*). This meeting consists of the general managers of various divisions within STAR Office Supplies. The participants in this monthly meeting include the president of the company as well as three other non-managerial employees of the Management Planning Division. By the time the researcher has finished setting up the camcorders, most of the participants, including the president, have seated themselves. A few of them are engaged in conversation while the rest remain in their seats without interacting. In large, interdepartmental and interorganizational meetings, some of the attendees have brief, mostly work-related conversations, with other attendees when they arrive at the conference room. But as the time for the meeting gets closer, there are few attendees who engage in premeeting talk.

As shown in Figure 3.1, one of the camcorders captures two parties (Kodama and Anzai) talking to each other. Their interaction is considered premeeting talk because it is a “conversational (and behavioral) moment that occurs before a meeting starts” (Mirivel & Tracy, 2005, p. 2). Although it is not clear what they are talking about, it is worth noting that Mori, sitting between Kodama and Anzai, does not join their conversation

(see Figure 3.1). While Kodama and Anzai continue talking for 13 seconds, Mori either fiddles with the pen and paper in front of him or stares off into the distance.

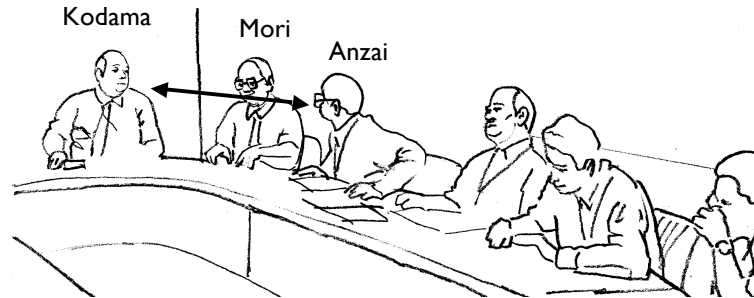


Figure 3.1. Premeeting talk in *kee'ee shikkoo kaigi*.

Like Mori, many other participants keep to themselves rather than talking with others (Figure 3.1). Concerning the relevance of observing activities that take place before the formal start of a meeting, Cuff and Sharrock (1985) state:

[It] is not solely dictated from the point of view of the necessity for commencement markers and recommencement markers . . . but also because it brings to view the extent to which activities prior to a formal start are not only prior to the beginning but are “prebeginning activities,” that is, activities that are done through an orientation to the prospective character of the beginning. Such activities are done in anticipation of, even in preparation for, the start of the meeting. (pp. 154-155)

In the case of the participants of the present study, by not interacting with others, they may be said to be actively engaged in “prebeginning activities” that anticipate the opening of the meeting. They might not show interest in the premeeting talk of most of the other participants, but it is apparent that they are attentive to the interaction between Gonda (chair) and Harada. The following excerpt shows that the participants simultaneously shift their orientation to Harada when he asks Gonda if there is any special agenda to discuss:

(3.1) Executive Management: Premeeting

((Gonda is approaching his seat next to Harada. Before Gonda sits down, Harada talks to him.))

- 1 Harada: ((turns to the chair))
kyoo hombu wa konai no;
 today Management_Division TOP come:NEG PP
Is the Management Division not coming today?
- 2 (0.3)
- 3 Gonda: *HAI?*
 yes
Excuse me?
- 4 Harada: [((points at an empty seat))
- 5 Harada: [*hombu wa ko [nai (n desu);*
 Management_Division TOP come:NEG SE COP:POL
Is the Management Division not coming?
- 6 Gonda: [((turns to the direction
 suggested by Harada while
 still standing))
- 7 (3.3) ((Gonda continues to look in the same direction for 2.3
 seconds and sits down.))
- 8 Gonda: ((still looking in same direction)) *mada chotto:=*
 still SOF
It's still...
- 9 Harada: =*un.*
 uh_huh
Uh huh.
- 10 (0.7) ((Gonda shifts his attention to the start-up screen of his
 laptop computer.))
- 11 Gonda: ((looking at screen)) *°kakaruru [()°*
 take
taking a little longer.
- 12 Harada: [*°hai.*
 yes
Okay.
- 13 (1.5) ((Gonda presses a key on his laptop.))
- 14 Harada: ((turning to Gonda)) *°nanika*
 something
- 15 [*tokubetsu na [ken (ga aru)?°*
 special COP matter NOM exist
Are there any special items we need talk about?
- 16 Gonda: [((turns to look at Harada))
- 17 [((Other participants gaze toward Harada
 and Gonda)) (Figure 3.2)
- 18 (0.3)

Kodama and
 Anzai
 talking (up to
 line 12; see
 Figure 3.2)

19 Gonda: *iya tokuni:=*
 no specially
 No, not really=

20 Harada: =*hai*. = ((looks down and nods))
 yes
 =Okay=

21 Gonda: =(°*kyoo wa*°)=*hai*.
 today TOP yes
 =today, yes.

Gonda is away from his seat until line 6. As we will see later, every meeting begins with an opening announcement by the chair. This means that the participants must be aware that the meeting will not start until Gonda is ready. It is therefore understandable not only that Kodama and Anzai remain engaged in conversation while Gonda takes his seat in line 7, but also that their conversation comes to a halt by the time Gonda presses a key on his laptop in line 13. In other words, the exchange between Kodama and Anzai constitutes premeeting talk because it displays their focus toward any signal of the meeting's beginning.

In line 1, Harada asks Gonda, who has not settled into his seat next to Harada yet, whether or not the representative from the Corporate Management Division of STAR Corporation is attending the meeting. Gonda's utterance *HAI?* ("Excuse me?") in line 3 suggests that he was not able to catch Harada's initial question. Having been prompted by this repair initiation by Gonda, Harada repeats his question in line 4 while pointing at an empty seat. By pointing at a particular seat, Harada not only makes clear to whom he is referring, but also shows the premise of his question. The seat is designated for the representative from the Corporate Management Division. The fact that the seat is still empty at that moment triggers Harada's question about the representative's attendance.

Gonda's response is delayed 3.3 seconds. Although Gonda finally fills the second position of an adjacency sequence by saying *mada chotto*: ("It's still...") in line 8, this answer is syntactically and prosodically incomplete, as well as semantically ambiguous. The meaning of the adverb *mada* depends on the predicate that follows. When it precedes an affirmative predicate it means "still," but when modifying a negative predicate, it means "(not) yet." Since Gonda's utterance *mada chotto* does not precede any predicate in line 8, it is not clear which way his *mada* is to be taken. Gonda finally completes his response by using the affirmative predicate *kakaru* ("take [time]") in line 11. However, the long delay of his initial response in addition to the 0.7-second pause before this reply suggests that the first priority response (Bilmes, 1995) to Harada's question is not available to Gonda. Yet, Harada accepts Gonda's ambiguous answer (line 12). Meanwhile, Gonda, whose body has been in constant motion, presses a key on his laptop (line 13). Harada then turns to Gonda and asks, *nanika tokubetsu na ken (ga aru)?* ("Are there any special items we need to talk about?") in lines 14-15. Immediately after Harada begins this question by saying *nanika* ('something') in line 14, Gonda turns to look at Harada (line 16). Following this, other participants look towards Harada and Gonda (see Figure 3.2). In this way, once Gonda appears to be ready, any exchange between him and Harada is worth attending to for the participants as it has "the prospective character of the beginning" (Cuff & Sharrock, 1985, p. 155) of the meeting. In other words, the participants treat Gonda and Harada as the crucial figures of orientation during this premeeting stage.



Figure 3.2. Participants' orientation to the chair's action (1).

In response to Harada's inquiry (lines 14 and 15), Gonda reaffirms that there is nothing special (i.e., especially urgent) to talk about on that day (lines 19 and 21). As the next excerpt shows, Gonda, who seems to be settled in his seat by now, stands up and walks away from his seat immediately after responding to Harada. After 4.7 seconds, Kodama and Anzai resume their premeeting talk:

(3.2) Executive Management: Premeeting (building on Excerpt 3.1)

- 19 Gonda: =^okyoo wa^o =hai.
 today TOP yes
 =today, yes.
- 20 Gonda: ((stands up and leaves his seat.))
- 21 (1 min. 19 sec.)
 ((After 4.7 seconds later, Anzai starts talking to Kodama. They talk for 36.2 seconds Then, Mori speaks to Kodama. Other participants are waiting quietly, while either smoking or looking at their day planners or handouts. See Figures 3.5 and 3.6))

Kodama and Anzai talking
 (36.2 seconds; see Figure 3.3)

Kodama and Mori talking.
 (see Figure 3.4)

During the time when Gonda leaves and then returns to his seat, Kodama and Anzai resume their conversation (see Figure 3.3). As soon as it comes to an end, Mori speaks to Kodama and they begin a conversation (see Figure 3.4). It is apparent that Gonda's

absence triggers the resumption of premeeting talks. However, neither of the exchanges develops into a multi-party conversation involving the other co-participants.

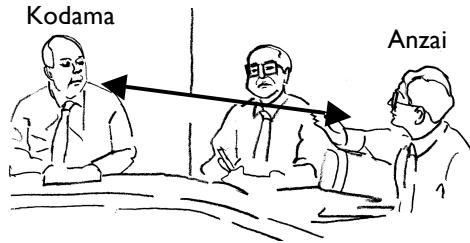


Figure 3.3. Premeeting dyadic talk (1).

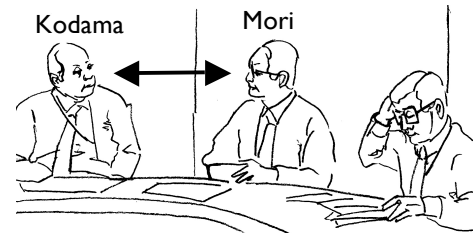


Figure 3.4. Premeeting dyadic talk (2).

Despite their physical proximity, Kodama, Mori and Anzai do not engage in a three-party exchange (Figures 3.3 and 3.4). Rather than occupying themselves with interaction, as is the case in small scale meetings (which I will discuss later in this chapter), the participants on this particular occasion smoke (see Figure 3.5), look at the documents (day planners or a handouts) in front of them (see Figure 3.6), or practice both activities at the same time, as they wait for 1 minute and 19 seconds (line 21).



Figure 3.5. Premeeting activity (smoking).

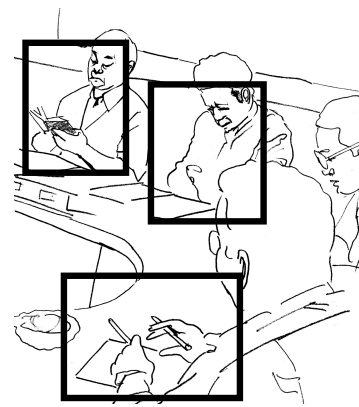


Figure 3.6. Premeeting activity (document browsing).

In their study of premeeting activities at the weekly staff meetings of a nutrition company in America, Mirivel and Tracy (2005) note that the participants bring bottles of water, and place these on the table alongside their cups of coffees. Mirivel and Tracy (2005)

argue that bringing water bottles allows the participants to display an “institutionally desirable” stance toward healthy living and that this is “how the group enacts and sustains itself as a health-committed organization” (p. 22). Neither smoking nor document browsing appear to be signaling any aspect of the STAR Group’s corporate identity in the current study. Rather, these activities function merely as tolerated methods for individual participants to pass the time. The activities of both smoking and document browsing allow the participants to be attentive to the development of the premeeting. In this way, the participants display their collaborative orientation to the opening of the upcoming meeting. This pattern of premeeting activities is common in the large meetings of this study. The participants’ orientations appear differently in small meetings. I will discuss this later in this section.¹

I have shown (see pp. 52-53) that the waiting participants closely monitor Gonda’s actions and that their premeeting activities are limited to those that allow them to do this. While Gonda is still moving about, Imada tells him that another expected participant, Esumi (the representative from Corporate Management Division of STAR Corporation), had to go out on urgent business. As shown in the next excerpt, this exchange between Imada and Gonda immediately draws the attention of the waiting participants:

(3.3) Executive Management: Premeeting (building on Excerpt 3.2)

((Gonda is still moving about in the room. Imada talks to him as he passes by.))

24 Imada: *kyoo Esumi-san chotto kyuuini*
today Esumi_Ms. SOF suddenly

25 [*ginkoo ikanakya-ikenaku [te.*
bank go_must:TE
Ms. Esumi had to go to the bank on urgent business.

26 [((Other participants look toward Imada and Gonda.))

27 [((Harada nods slightly))

¹Smoking is not limited to the premeeting Many participants smoke during the meeting as well.

28 Gonda: *hai.*
 yes
 Okay.

29 (5.0) ((2.9 seconds later, Gonda rushes to his seat, sits down,
 and sits up straight. All members except Esumi are present.))

30 Okabe: ((touches the handout to the left of her, where Esumi is supposed to
 sit, and leans forward to look at Gonda))

31 Okabe: *okureru;*
 come_late
 Is she coming late?

32 Gonda: *iya kyoo wa [ii.]* ((waiving his left hand))
 no today TOP unnecessary
 No, that's not necessary today.

33 Okabe: [moo] *muri.*
 anymore impossible.
 She can't?

34 Gonda: *chotto kyuuni ginkoo ni ikanakya:-ikenai.*
 SOF suddenly bank DAT go_must
 She had to go to the bank on urgent business.

35 (2.1) ((Okabe nods, picks up the handout, and puts it underneath
 her other documents. Gonda briefly glances around.))

36 Gonda: >*SOREDEWA OHAYOOGOZAIMASU.*<
 INJ good_morning:POL
 Okay. Good morning.

37 ALL: >*OHAYOOGOZAIMASU.*< ((Everybody bows))
 good_morning:POL
 Good morning.

38 Gonda: *ja kee'ee-shikkoo-kaigi hajimemasu.*
 INJ management-executive-meeting start:POL
 So, we will start the Executive Management Meeting.

Immediately after Imada starts his turn in line 24, many of the waiting participants look toward him and his recipient, Gonda (see Figure 3.7). Kodama and Mori have ended their conversation. As soon as Imada mentions that Esumi went to the bank on urgent business, Harada nods slightly. In this way, Harada indicates that he is another recipient of the information that Imada has just provided. As shown in Excerpt 3.1, Harada previously asked Gonda about Esumi's attendance. This explains the exact timing of Harada's nod—immediately after Imada mentions that Esumi had to go to the bank.



Figure 3.7. Participants' orientation to the chair's action (2).

Gonda is the last person to be seated (line 29). As soon as Gonda sits up straight, Okabe turns her head to look at him while touching the handout on her left (line 30). In the data, chairpersons often pull their seats in and sit up straight immediately before they announce the onset of the meeting. Okabe uses this last possible moment before the meeting begins to address Gonda. She asks, *okureru* (“Is she coming late?”) in line 31. Although the third person pronoun “she” is included in the English translation of Okabe’s inquiry, the original TCU in Japanese consists of only the verb *okureru* (“to become late”) and lacks any indication of an agent. Despite this, Gonda has no problem answering Okabe’s question: He immediately provides the response *iya* (“No”) and suggests that there is no need to keep a handout for Esumi (line 32). There are three resources that may have helped Gonda understand Okabe’s question. First, at this point, there is only one participant who “might be coming late.” Second, the handout that Okabe touches is in front of Esumi’s designated seat. During the previous exchange with Harada, Gonda recognized the seat as Esumi’s. Therefore, it is clear that Okabe is asking about Esumi’s attendance. Third, Gonda not only displays an understanding of Okabe’s question, but also demonstrates an awareness that she may actually be asking whether or

not it is necessary to keep the handout for Esumi on the table. However, whether or not this is the case remains unclear until Okabe produces her next action. Gonda's utterance *iya kyoo wa ii* ("No, that's not necessary today") in line 32 is ambiguous because the adjective *ii* has multiple meanings. The waving gesture that accompanies this adjective suggests that it means "not necessary." Gonda does not specify what is not necessary. Okabe reconfirms Esumi's absence (line 33). In response, Gonda gives an account of Esumi's absence (line 34). After listening to this account, Okabe displays her acknowledgement of Gonda's response by nodding, and she immediately puts away the handout for Esumi (line 35). The exchange between Okabe and Gonda (lines 30-35) shows that their bodily conduct, in addition to their utterances, plays a crucial part in their interpretation of each other's actions. It is only by attending to both verbal and non-verbal cues (including bodily movements and gaze) that they achieve intersubjectivity moment by moment.

After briefly glancing around at the other participants, Gonda initiates a greeting sequence (line 36). The other participants fill the second pair part of this sequence (line 37), and Gonda announces the opening of the meeting (line 38). I will further examine this opening sequence later in this chapter.

In the large interdepartmental meeting that I have described above, premeeting talk was limited to dyadic interactions, and the majority of the participants were not engaged in this activity. Instead, they remain silent while smoking or checking the documents in front of them. In contrast, small, departmental staff meetings in the data tend to have multi-party premeeting talk that involves most of the participants who are already seated. In the next excerpt, taken from a weekly *bukai* of the Marketing

Department of STAR TECH, Hayama (chair) leads the participants in the premeeting talk. Prior to the segment below, Hayama asked the other five attendees to sign the researcher's videotaping consent form. Among them is Ono, who is not a member of the Marketing Department, and who is seated apart from the other participants. Just before the segment begins, Ono explains to the researcher that he will leave after viewing the slide presentation about the international trade show in which their company had recently participated. Ishida, who is also not a member of the Marketing Department, is supposed to give that presentation. However, he has not yet arrived. After watching Ono explain his situation to the researcher, Hayama jokingly expresses his concern about the missing Ishida:

(3.4) Marketing *bukai* (STAR TECH): Premeeting

- 1 Hayama: *Ono-san* () *matasete*-[o(hh)ite,
Ono_Mr. wait:CAU:TE-leave:TE
He keeps Mr. Ono waiting,
- 2 [((Hayama glances at Jojima))
- 3 *Ishida* [*kuru n daroo ka aittsu.=*
Ishida come SE COP Q that_guy
That guy... Is Ishida really coming?
- 4 [((Hayama looks down))
- 5 Jojima: =uHHHH
- 6 Ono: ([[])
- 7 [(Hayama and Jojima turn their upper bodies to look at Ono))
- 8 Hayama: [HAHAHAHA
- 9 Jojima: [HAHAHAHA
- 10 Hayama: *ah sohh 'su ka.* [*aa sot [chi, soo.*
oh that COP:POL Q oh there that
Oh I see. That's what it is, I see.
- 11 Jojima: [HAHAHAHA
- 12 [((Hayama and Jojima turn their
bodies back to the original
position.))
- 13 Jojima: ahahaha

14 (0.3) ((Kotani stands up.))

15 Waki?: °*moo chotto de ji-°*
more a_little COP:TE
In a little bit=

16 Kotani: =*ichigoo[kaigishitsu desu yo ne.*
No.1_conference_room COP:POL PP PP
=This is Conference Room #1, right?

17 [((Everybody looks at Kotani))]

18 Waki: *ichigoo[kaigishitsu.*
No.1_conference_room
Conference Room #1.

19 [((Hayama looks down at his documents on the table))]

20 Hayama: [*un. [mokkai yuttoi(te-agete)¿*
yeah one_more_time say:TE-leave:TE-give:TE
Yeah. Will you remind him one more time?

21 [((Kotani walks up to the telephone in the corner of the room.))]

22 Kotani: =*hai.*
yes
Yes.

23 Hayama: ((looks up)) *aitsu: awatemboo da kara sa.*
that_guy scatterbrain COP because PP
'Cause he is a scatterbrain.

24 (6.3) ((Kotani makes a phone call.))

Hayama's playful comment about Ishida (lines 1 and 3) elicits laughter from Jojima, who is seated next to Hayama (line 5). In response to Hayama's comment, Ono, whose name was just mentioned by Hayama, says something (inaudible to the researcher) in line 6. The shared laughter (lines 8 and 9) indicates that Hayama and Jojima treat Ono's utterance (line 6) as laughable. When their laughter quiets down, Kotani stands up (line 14) and clarifies the number of the conference room with the rest of the participants (line 16). Although Kotani does not mention what she is about to do, Hayama takes Kotani's utterance in line 16 in combination with her bodily action (i.e., standing up) as a proposal to contact Ishida, and agrees with it by providing the affirmative response *un* ("yeah") in line 20. Hayama asks Kotani to remind Ishida of the meeting venue (line 20). In this way,

Kotani's voluntary action becomes a response to Hayama's request. Hayama orients to his position as a leader through this utterance.

Because Kotani is making a phone call, one departmental member is now missing from the meeting table (Figure 3.8). All the seated participants need to wait for Kotani. While Kotani is still on the phone, Hayama starts a conversation by asking the other three members if they have anything special to report at the meeting. The next excerpt shows how the premeeting talk is carried on while the participants are waiting for Kotani:

(3.5) Marketing *bukai* (STAR TECH): Premeeting (building on Excerpt 3.4)

24 (6.3) ((Kotani makes a phone call.))

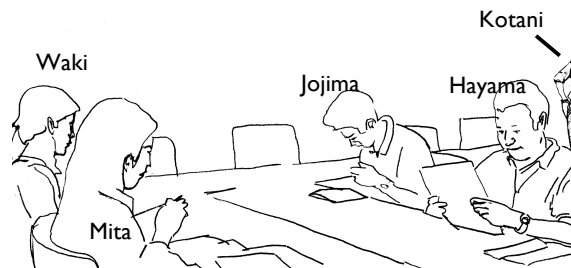


Figure 3.8. Premeeting scene in *bukai*.

25 Hayama: [kyoo tokuni hookoku jikoo ga=
today specially report item NOM

26 [((Hayama looks up at the others.))

27 =aru hi[to.
exist person

Does anybody have a special item to report today?

28 [((Waki looks at Hayama and makes eye contact. Both Jojima
and Mita keep their heads down.))

29 (0.8)

30 Mita: ((looking at her day planner)) ha::i.
yes
Ye::s.

31 (0.4) ((Waki glances at Mita and then looks at Hayama))

32 Hayama: ((to Waki)) °()°
°()°

33 (1.9) ((Waki slightly shakes her head))

34 Hayama: *unun*[*un.*
uh huh
Uh huh.

35 Waki: [*hitotsu.*
one
One item.

36 (2.0)

37 Waki: ()

38 Hayama: *aa*:.=
oh
I see.

39 Waki?: =*un.*
yeah
Yeah.

40 (2.0)

41 Hayama:: ((to Jojima)) *Jojima-kun wa.*=
Jojima TOP
**How about you, Jojima?=
=u:[:
=mm::**

43 Hayama: [*temijikani ano kompooteepu no hanashi de.*
briefly FL packing_tape LK story INS
Briefly, about the packing tape.

44 Jojima: *aa soo desu* [*ne.*
oh that COP:POL PP
Oh, that's right.

45 Hayama: [*un. saratto de ii °kara°*
yeah rightly COP:TE fine because

46 °*un.*°
yeah
Yeah. A simple report is fine, so, yeah.

47 (1.5)

48 Hayama: *ore ga hatsuen-kun no hanashi o* [°*shi(masu)*°.
I NOM smoke_Mr. LK story ACC do:POL
I'll talk about Mr. Smoke.

49 Waki: [*so(h) re(h)*
that
That thing.

50 Mita: [hhhhh

51 Jojima: [hhhhh

52 Waki: ((turning to Mita)) *ha(h) tsu(h) en-kun nanka*
smoke_Mr. SOF

53 *namae kaetai* [*ne.*=
name change:DES PP
"Mr. Smoke." We want to change the name.

54 [((Mita turns to look at Waki. Hayama looks at Waki.))

55 Hayama: =*nanka sa dat[te hatsuen[mondai toka tte yuuto*
SOF PP because smoke_problem etc. QT say:CND

56 [((Mita and Waki turn to look at Hayama))

57 [((Jojima looks at Hayama))

58 *nanka chotto [koo (.)*
SOF SOF like_this
'Cause if you call it like "smoke problem," It's like uhm

59 [((Jojima looks down at his notebook))

60 Mita: *fukai yo. fukai (yo sore.)*
deep PP deep PP that
Deep. Deep, that is.

61 (0.4)

62 Jojima: a[hahaha

63 Hayama: [*yabai [jan.*
bad COP:TAG
It sounds bad, doesn't it?

64 [((Mita nods))

65 Mita: ([])

66 Hayama: [*liya demo () .£*
INJ but
Well, but ().

67 [((Hayama opens his notebook and starts browsing through it))

68 (4.6) ((Hayama and Jojima are looking at their notebooks. Waki and Mita are looking at Kotani talking on the phone in the corner of the room))

69 Waki: ((turning to Mita)) () *mondai toka*
problem etc.
"() problem" or something.

70 Mita: hh[hahahaha

71 Jojima: [hhhh

72 (1.1)

73 Hayama: *jik[ken-kun no ()]=*
experiment_Mr. LK
Mr. Experiment's (),=

74 Kotani: [((on the phone)) *sumimase:n. >°shitureeshimasu.°<*
thank_you good_bye
Thank you. Good bye.

75 Waki: =*°jikken-kun [no () °.*
experiment_Mr. LK
=Mr. Experiment's ().

76 [((Hayama glances at his watch))

77

[((Kotani hangs up the phone))

78

(4.3) ((All the participants seated around the table are looking at their notebooks. Kotani walks back toward her seat))

Mirivel and Tracy (2005) identify four types of premeeting talk: *small talk*, *work talk*, *meeting preparatory talk*, and *shop talk*. Small talk is non-institutional talk that functions to lubricate relationships among members. During small talk, organizational position and status are left in the background. Participants talk about topics other than work. In contrast, the three other types of premeeting talk focus on the institutional aspects of the situation. Work talk refers to both the verbal and non-verbal activities through which participants demonstrate their work commitments. Meeting preparatory talk refers to activities that function as preparatory work for the upcoming meeting. Shop talk concerns conversations or exchanges that focus on work-related topics, but that do not function as either work or preparation for the meeting. Hayama asks the other participants if they have anything particular to report at the upcoming meeting (lines 25 and 27), initiating the premeeting talk as meeting preparatory talk. Mita gives the first affirmative response (line 30). Waki mentions that she has one item to report (line 35) in response to Hayama's prompt (lines 32 and 34). Although Jojima expresses no intention to give his report, Hayama requests that he talk about packing tape (line 43). Jojima immediately agrees to do so (line 44). Finally, Hayama mentions that he is going to talk about *hatsuen-kun* ('Mr. Smoke') in line 48. It is revealed later in this meeting that *hatsuen-kun* refers to a recent incident where a salesperson almost started a fire while demonstrating how to operate one of their products, an overhead projector. This name is apparently local knowledge shared by the other participants. After the rest of the participants provide laughter in reaction to Hayama's utterance (lines 49-51), the premeeting conversation

becomes shop talk in which the participants jokingly talk about the creative naming of the work-related incident. Jojima says nothing, but he participates by laughing along with the others. Although it coincides with Hayama's joke (line 73), everybody seems to hear Kotani saying good-bye to the person on the phone (line 74). Precisely after hearing Kotani's good-bye, Hayama glances at his watch (line 76) while Waki repeats Hayama's joke in a soft voice (line 75). Kotani hangs up the phone (line 76). Shop talk comes to an end, and the participants wait for 4.3 seconds until Kotani comes back to her seat (line 77).

This particular segment of premeeting talk starts when Kotani leaves her seat. Based on the topics that emerge, the premeeting talk moves from meeting preparatory talk to shop talk (Mirivel & Tracy, 2005). The timing of the premeeting start and finish, coupled with its meandering and varied progression, strongly suggests that the participants are more attuned to Kotani's behavior than to any of the topics they are discussing. In the end, the main purpose of the premeeting talk described above is to fill time until every member has arrived at the table.

There is another example in the data where all the participants of a *bukai* are engaged in premeeting talk. It is a weekly staff meeting of the STAR Office Supplies Corporate Planning Department. Prior to the segment below, Gonda briefly introduced the researcher to Fujino who had just come into the room, and explained that the purpose of the research was to observe how the participants communicated during the meeting. While Gonda was talking to Fujino, some of the participants directed their attention

towards the researcher's recording devices. In the following excerpt, Gonda jokingly encourages the other participants to act normally.²

(3.6) Corporate Planning *bukai* (SOS): Premeeting

- 1 Gonda: *ma to itte* (.) *dakara to itte*
INJ QT say:TE so QT say:TE
- 2 [*betsuni* [*ano:*
specially FL
When I say so, I don't mean uhm:
- 3 [((turning his head toward the two participants to his right))
- 4 [((Fujino looks at Gonda. Egami leans forward to look closely
at the voice recorder on the table)) (Figure 3.9)
- 5 (1.0)((Gonda looks at Fujino))
- 6 Gonda: [*kinchoo suru koto mo nanimo*
nervous do NML too nothing
that you should get nervous
- 7 [((Fujino nods three times while looking at Gonda))
- 8 Chiba: Hh[hh ((looks down while covering her face with her right hand))
- 9 Gonda: [(*nai nde*)
exist:NEG because
or anything, so.
- 10 (0.8)((Egami sits up and smiles. She nods when looking at Gonda.))
- 11 Gonda: *fudandoo[ri °yaru°.*
as_usual do
We will act normal.
- 12 Egami: [((nods))
- 13 (0.4)
- 14 Fujino: hhh
- 15 (0.4)
- 16 Imada: .h hh .h h .h hh .hhh shh
- 17 [sh sh hhhh]
- 18 Gonda: [*ugoki ga henna-ugoki*]
movement NOM weird movement

Egami gestures toward the voice-recorder on the table and then she makes a silent gesture with her mouth. (See Figure 3.10)

Chiba pretends to eat something with an odd expression. (See Figure 3.11)

²In his research on German business meetings, Barske (2006) found that one of the meetings in his corpus began rather oddly when the chairperson stated the purpose of their gathering even though, as a regular meeting, this purpose would have been obvious to all of the attendees. Barske (2006) suggests that the chairperson added that particular explanation because it was the first meeting videotaped by the researcher. The chairperson in Barske's data even mentioned the video cameras in his opening talk. Likewise, Gonda in the excerpt above refers to the presence of the researcher and the recording devices. In that sense, the content of the talk in this example may be unusual.

19 [ga hen na (n natte.)
 NOM weird COP NOM become:TE
 Our movement gets weird. It will be a weird movement.

20 [((Gonda gestures robotic movement)) (Figure 3.12)

21 (0.4)

22 Imada: sore o doonika(hh) hhhh [.hh
 that ACC somehow
 We'll somehow manage it.

23 Gonda: [fudandoori no,
 as_usual LK

24 ano hanashikata de,
 FL speech_style COP:TE

25 ke- totsuzen keego o (.)
 suddenly honorifics ACC

26 tsukawanaiyoo ni,
 use:NEG:MOD COP
 Talk like you usually do, and try not to use the honorifics all of sudden.

27 (2.2) ((Gonda starts sorting out things in front of him. Everybody else is chuckling.))

28 Chiba: [(° [barechaimasu ne.°)
 be_exposed:TE:ASP:POL PP
 They will find out ().

29 [((Fujino looks down and browses the handout in front of her))

30 [((Gonda glances at his watch))

31 Gonda: → ja jikan [na nde.
 INJ time COP because
 Okay, it's time, so.

32 [((Gonda looks at Imada))

Although Gonda addresses Fujino first (line1), he subsequently shifts his attention to the two participants sitting to his right (line 2; see Figure 3.9). He continues to explain that the participants should not get nervous even though they are being videotaped (lines 1, 2 and 6). When he mentions the word *kinchoo* ('nervous') in line 6, Chiba produces a brief spate of laughter (line 7). She soon looks down while covering her face with her right hand, and suppresses her laughter.

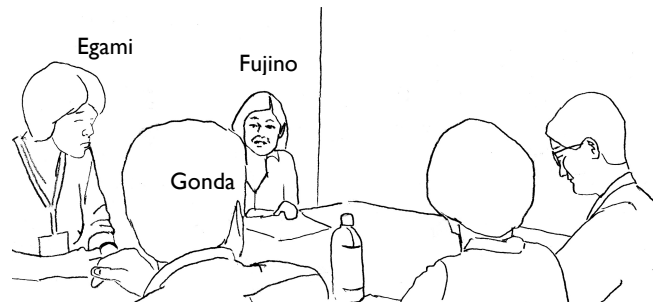


Figure 3.9. Premeeting talk in *bukai* (multiparty talk).

After looking closely at the voice recorder in front of her (line 4), Egami sits up and smiles at Gonda (line 10). She gestures towards the recorder and mouths an inaudible sentence, strongly implying that she is attempting to avoid being recorded (lines 14-15; see Figure 3.10). Chiba then pretends to eat something with an odd expression (line 16; see Figure 3.11).

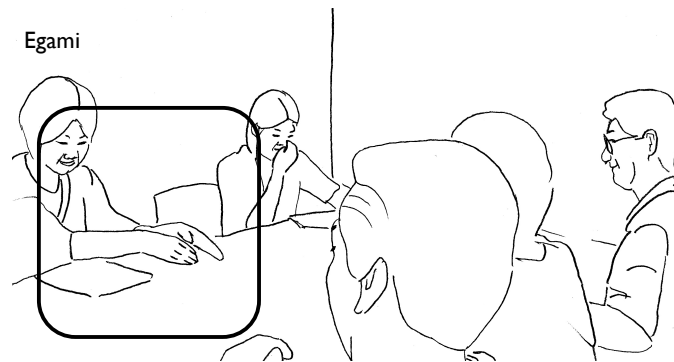


Figure 3.10. Premeeting talk in *bukai* (gesture-1).

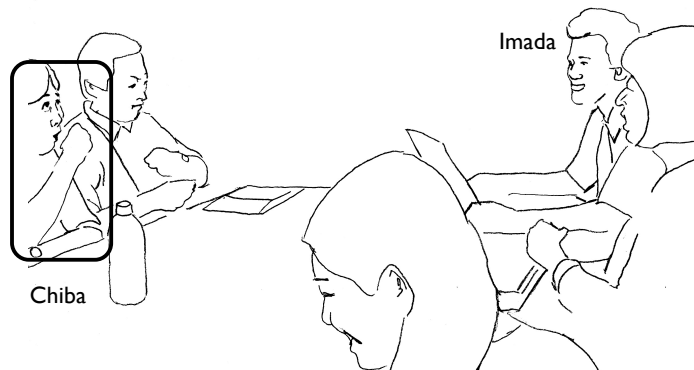


Figure 3.11. Premeeting talk in *bukai* (gesture-2).

Chiba's gesture elicits Imada's laughter (lines 16-17) as well as Gonda's comment *ugoki ga henna- ugoki ga hen na (n natte)*, which means "Our movement gets weird. It will be a weird movement" (lines 18-19; see Figure 3.12).

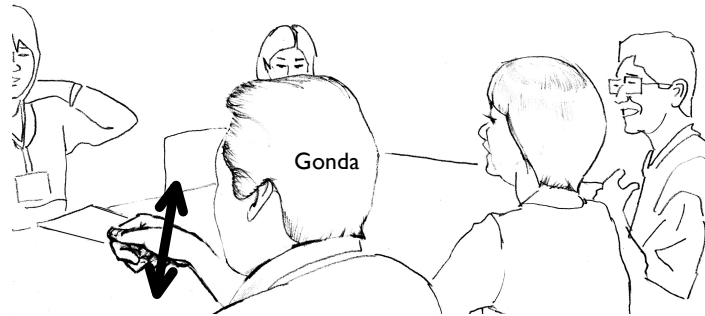


Figure 3.12. Premeeting talk in *bukai* (gesture-3).

While Imada continues laughing (line 22), Gonda tells the participants that they should act as they usually do without trying to use honorifics (lines 23-26). Although Gonda keeps a straight face, the other participants laugh at his instruction and continue to do so for 2.2 seconds (line 27). Meanwhile, Gonda starts to sort out the items in front of him in apparent preparation for the meeting (line 27), and glances at his watch while the other participants are still chuckling (line 30). Gonda prompts Imada (chair) to start the meeting (line 31).

3.3 Openings

Regardless of the meeting's size, the boundary between the premeeting and the meeting proper is always explicitly marked by the chair's opening statement *hajimemasu* ("I will begin") or *X(o) hajimemasu* ("I will begin X [the name of the meeting]"). In this section, I will focus on three features of the opening sequence, (a) time, (b) boundary

marking, and (c) greeting sequence, and examine how the transition from premeeting to meeting proper takes place in the in-house meetings.

3.3.1 Time as a reason to start. Boden (1994) shows that an initial head-count typically leads to the opening of meetings in American institutional settings. A satisfactory head-count provides the chairs with a good opportunity to start the meeting. The following excerpt from Boden's (1994) study shows that the chair of a Graduate Council at a university orients to the number of participants before commencing the meeting:

(3.7) Council (Boden 1994, pp. 92-93)

3 Chair: One two three four five? Frank is away.
4 Jim Cannock is away, we have a new
5 member? (0.3) who doesn't seem to have
6 appeared?
7 (1.2)
8 Uh-
9 (3.1)
10 Through,
11 (2.6)
12 Dean: Does five constitute a *quorum*? One
13 two (.) three four
14 Chair (five)
15 Dean: [Fi : : : ve
16 Chair: [(I don't think) it does-] I don't think it
17 does, let's see one two three four
18 five (1.1) six seven eight
19 (1.6)
20 Chair Yes. *We do have a quorum.*
21 (1.3)
22 So, let's call the meeting to order,
23 We do have a quorum,

In lines 3 through 18, both the Chair and the Dean count the attendees to see if the number present constitutes a quorum. After counting arriving attendees, the Chair finds that they have enough participants (line 20) and announces the beginning of the meeting

(line 21).³ Boden (1994) also shows that head-counts are not limited to formal meetings that require a quorum. In the following excerpt, Andy explicitly assesses the attendance, and then proposes that the meeting “get started”:

(3.8) Travel Agency/2 (Boden 1994, p. 94, arrow is original)

- 1 Andy: Let's- Lessee John's out of town, and Helen's-
 2 Helen's in with Joan,
 3 Todd: Yeah.
 4 (1.9)
 5 Andy: So I guess this is *us*!
 6 (): [Hmm]
 7 Chris: [Uh-uh] Vicki's sup- s- supposed to bring those
 8 new co[ntracts]
 9 Andy: [GOT 'em] I got'em here 'case she doesn'
 10 come,
 11 (2.5)
 12 → So, let's get started

In an American context, a meeting is considered ready to begin after attendance has been taken.⁴ In the Japanese data, although chairs may orient to attendance before opening the meeting, this action does not necessarily precede the announcement of the meeting's beginning. Chairs in the STAR Group study typically invoke the time in order to account for why the meeting should begin, punctuality serving as the overall consideration. In the next excerpt, Maeda (chair) expresses his intention to begin the meeting immediately after he is informed that it is time to start:

(3.9) Security Business Project: Opening

((As Takeda rushes into the room, he bows slightly to Maeda while grabbing the edge of the door to close it. He immediately releases his hand and stops the motion.))

- 1 Maeda: [un shimechatte
 yeah close:TE:ASP:TE
 Yeah, close it.

³According to my Japanese informants, their companies' in-house meetings, regardless of size, generally do not require a quorum, the only exception being the monthly board meeting.

⁴Ford (2008) also shows that meeting leaders in her American data need to fulfill a quorum before they start their meetings.

- 2 [((Maeda nods to Takeda))
- 3 Takeda: *aa hai.* ((closes the door))
oh yes
Oh okay.
- 4 (4.3) ((Maeda is looking at the documents in front of him.))
- 5 Maeda: [*shusseki tte henji no kureta (.) Ozawa_san wa:*
attendance QT reply LK give_me_PST Ozawa_Mr. TOP
- 6 [((looking down at the documents))
- 7 (0.5)
- 8 *mada (°na n da.°)* ((looks up and looks around the table))
yet COP SE COP
Mr. Ozawa, who said he would come in his reply to me, is not here yet.
- 9 → *mottomo m- mada jikan (.) [nattenai °ka.°*
although yet time become:ASP:NEG Q
Although it isn't time yet I guess.
- 10 [((looking at Katori))
- 11 (1.3) ((Katori looks at the time on his cellular phone. Maeda looks around the table.))
- 12 Katori: → *°narimashita yo.° (.)*
become:PAST:POL PP
It is.
- 13 Maeda: → [*natta? [°wakarimashita.°]*
become:PST understand:PST:POL
It is? I see.
- 14 [((Maeda looks down at his document))
- 15 Katori: → [*moo narimashita.*]
already become:PST:POL
It is already.
- 16 Maeda: → *yosh:: [(.) saa hajimeyoo.*
INJ INJ start:VOL
Okay. So, Let's get started.
- 17 [((Maeda looks up and quickly moves his gaze from right to left))
- 18 (1.1) ((Maeda looks down and his gaze remains on his documents.))

When Takeda arrives at the room, the door is wide open. He rushes into the room and greets Maeda with a slight bow while holding the door with his right hand (see Figure 3.13). Takeda enters the room in a hurried manner, and tries to close the door once he enters. This suggests that he is aware that the meeting is about to commence. Takeda releases his hand from the door (see Figure 3.14), and Maeda immediately asks him to

close it (line 1). Maeda also displays his orientation to the time by having the door closed, an action that serves as a type of premeeting preparation. At this point, there are nine attendees at the meeting table (see Figure 3.15).



Figure 3.13. Premeeeting (arrival-1).



Figure 3.14. Premeeeting (arrival-2).

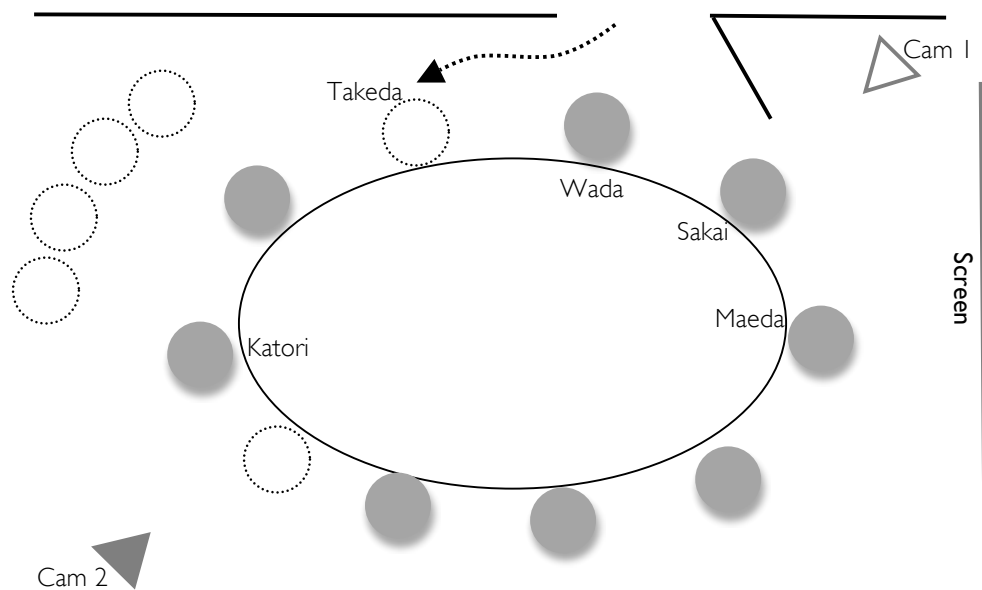


Figure 3.15. Seating arrangement of Security Business Project (premeeting).

Although Wada and Sasaki were talking before the above segment, they stop their conversation as soon as Takeda enters. As in Excerpt 3.3, the participants of this interdepartmental meeting silently wait for Maeda's next move (line 4). After checking his documents (line 4), Maeda assesses the attendance and mentions that one of the

expected attendees (Ozawa) is not present (lines 5 and 8). He immediately offers a possible account for Ozawa's absence: It is not yet time for the meeting to begin (line 9). Maeda's orientation to the time is again evident. When Maeda refers to the time, he meets Katori's gaze (line 10). Katori then checks his cellular phone for the time (line 11), and tells Maeda that it is in fact time for the meeting to start (line 12). Upon acknowledging this information (line 13), Maeda expresses his intention to start the meeting (line 16). Again, it is shown that Maeda uses the time as the reason for terminating the premeeting activities and beginning the meeting itself.

Mentioning the time is thus an action that allows the chair to mark the boundary between the premeeting stage and the main body of the meeting. This is a common practice regardless of the size of the meetings in the data. Time is always the most relevant information that motivates the chair to commence the meeting, which is typically done in the following TCU or turn. The excerpt below follows Excerpt 3.6. Immediately after joking about how the presence of recording devices might influence the participants' body movements (see Excerpt 3.6), Gonda reminds the other participants that it is time to start the meeting:

(3.10) Corporate Planning *bukai* (SOS): Premeeting (building on Excerpt 3.6)

- 27 (2.2) ((Gonda starts sorting the things in front of him. Everybody else is chuckling.))
- 28 Chiba: [(° [barechaimasu ne.°)
be_exposed:TE:ASP:POL PP
They will find out ().
- 29 [(Fujino looks down and browses through the handout in front of her))
- 30 [((Gonda glances at his watch)) (Figure 3.16)
- 31 Gonda: → *ja jikan [na nde.*
INJ time COP because
Okay, it's time, so.
- 32 [((Gonda looks at Imada))

- 33 Egami: → [*hai* [^o*onegaishimasu.*° =
 yes please
 Yes please.
- 34 [*((Egami bows slightly))*
- 35 Imada: → [*hai*
 yes
 Yes
- 36 Chiba: → [*((bows slightly))*
- 37 Doi: → =*onegaishimasu.*
 please
 Please.
- 38 Imada: → *e jaa hajimemasu.=e::tto desu ne,*
 FL INJ start:POL FL COP:POL PP
 Well, then we'll start.=we::l
- 39 <*senshuu wa*>, *e::tto*
 last_week TOP FL
 Last week, uhm

While the other participants are still chuckling, Gonda sorts the papers and pens in front of him (line 27). He then glances at his watch (see Figure 3.16) and says *ja jikan na nde* (“Okay, it’s time, so”) in line 31. This TCU is structurally incomplete with the subordinate conjunctive *nde* (‘because’) in the final position—that is, the main clause is not stated but implied.

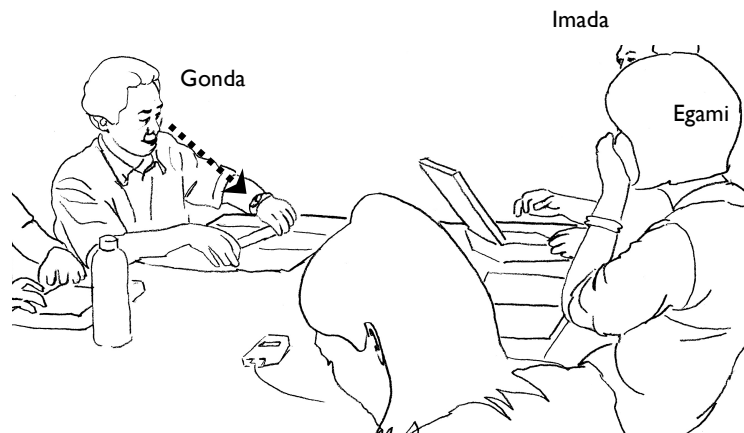


Figure 3.16. Glancing at the watch.

Although the direction of Gonda’s gaze suggests that his utterance is addressed to Imada (chair), the first response comes from Egami. Egami acknowledges Gonda’s implied

message by saying *hai onegaishimasu* (“Yes, please”) in line 33. Overlapping Egami, Imada also gives the acknowledgement *hai* (‘yes’) in line 35. Chiba bows slightly (line 36). Following this, Doi says *onegaishimasu* (“Please”) to show his readiness (line 37). Immediately after Doi’s acknowledgement, Imada announces the commencement of the meeting (line 38). The above sequence suggests that the participants treat Gonda’s reference to the time in line 30 as a prompt to begin the meeting, and it is in seeming response to this that Imada announces the start of the meeting. Fujino is the only participant who does not acknowledge Gonda’s utterance. As the above transcript shows, she is skimming her handout when Gonda refers to the time. One possible reason for why she does not react to Gonda’s prompt is that she is preoccupied with examining the handout. Another reason might be that she has already oriented to business concerns (as opposed to the casual premeeting talk of her coworkers) when Gonda mentions the time, and so does not need to signal her transition to work because, for her, it has already occurred.

In Excerpt 3.9, the chair (Maeda) refers to the time in order to account for (a) the absence of a member and (b) the beginning of the meeting. When Katori informs the chair of the current time, he is simply fulfilling a request. Katori’s statement of the time functions quite differently from that of Gonda who uses this same type of statement as a way to prompt the chair (Imada) to begin the meeting in Excerpt 3.10. The chair announces the onset of the meeting by saying *e jaa hajimemasu* (“Well, then we’ll start”) in line 38. However, as we have seen, certain other attendees may also use the notion of punctuality as a legitimate reason to prompt the chair to terminate the premeeting activities and begin the meeting. Not every participant can prompt the chair in this

manner. Without knowing Gonda's status, his action of telling the chair to begin the meeting displays his identity as someone who is permitted to give directions to the chair. In fact, while Imada is a manager (*buchoo*), Gonda is a senior manager (*honbuchoo*). The difference in their positions at the company emerges in the interactional sequence.

It is not always the case, however, that the person who directs the chair is in a senior position. In the next example, Mita prompts Hayama to start the meeting. By so doing, Mita displays herself as someone who can casually instruct the chair. Hayama takes up Mita's signal to "move on," and her self-claimed position is thus reflexively ratified. As mentioned above, prior to this segment, Kotani left her seat to make a phone. Because Kotani is away from her seat, the meeting cannot begin:

(3.11) Marketing (STAR TECH): Premeeting (building on Excerpt 3.5)

- 78 (4.3) ((All the participants seated around the table are looking at their notebooks. Kotani walks back toward her seat.))
- 79 Hayama: [Ishida-]
Ishida
Ishida-
- 80 Kotani: [chanto] kuru [tte itta rashii.
properly come QT say:PAST seem
It seems that he said he was coming.
- 81 [((The seated participants turn their head to look at
Kotani who is still standing by her seat))
- 82 (0.4)
- 83 Hayama: Ishida tte i- (.) [to hanashita;
Ishida TOP with speak:PST
Ishida- (.) Did you speak to him?
- 84 [((Kotani sits down))
- 85 kotani: ie. Ogata-san.
no Ogata_Ms.
No. It was Ms. Ogata.
- 86 Hayama: aa.
oh
Oh.
- 87 (0.4)

88 Kotani: *hai.*
 yes
 Yes.

89 (0.3)

90 Mita: → >°*tara moo*< *yatchaimasu:ç*
 then already do:ASP:POL
 Then, shall we start now?

91 Hayama: → [*>hai hai.<*
 yes yes
 Yes yes.

92 [*((Hayama pulls his seat in and sits up straight))*]

93 (0.3)

94 Hayama: → *dewa suimase::n.*
 INJ excuse_me
 So, excuse me.

Hayama is about to say something regarding Ishida in line 79. At the same time, Kotani comes back to her seat and reports that Ishida is coming (line 80). Responding to Kotani's report, Hayama again tries to say something about Ishida by starting his turn with *Ishida tte i-* ("Ishida-") in line 83. However, he immediately repairs his on-going TCU by modifying its structure: He reformulates his TCU with the question *to hanashitaç* ("Did you speak to [him]") in line 83. Kotani's use of the evidential marker *rashii* ("seem") in line 80 is followed by Hayama's restructuring of his TCU in order to clarify the reliability of the information that Kotani has just provided. Answering Hayama's question, Kotani states that the information is hearsay (line 85). Hayama acknowledges Kotani's response as new information with the change-of-state token *aa* ("oh") in line 86. That is, Hayama has just learned that, although Ishida was reportedly coming to the meeting, Kotani has failed to locate him and so his exact arrival is unknown. Kotani reconfirms what Hayama has just acknowledged by providing the response *hai* ("yes") in line 88. Hayama, as the chair, must now decide whether he should wait for Ishida's arrival or not before beginning the meeting. The problem is that nobody

knows when Ishida is coming. As Hayama is facing this problem, Mita suggests *tara moo yacchaimasu* (“Then, shall we start now?”) in line 90. Hayama immediately accepts Mita’s suggestion (line 91) and his bodily movement also shows his orientation to the opening of the meeting (line 92). He calls for the participants’ attention (line 94). As in Excerpt 3.10, a participant prompts the chair to start the meeting in Excerpt 3.11. Through this action, both Gonda (in Excerpt 3.10) and Mita (Excerpt 3.11) demonstrate an ability to instruct the chairs on what to do next.

Although Hayama prepares to start the meeting by trying to get the participants’ attention (line 94), the TCU *dewa sumimase::n* (“So, excuse me”) does not mark the meeting’s onset. In the data, the chair’s announcement (*X [o] hajimemasu* (“I/We will begin [X]”)) marks the beginning. I discuss this common practice in the next section.

3.3.2 Marking the onset. Working with data from American meetings, Boden (1994) notes that “a general orienting pattern, in the immediate opening section, is an assessment of attendance and/or a proposal to ‘get started’ which is typically prefaced by a standard topic transition marker such as: so, okay, uh, ehm” (p. 96). For example, the chair’s proposal to “get started” appears as follows in Boden’s data (1994, pp. 96-97; arrangement and numbering mine):

- (1) Chair: So, let’s call the meeting to order
- (2) Andy: So, let’s get started
- (3) WS: *Hello!* I think we’ll go ahead and get started?
- (4) SM: Okay! I think I’ll just wade right in here and get this thing started,
- (5) TT: Okay I’ll start off an- I think . . .
- (6) Dean: Ehm (1.5) I’d *like* to introduce
- (7) Dean: Okay. (.) Ehm
- (8) Lana: U : : : hm h : : :

I find three patterns in the examples above. In the first pattern chairs literally propose to start the meetings by using the *let's...* construction, as in examples (1) and (2). The use of the first-person plural personal pronoun *we* as well as try marking (i.e., rising intonation; see Sacks & Schegloff, 1979) in example (3) shows that the chair (WS) invites all the participants to join in the process of opening the meeting. Although such proposals receive no uptake from the recipients in Boden's (1994) data, they clearly mark the opening of the meetings. In the STAR Group data, one of the chairs says *saa hajimeyoo* ("So, let's get started"). However, it does not mark the opening of the meeting. Instead, the chair uses this expression before he announces the onset of the meeting (see Excerpt 3.14).

In the second pattern proposals are embedded in the chairs' own opening discussions as seen in examples (4) through (6). In example (6), an extreme instance, the chair does not even mention starting the meeting. In the STAR Group data, the chairs' own reports always come after their announcements of the commencement.

In the third pattern "topic transition markers" (Boden, 1994) alone mark the boundary between premeeting and the meeting's main body, as seen in examples (7) and (8). Boden (1994) says, "As un-business-like as it may seem, 'uhm' or 'ehm' frequently mark the introduction of first topic, which is also as often the 'reason for the meeting' (p. 97). The Japanese equivalent of those topic transition markers, such as *ja*, *dewa* and *soredewa* frequently appear in the turn-initial position in the STAR Group data. However, they never function alone to mark the boundary between the premeeting and the meeting proper. They always precede a chair's declarative statement of the meeting's onset.

As described above, the chair always clearly marks the boundary between the premeeting and the meeting proper with the declarative statement *hajimemasu* (“I/We will begin”) or *X(o) hajimemasu* (“I/We will begin X [the name of the meeting]”) regardless of which type of meeting is being initiated. In the following example, a detail of Excerpt 3.10, Imada (chair) explicitly announces the opening of a *bukai*:

(3.12) Corporate Planning *bukai* (SOS): Premeeting (partial replication of 3.10)

- 31 Gonda: *ja jikan [na nde.*
 INJ time COP because
 Okay, it's time, so.
- 32 [*((looks at Imada))*]
- 33 Egami: [*hai [°onegaishimasu.° =*
 yes please
 Yes please.
- 34 [*((Egami bows slightly))*]
- 35 Imada: [*hai*
 yes
 Yes
- 36 Chiba: [*((bows slightly))*]
- 37 Doi: =*onegaishimasu.*
 please
 Please.
- 38 Imada: → *e jaa hajimemasu.=e::tto desu ne,*
 FL INJ start:POL FL COP:POL PP
 Well, then we'll start.=we:ll
- 39 <*senshuu wa*>, *e::tto*
 last_week TOP FL
 Last week, uhm

After Gonda's prompt (line 31) gets uptakes from Imada and other participants (lines 33-37), Imada calls the meeting to order by saying *e jaa hajimemasu* (“Well, then we'll start”) in line 38. Immediately after making this announcement, Imada begins his own report. Imada's *jaa hajimemasu* marks the boundary between the premeeting and the meeting proper.

Chairs may make longer onset-marking statements than the one we saw in the example above. In the following excerpt, Gonda (chair) makes a slightly longer statement, which includes the title of their interdepartmental meeting, *kee'ee-shikkoo-kaigi* ('Executive Management Meeting'):

(3.13) Executive Management: Premeeting (building on Excerpt 3.3)

36 Gonda: >SOREDEWA OHAYOOGOZAIMASU.<
ITJ good_morning:POL
Okay. Good morning.

37 ALL: >OHAYOOGOZAIMASU.< ((Everybody bows))
good_morning:POL
Good morning.

38 Gonda: → ja kee'ee-shikkoo-kaigi hajimemasu.
INJ management-executive-meeting start:POL
So, we will start the Executive Management Meeting.

39 e honjitsu ano (.) Wakata-joomu to:
FL today FL Wakata exec. director and

40 (0.6)

41 ne↓ Bando-buchoo wa
PP Bando manager TOP

42 (0.3)

43 JOS-san no
JOS LK

44 (0.3)

45 e: SV.
FL SV

46 (0.9)

47 e:::: (to yuuto),
FL QT say:CND

48 () to yuu katachi ni
QT say shape COP

49 (kawatte arimasu) node,
change:TE exist:POL because

50 (tte:) °kesseki (desu)°
absence COP:POL

Today, both Wakata-jomu and, (0.6) y'know, Bando-bucho are, er: for SV (Star Vietnam) of JOS (Japan Office Solutions), er:::: (0.9) () will take place instead of (), so, because of (), they are absent.

- 24 =ano: WBS no Baba:-san,
 FL LK Baba Mr.
 And today, uhm: (.) well, Mr. Baba of WBS, who er: had been a member of
 this project until recently, . . .
- 25 ((Maeda continues to explain the replacement of a former meeting
 participant.))

Maeda first utters *yosh:* (“Okay”), an element often deployed in Japanese interaction just prior to the undertaking of a new course of action, and expresses his intention to start the meeting by saying *saa hajimeyoo* (“So, let’s get started”) while briefly glancing around at the other participants (line 16). The direction of his gaze suggests that he addresses this proposal to the other participants. They do not, however, provide any uptake. In fact, after a 1.1 second pause, Maeda provides the topic transition marker *ja* (“so”) in a louder voice, and announces the onset of the meeting by saying *dai sankai ni naru no ka na? e: sekyuritii bijinesu purojekuto. e: hajimemasu* (“I guess it’s our third meeting? We’ll start the Security Business Project meeting”) in lines 19-20. Immediately after making this announcement, Maeda explains why one of the former members is not present. As seen in the previous example, the chair of this meeting provides an account of a missing member after announcing the opening of the meeting.

It is an interesting phenomenon that chairs state the obvious by including the title of their meetings in their onset announcements. This is not limited to large interdepartmental meetings. As the next excerpt shows, the chair of *bukai* also begins his meeting in a similar manner:

(3.15) Marketing (STAR TECH): Premeeting (building on Excerpt 3.11)

- 94 Hayama: → *dewa suimase::n.*
 INJ excuse_me
 So, excuse me.
- 95 (2.0) ((Hayama turns his head slightly to watch Kotani flipping the
 pages of her handout))

96 Hayama: [koko n toko teeree da yo ne=
lately regular COP PP PP

97 [(Hayama looks at Mita and Waki)]

98 =igaito bukai [wa.
surprisingly staff-meeting TOP
Lately our staff meetings have been surprisingly regular.

99 Mita: [un.
yeah

100 demo [nishuukan kura- e- sh- isshuukan=
but two_weeks about one_week

101 [(Mita picks up her day planner)]

102 =ka [nanka aiteru kara.=
or something elapse:TE:ASP because
Yeah. But we skipped two week- one week or so.

103 [(Mita opens her planner and browses through it)]

104 Hayama: =°aa soo da soo da.° sore da yo.
oh right COP right COP that COP PP
Oh, that's right that's right. That's it.

105 (1.0)

106 Hayama: → .h ja: sumimasen.
INJ excuse_me
.h So, excuse me.

107 → °e:° bukai o hajimemasu ga,
FL staff-meeting ACC start:POL CNJ
Uhm I will begin the staff meeting.

108 (0.7)

109 °e° konshuu wa °ano° kee'ee-kaigi: ga
FL this_week TOP FL management-meeting NOM
er this week, uh the management meeting

Hayama (chair) attempts at first to get the participants' attention (line 94). However, he soon realizes that Kotani, who has just returned to her seat, is still not ready (line 95). Therefore, he reopens the floor for premeeting talk by confirming with Mita and Waki that their meeting has been held with surprising regularity (line 97-98). To respond to this, Mita first indicates her agreement by saying *un* ("yeah") in line 99. Mita's affirmative response actually prefaces her upcoming "disaffiliative action" (Goodwin and Heritage, 1990); she counter-argues that there was a one or two-week period when they did not

have a staff meeting (lines 100 and 102). Hayama immediately agrees with Mita (line 104). By this point, Kotani has stopped flipping through the pages of her handout. Hayama once again tries to get the attention of the participants by saying *ja: sumimasen* (“So, excuse me”) in line 106, and announces the opening of the meeting by saying *°e:° bukai o hajimemasu ga* (“Uhm I will begin the departmental meeting”) in line 107. Two things are evident in this excerpt. The first is that the chair declares the onset of the meeting after making sure that the participants are ready. The second is that the chair of this small weekly meeting states the obvious when mentioning what is being started (i.e., the title of the meeting) as he announces the meeting’s onset, a pattern we have seen in larger interdepartmental meetings. This uniformity in the declarations of meeting beginnings indicates the importance of formality to the chairs in these situations.

3.3.3 Greeting sequence as a consolidator of attentiveness. The last notable feature of the opening sequence is the use of a greeting sequence. In general, people exchange greetings when they meet. Therefore, it is not surprising that meeting attendees do the same in the following example:

(3.16) Security Business Project: Premeeting – Greeting upon arrival

- 1 ((As he is walking into the room, Katori bows slightly. Sakai turns his head to look at Katori))
- 2 Katori: [*'nchiwa*
hi
Hi
- 3 [((Katori makes eye contact with Sakai. They exchange bows))

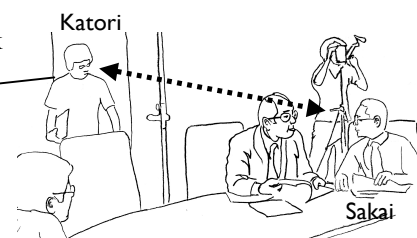


Figure 3.17. First greeting.

4	Katori:	[°'nchiwa° hi Hi	<p style="text-align: right;">Figure 3.18. Second greeting.</p>
5		[((Katori bows as he glances at the researcher setting up a camcorder))	
6		(0.5) ((Shima turns his head to look at Katori. They make eye contact))	
7	Katori:	[°n[chiwa hi Hi	<p style="text-align: right;">Figure 3.19. Third greeting.</p>
8		[((Katori bows to Shima))	
9	Shima:	[chiwa hi Hi	
10		[((Shima bows to Katori))	
11		((Katori bows towards the left, and puts his belongings on the table))	

When Katori arrives at the room, seven other participants are already seated. As the excerpt above shows, Katori gives quick bows five times and says 'nchiwa ("Hi") three times (lines 2, 4, and 7) between the time when he enters the room and the time he puts his belongings on the meeting table (see Figures 3.17, 3.18, and 3.19). Boden (1994, p. 90) finds that a turn sequence starting with a greeting is "a fairly typical initial turn by arriving members drawn together from different departments" and that it develops into the head-count activities, which precede the opening of the meeting.⁵ This is, however, not the case in the STAR Group data. Instead, greetings are exchanged collectively just before the chair declares the onset of the meeting:

⁵Boden (1994, p. 90) also says that an opening sequence that starts with a greeting is "predictably less common in staff or sales meetings, where departmental participants have potentially seen and greeted each other already that day." This is also evident in the STAR Group data.

(3.17) Executive Management: Premeeting (partial replication of Excerpt 3.13)

36 Gonda: → >SOREDEWA OHAYOOGOZAIMASU.<
ITJ good_morning:POL
Okay. Good morning.

37 ALL: → >OHAYOOGOZAIMASU.< ((Everybody bows.))
good_morning:POL
Good morning.

38 Gonda: ja kee'ee-shikkoo-kaigi hajimemasu.
INJ management-executive-meeting start:POL
So, we will start the Executive Management Meeting.

Gonda (chair) initiates the greeting sequence by saying *soredewa ohayoogozaimasu* (“Okay. Good morning”) in line 36. The first greeting is typically followed by the second, return-greeting: The greeting sequence constitutes an adjacency pair. The initial greeting by Gonda (line 36) is thus followed by its return-greeting *ohayoogozaimasu* (“Good morning”) provided in chorus by the other participants (line 37). However, unlike in an ordinary greeting sequence, the topic transition marker *soredewa* prefaces the first greeting (line 36). In addition, the greeting sequence in the above excerpt is different from that in Excerpt 3.16. In Excerpt 3.16, Katori exchanges greetings with other participants upon his arrival at the meeting room where he meets them for the first time that day. In Excerpt 3.17 Gonda, in contrast, greets participants that he has already met earlier in the morning. Therefore, the greeting sequence in Excerpt 3.17 serves as a preface to the upcoming announcement of the onset of the meeting (line 38). The same greeting sequence appears again later in this meeting:

(3.18) Executive Management: Premeeting (building on Excerpt 3.17)

38 Gonda: ja kee'ee-shikkoo-kaigi hajimemasu.
INJ management-executive-meeting start:POL
So, we will start the Executive Management Meeting.
(12 lines omitted)

51 (1.0) ((Gonda turns to Harada))

52 Gonda: *ja harada-shachoo °no hoo°=*
 INJ Harada president LK SOF
So, Harada-shachoo, please.

53 Harada: = [*hai.*
 yes
Yes.

54 [((Gonda bows slightly to Harada))

55 Harada → *>OHAYOOGOZAIMASU.<=*
 good_morning:POL
Good morning.

56 ALL: → *=OHAYOOGOZAIMASU.=*
 good_morning:POL
Good morning.

57 Harada: *=otsukaresama desu.*
 tired_person COP:POL
Thank you for being here.

58 (1.7)

59 Harada: *kyoo wa ano: tokubetsu: nagaku kakaru*
 today TOP FL particularly long take

60 *yoo na are mo nai mitai na nde,*
 MOD COP that either exist:NEG MOD COP because
It looks like we don't need a very long meeting today, so,

61 (0.6)

After Gonda marks the opening of the meeting (line 38), he gives an account of the absentees (see Excerpt 3.13). Then, he yields the floor to Harada, the president of the company (line 52). After accepting Gonda's invitation to speak by providing an affirmative response, *hai* ("yes") in line 53, Harada initiates a greeting sequence by saying *ohayoogozaimasu* ("Good morning") in a loud voice (line 55). Without waiting for the completion of the first greeting, the other participants return the second greeting and complete the adjacency pair (line 56). Before the completion of the second part of the greeting sequence, Harada offers another kind of ritual greeting, *otsukaresama desu*—an "in-house salutation" used "to acknowledge the efforts of fellow employees" (Yotsukura, 2003, p. 122). Although this in-house salutation may be used reciprocally (see Yotsukura,

2003), a return greeting from the recipients of Harada's salutation is absent in line 58. After the above segment, Harada requests that the other participants, the managers of various divisions, share their thoughts about the company's current problems. Because this is an unplanned course of action, Harada prefaces his upcoming request with an upfront account in lines 59-60. (See Chapter 5 for further development of this sequence.)

What is parallel between the two instances of the same greeting sequence in Excerpts 3.17 and 3.18 is that both occur before a greeting initiator's extended turn. This situation is similar to the case where the chair of *bukai* says *ja sumimasen* ("So, excuse me") to elicit attention from the other participants (see Excerpt 3.15). By eliciting a return greeting from the other participants, speakers can achieve a "consolidation of attentiveness" (J. M. Atkinson & Drew, 1979) before they begin their unilateral talk. A speaker may use a greeting sequence during a meeting to shift between actions in the most efficient way.

3.4 Closings

The closing sequences of telephone conversations have been studied (e.g., Antaki, 2002; Button, 1987, 1990; Pavlidou, 1998; Schegloff & Sacks, 1973) with a particular focus on how both parties coordinate their actions and achieve (or delay) an exit from the exchange. Boden (1994) says, "*any* bounded encounter requires the sort of deft and detailed actions that have fascinated both Garfinkel and Goffman" (p. 103, emphasis in original). Even in cases where exit from an interaction is unilateral, a closing requires the departees to make efforts such as giving both verbal and non-verbal accounts for leaving (Goodwin, 1987).

Unlike most telephone conversations, meetings usually have prescheduled endings that the participants do not really need to negotiate. They do, however, require a sequence of actions that is directed towards a closing. Boden (1994) points out that closings of formal meetings typically exhibit preclosing sequences, in which chairs ask if anyone has anything else to say. The following is an excerpt from Boden (1994):

(3.19) Staff Meeting/1 (from Boden, 1994, p. 104)

- 1 Lana: Okay, anybody *e : lese?* got anything
- 2 else?
- 3 (0.3)
- 4 Then let's adjourn?

In this sequence, Lana makes a final check to see if there are any last-minute topics to be covered before she closes the meeting. It is, therefore, “marked as a preclosing opportunity to reopen discussion” (Boden, 1994, p. 104). Although a preclosing projects an upcoming closing, it also brings a risk that someone will reopen the discussion and thus postpone the closing.

In the STAR Group data, chairs mark pre-closings in the same way that the American chair does in the example above. In the following excerpt, at what appears to be the end of the meeting, Gonda (chair) checks to see if anybody has anything else to say:

(3.20) Executive Management: Closing

- 1 Gonda: *watakushi no hoo wa ijoo desu.*
I LK SOF TOP above COP:POL
That's all from me.
- 2 (3.1) ((Gonda looks down and looks up again))
- 3 Gonda: *saigoni.*
lastly
Lastly.
- 4 (1.3) ((Gonda looks around))

5 *yoroshii deshoo ka.*
 okay COP:POL Q
Is everybody okay?

6 (0.5)

7 *hai. SOREDEWA OWARIMASU.*
 okay then finish:POL
Okay, we'll adjourn then.

8 ? *hai.=*
 okay
Okay.

9 ALL =((bowing)) *OTSUKARESAMA DESHITA.*
 exhaustion COP:POL:PAST
 otsukaresama deshita.



Figure 3.20. Participants bow together at closing.

After Gonda marks the completion of his report turn in line 1, no one takes a next turn (line 2). Gonda then begins marking the pre-closing sequence by saying *saigoni* (“lastly”) (line 3). The adverbial phrase *saigoni* (“lastly”) is left on its own with falling intonation. Instead of continuing with whatever phrase might fit syntactically in the slot after *saigoni*, Gonda looks around at the participants (line 4). After a 1.3 second pause, he asks the participants, *yoroshii deshoo ka* (“Is everybody okay?”) in line 5. This is his reconfirmation of the participants’ non-verbal response (line5) to his incomplete inquiry (lines 3-4). His embodied action (i.e., looking around) (line 4) suggests that he has just made an inquiry. By saying *saigoni* (“lastly”) in line 3, Gonda implicitly makes his inquiry—“if anyone wants to say anything lastly”—while he makes explicit note of the

fact that this is the last chance for someone to say something. Gonda treats the absence of uptake (line 4) as a “no” from the participants, and reconfirms that everybody is okay with this by asking *yoroshii desu ka* (“Is everybody okay?”) in line 5. Having received no uptake in line 6, Gonda says *hai. soredewa owarimasu* (“Okay, we’ll adjourn then.”) to announce an adjournment of the meeting (line 7). One of the recipients immediately provides the affirmative response *hai* (‘yes’) (line 8). Other participants (including Gonda himself) exchange *otsukaresama deshita*, the past-tense form of the “in-house salutation” (Yotsukura, 2003), in line 9. I have left this phrase in Japanese because there is no equivalent expression in English. It is a greeting, and it thus naturally requires the interactants’ shared attention and collaboration. Interestingly, the choral greeting occurs spontaneously after the chair’s official announcement of the meeting adjournment. This suggests that the choral production of *otsukaresama deshita* is a common practice for the attendees, which allows them to make a quick and collaborative exit from the meeting.

The same phenomenon is evident in another large (interorganizational) meeting, the Security Business Project. In the following excerpt, Maeda (chair) makes a speech, in which he states the STAR Group’s sales goal for security-related business. In this meeting, the participants, mostly representatives of sales-related divisions or affiliated companies, have been discussing their strategies and goals for security-related business. Maeda’s statement of the entire group’s sales goal summarizes the purpose of this meeting, and brings it a conclusion:

(3.21) Security Business Project: Closing

1 Maeda: ee *isshoni benkyoo shinagara*: e:
 FL together learn doing_while FL
 uhm as we learn together er:

2 *sutaa gruppu no, u: sekyuritii jigyou ga,*
 STAR Group LK FL security business NOM

3 *shikkari tachiagatte sannengo, (.)*
 firmly be_launched:TE three_years_later
The security business of the STAR group will be firmly launched in three years,

4 *toriaezu gojuu tte*
 in_the_meantime fifty QT

5 *(karioki-shiteru n da yo.) (de.)*
 tentative_setting-do:ASP SE COP PP LOC

6 *ano shihyoo toshite;*
 FL guideline as
In the meantime, The tentative sales goal has been set as fifty (=five billion) in () as a guideline.

7 *(minasan zehi kono kai de)*
 everyone definitely this group LOC

8 *gambatte ikitai to omoimasu.*
 do_the_best:TE go_DES QT think:POL
I hope we will all do our best.

9 → *yoroshiku onegaishimasu. ((tilts his head forward a little))=*
 well beg:HUM:POL
yoroshiku onegaishimasu.

10 Usami?: [hai.=
 yes
Yes.

11 [((Several participants bow.))

12 Maeda: → =*HAI ARIGATOOGOZAI[MASHITA. ((bows deeply))=*
 all_right thank_you:POL:PST
All right. Thank you very much.

13 ALL: → [ARIGATOOGOZAIMASHITA. ((bow))
 thank_you:POL:PST
thank you very much.

In his speech (lines 1-8), Maeda not only states the sales goal established for the entire corporate group, but also invites the cooperation of members from this group by choosing expressions like *isshoni* (“together”; line 1), *minasan* (“everyone”; line 7), and *kono kai de* (“in this group”; line 7). He then concludes his speech by requesting help from others by saying *yoroshiku onegai shimasu* (line 9). As is the case with the in-house salutation *otsukaresama deshita* that we saw in the previous excerpt, the formulaic expression *yoroshiku onegai shimasu* does not have an English equivalent that closely represents its

pragmatics of the phrase. It is an expression of a speaker's request for help in the future. It is similar to, but not exactly the same as, "Please take care of it for me." Unlike the greeting *otsukaresama deshita*, the phrase *yoroshiku onegai shimasu* is a request. It entails that the receiver either grant or reject it in its second pair part, although this latter option is unlikely. It is also possible that the second pair part will be another *yoroshiku onegai shimasu*, making the request mutual. In the case above, one participant treats Maeda's *yoroshiku onegai shimasu* as a unilateral request, and grants it (line 10). Other participants bow (line 11). Bowing is ambiguous because it can represent both a non-verbal request as well as the granting of a request. Whichever it is, the adjacency pair initiated by Maeda (line 9) is complete in lines 10-11.

The practice of thanking is often a reciprocal action. In line 12, Maeda says *hai arigatoogozaimashita* ("All right. Thank you very much"), which receives an immediate mutual response from all the participants (line 13). In the same way that the chair's announcement of the meeting adjournment elicits a choral business salutation from the participants in Excerpt 3.20, Maeda's initial *thank-you* elicits a reciprocal *thank-you* from the attendees. Again, this type of exchange is a powerful tool for closing a meeting immediately.

This practice is not limited to large meetings. It is a recurrent pattern across meeting types in the data. In the following excerpt, taken from a *bukai* of the Corporate Planning Department, Imada (chair) first asks if anyone has anything to say, in a manner similar to the chair we saw in Excerpt 3.20. However, instead of waiting for a response, Imada reopens the discussion himself:

(3.22) Corporate Planning *bukai* (SOS): Closing

- 1 Imada: *etto ato nanika arimasu ka?* (.)
FL also something exist:POL Q
Well, do you have anything else?
- 2 *etto gogo watashi to*
FL afternoon I with
- 3 *Egami-san ga ai-* (.)
Ms. Egami NOM "I"
uhm this afternoon, Ms. Egami and I will go to l-
- 4 Gonda: *esu o: ti:=*
"S" "O" "T"
S-O-T:=
- 5 Imada: *=aisotto.=*
ISOT
=ISOT
- 6 Chiba: *=() .*
- 7 (0.6)
- 8 Egami: *watashi wa (.) shigoto no shinchoku shidai de*
I TOP work LK progress depending COP:TE
Depending on how much work I get done,
- 9 Chiba: *ikanakya (hh) .*
go_must
You gotta go.
- 10 Egami: *ya (h)meru kamo.*
quit might
I might not go.
- 11 ALL: HAHAAHAHAHAHAHA
- 12 Egami: *moshikashitara u-*
maybe
Maybe
- 13 Egami: *[ano niji sugi mo iru kamoshire]nai.*
FL 2_o'clock after too stay might
I might still be here even after 2 o'clock.
- 14 Chiba: *[a ato, ano nan da kke.]*
oh also FL what COP QT
Oh, and what was that...
- 15 (0.4)
- 16 *n- naiteesha ga ISOT ni*
prospective_employee NOM ISOT LOC
- 17 *kyoo (tsukaretemasu.)*
today arrive:PSS:TE:POL
Our prospective employees are at ISOT today.
- 18 (18.0) ((The participants talk about the prospective employees))

19 Imada: *hai. ja jikan chotto oobaa shimashita keredomo*
 okay so time a_little over do:POL:PST CNJ
Okay, so we went a little overtime

20 *moo owari ni shitai desu.*
 already end COP DO:DES COP:POL
I would like to adjourn this meeting.

21 *otsukaresama deshita.=*
 exhaustion COP:POL:PST
otsukaresama deshita

22 Gonda: = [>*otsukaresama deshita:.<*]
 exhaustion COP:POL:PST
otsukaresama deshita

23 Chiba: = [*otsukaresama [deshi] [ta.*
 exhaustion COP:POL:PST
otsukaresama deshita

24 Egami/
 Fujino: [*otsukaresama deshita:.*
 exhaustion COP:POL:PST
 otsukaresama deshita

25 Doi: [>*arigatoogozaimashita.<*
 thank_you:POL:PST
 Thank you.

Imada first asks if anyone has anything to say (line 1). However, instead of waiting for a response, Imada reopens the discussion himself (line 2) in order to explain that he and Egami will visit ISOT (International Stationary & Office Products Fair Tokyo) that afternoon (lines 2, 3, 5) after Gonda helps him with the fair's acronym (line 5). When her name is mentioned, Egami explains that she might not go, depending on how much work she can accomplish (lines 8 & 10). After hearing Egami say *watashi wa shigoto no shinchoku shidai de* ("Depending on how much work I get done") (line 8), Chiba projects that Egami will say she won't go, and teases her by saying *ikanakya(h)* "you gotta go" (line 9). As Chiba projects, Egami confesses that she might not go to ISOT (line 10). All the participants laugh at her confession (line 11).

After Imada mentions Egami's name, Egami talks about her situation (lines 8, 10, 12, 13) in order to give an account for not going to ISOT with Imada. Because Imada has

already mentioned ISOT, Chiba brings up the new topic *naiteesha* (“prospective employee”) (line 16).⁶ Eventually the members engage in a conversation about *naiteesha* for 18.0 seconds (line 18).

Chiba, however, is not necessarily making a digression. In fact, she is offering the second pair part to Imada’s initial question *ato nanika arimasu ka?* (‘Do you have anything else?’) (line 1). Chiba says *a ato ano nan da kke* (‘Oh, what was that...’) in line 14. Her use of the word *ato* (“also”) parallels Imada’s use of it. By bringing up the topic of prospective employees, Chiba is able to link back to her prior report by orienting to her identity as a personnel manager. What seems at first to be a departure is brought back within the framework of the meeting.

After his own utterance (line 2) entails an extended period of discussion, Imada voices the topic transition marker (Boden, 1994) *hai*, and mentions that the meeting has gone overtime (line 19). He insists that he *wants* to adjourn the meeting (line 20) and provides the in-house salutation *otsukaresama deshita* (line 21). Imada’s salutation is treated as the first pair part, and the other participants individually, rather than chorally, fill the second pair part by repeating the salutation (lines 22-25). Interestingly, Doi says thank-you in the second position (line 25). This suggests that neither in-house salutations nor thanks have to be reciprocal, though they can constitute adjacency pairs.

3.5 Summary

I first examined how members achieve the openings of in-house meetings by focusing primarily on their actions during the premeeting sequences. In the inter-

⁶Japanese companies often informally appoint desirable college seniors as future employees called *naiteesha*.

departmental Executive Management Meeting (*kee'ee-shikkoo kaigi*), most of the participants remained quietly seated, and only a couple of the participants engaged in dyadic exchange (premeeting talk). I argued that, by not interacting with others, the members display readiness prior to the chair's announcement of the meeting's opening. In contrast, the attendees of *bukai*, including the chairs themselves, tend to engage in multi-party talk that continues until the chair begins the session. In spite of this contrast, both types of meeting share common practices in opening sequences. One common practice involves the chair's mentioning of the time as a way to account for the start of the meeting. Likewise when someone else mentions the time, he or she does so in order to prompt the chair to begin the meeting.

The chairs commonly mark the onset of meetings with a formulaic expression, such as *hajimemasu* ("I/We will begin") or *X(o) hajimemasu* ("I/we will begin X [the name of the meeting]"). The chairs may also initiate greeting sequences in order to draw the participants' attention by requiring their completion of the second part of an adjacency pair.

All of the meetings in the data exhibit a consistent pattern of closing. The chairs often formulate the pre-closing by asking if anyone has anything more to say. This preclosing gives members a final opportunity to reopen discussion. If there is no uptake during the preclosing, the chair moves to the closing. Although the chairs may announce the adjournment of the meeting, they can also elicit or initiate an adjacency sequence in which members exchange the in-house business salutation *otsukaresama deshita* or thank-yous (*arigatoogozaimashita*). The chair fills the first position with either of these

formulaic expressions while projecting the second position to be filled by the members.

The participants bow when filling the second position, and the meeting is adjourned.

CHAPTER 4

TURN ALLOCATION IN *BUKAI*

4.1 Introduction

In formal¹ meetings, turns are allocated to a large extent by the chairperson (Barske, 2006; Boden, 1994; Cuff and Sharrock, 1985; Ford, 2008; Saft, 2000). A chairperson, as the leader of a formal meeting, often possesses control over who speaks next. This is a clear departure from what Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974) call the “simplest systematics”—the basic mechanism for turn taking in ordinary conversation. The “simplest systematics” concept suggests that, at transition relevance places (TRP), the next speaker is (a) selected by the current speaker, (b) self-selected, or (c) the current speaker who continues to take consecutive turns (Sacks et al., 1974). Unlike ordinary conversation, where anyone has the right to the next available turn, formal meetings limit participants’ access to the floor. This does not mean that the simplest systematics mechanism is totally absent from conversation in formal meetings. As we will see later in this chapter, there are some occasions where an ordinary conversation emerges during a meeting, and the attendees start taking turns in the manner described by Sacks et al. (1974).

In this chapter, I will focus on small, departmental staff meetings commonly called *bukai*, and will examine how turn allocation occurs in these situations. In particular, I am interested in the ways chairs and other participants orient to and achieve turn taking.

¹Here I use the term “formal meeting” in order to exclude occasions where a small number of participants converse in a casual manner. These types of meetings are often called *uchiawase* in Japanese, and they are distinguished from relatively formal meetings which the participants refer to as *kaigi*.

I will illustrate the systematic (i.e., formal) aspects as well as the context-sensitive attributes of turn taking at *bukai*.²

4.2 Turn Allocation

Each meeting has a chairperson who facilitates talk at the meeting while attending to the time and the agenda.³ The meeting chairs are thus expected to coordinate the conversational exchanges among the participants, and to allocate turns to them. The “chair” is not an organizational title in business settings, but it is an identity situated in a meeting. As Boden (1994, p.101) puts it, the chair’s identity is “an achieved phenomenon, rather than being simply given by the organizational hierarchy.” The chair’s identity thus emerges through the interaction at a meeting.

Most of the departmental staff meetings (*bukai*) in the data are held periodically—weekly, biweekly, monthly and so on. *Bukai* (*bu* [“department”] + *kai* [“meeting”]) is one type of periodic meeting that usually takes place as frequently as once a week. It provides occasions where members of a particular unit (such as a department or a section) update information about their work schedules and the projects on which they are working. A specific agenda is not necessarily set in advance for each *bukai*. Instead, each member is expected to report on his or her work. As we will see, the turns that participants take in

²Sacks et al. (1974) explain that their model of turn taking is “context-free” in the sense that it is applicable regardless of contextual factors such as time, place and the identities of participants. However, it may also be “context-sensitive” since “the particularities of context are exhibited” in this systematic organization (Sacks et al., 1974, p.699, n8).

³I use the term *chair* to refer to individuals who facilitate the talk at meetings. The individual who performs this meeting-specific role can also be called *talk coordinator* (Cuff and Sharrock, 1985), *meeting facilitator* (Barske, 2006) and *meeting leader* (Ford, 2008). Japanese equivalents of chair include *gichoo* and *shikai* (or *shikaisha*). The former normally refers to the person who facilitates a formal meeting such as government assembly or shareholder meeting whereas the latter refers to an MC or a moderator of a social event (such as party, TV show, debate, or meeting). However, there is no instance where the participants in the data use *shikai* (or any other categorical term) to refer to the individuals who chair their meetings.

order to make their reports tend to be long, containing multiple points of possible turn completion. For this reason, in order to distinguish them from those represented by the term *turn* in CA, I will call the turns used to construct members' reports *report turns*.⁴ In this section, I will examine how each report turn is allocated to each reporter at internal staff meetings.

4.3 Allocation of the First Report Turn

In the data, it is common for chairs at *bukai* to take the first report turns and give their reports. In the next excerpt, taken from a weekly meeting of the Corporate Planning Division of STAR Corporation, Sakai (chair) begins his report after pronouncing the opening of the meeting:

(4.1) Corporate Head *bukai* (STAR Corp.): opening

- 1 Sakai: ((looking at his laptop screen.))
soo ka. ja
 so Q INJ
 I see.
- 2 *bukai o hajimemasu ne.*
 department-meeting ACC start:POL PP
 So, we will start the department meeting.
- 3 (1.5) ((Sakai clears throat))
- 4 *e:::to jitsuwa konshuu °no°*
 FL actually this_week LK
- 5 *buchookai wa desu ne:↓*
 manager-meeting TOP COP:POL PP
 uhm actually about this week's manager meeting,

⁴Cuff and Sharrock (1985) use the term “round turn” to refer to a speaking round consisting of multiple turns, where a speaker expresses, for example, complaints, problems or queries. The round turn “may be occupied by a multiplicity of utterances from a variety of speakers” (Cuff & Sharrock, 1985, p. 157). Therefore, according to Cuff and Sharrock (1985), the completion of the round turn “is judged relative to having (the speaker’s) complaints heard or at least acknowledged, his problems resolved or dissolved, his queries answered” (p. 157).

In line 1, Sakai announces that he will begin the meeting. During the 1.5-second pause following this announcement, Sakai's gaze remains on his laptop screen. None of the other participants take this opportunity to claim the next turn. After the pause, Sakai begins his report on the outcome of the recent manager meeting in line 4, without making any introductory remarks such as "Let me start" or "I'll go first." As we can see in the following excerpt, Sakai first refers to *konshuu no buhookai* ("this week's manager meeting") and provides an account for not being able to report on the most recent manager meeting.

(4.2) Corporate Head *bukai* (STAR Corp.): the first reporter (building on Excerpt 4.1)

- 4 Sakai → *e::to jitsuwa konshuu °no°*
 FL actually this_week LK
- 5 → *buchookai wa desu ne:↓*
 manager-meeting TOP COP:POL PP
- 6 → *.h e: choodo sekyuritii bijinesu no*
 FL just security business LK
- 7 → *£soo(h)choo uchi(h)awa(h)se ni kasanatta*
 early_morning meeting DAT coincide:PST
- 8 → *tame ni£ (.)*
 because DAT
- 9 → *e: juppun hodo de*
 FL ten_minites about INS
- 10 → *taiseki[shiteshimatta nde*
 leave:TE:ASP:PAST because
Uhm actually, because this week's manager meeting conflicted with another meeting for the "security business," I attended the manager meeting only about ten minutes,
- 11 Maeda: [a an
 uh huh
 uh huh
- 12 Sakai: → *e: °maa ()°*
 FL INJ
- 13 >nochihodo< *Ogawa-san ga koraretara*
 later Ogawa_Mr. NOM come:HON:CND
- 14 °setsumeeshite ().
 explain:TE
Uhm () Mr. Ogawa will talk about it when he comes later.

15 *e de: watashi no hoo desu keredomo:,*
 FL and I LK SOF COP:POL CNJ

16 *e::: senshuu wa desu ne,*
 FL last_week TOP COP:POL PP
 And er: as for me, uhm last week,

Sakai (chair) refers first to that week’s manager meeting (*buchookai*) in lines 4 and 5, and explains that he could attend it for only the first ten minutes due to a time conflict (lines 6 through 10). Although his utterance in line 12 is inaudible, the use of the conjunctive *nde* (“because, so”) at the end of line 10 suggests that the part that precedes it (lines 1-10) refers to his act in line 12 (see Iwasaki, 2002). Since he soon moves on to a new topic in line 15, it is clear that his report on the manager meeting will be absent in this segment.

The name *buchookai* (an abbreviation of *buchoo-kaigi*) refers to a meeting (*kaigi*) where the department heads or managers (*buchoo*) of multiple divisions gather to discuss various matters. The workers of each department learn about what is discussed in this upper-level meeting through a report by their department head or another staff member who attends the meeting (see Figure 4.1). A departmental staff meeting (*bukai*) is one typical venue for the dissemination of this information. If the person responsible for this particular kind of report cannot fulfill this obligation, he or she needs to provide an account for it. This is exactly what Sakai does in Excerpt 4.2.

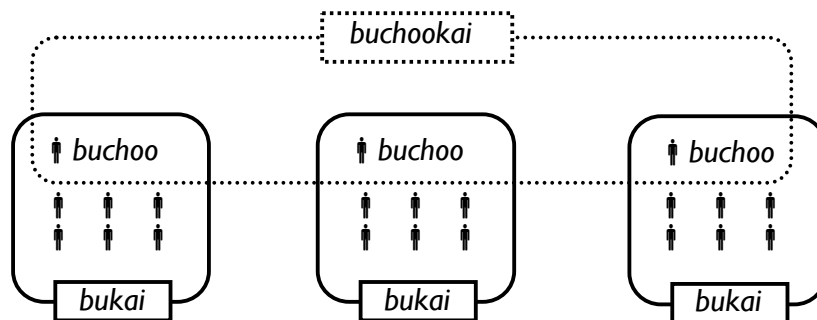


Figure 4.1. Managerial meeting (*buchookai*) and departmental staff meeting (*bukai*).

Similarly, in the next excerpt, taken from a weekly staff meeting of the Corporate Planning Division of STAR Office Supplies, the chair begins to report on the latest Executive Management Meeting after calling the meeting to order.

(4.3) Corporate Planning *bukai* (SOS): opening

- 1 Imada: *e jaa hajimemasu.=*
 FL INJ start:POL
Well, then we will start=
- 2 → *=e::tto desu ne, <senshuu wa>,*
 FL COP:POL PP last_week TOP
- 3 → *e::tto oyasumi no kata ga irashita node,*
 FL absence LK person NOM exist:HON:PST because
- 4 → *etto >bukai shooryaku<*
 FL department_meeting cancelation
- 5 → *shitemasu:: node,*
 do:TE:ASP:POL because
=uhm last week, uhm we cancelled our department meeting because some of you were absent, so
- 6 → *sono mae no,*
 that before LK
- 7 (0.8)
- 8 → *kee'ee-shikkoo-kaigi i: no, o::*
 management_executive_meeting FL LK FL
- 9 → *°naka kara (toko) ni°, (.) narimasu ga,*
 inside from COP become:POL CNJ
this is about the Executive Management Meeting that happened before our cancelled meeting last week,
- 10 (0.7)
- 11 *bootoo Harada-shachoo: no hoo kara wa,*
 beginning president LK SOF from TOP
- 12 *>sengetsu yosan tassee< kanshite,*
 last_month budget achievement about
- 13 *kanshashiteorimasu to yuu koto to,*
 appreciate:TE:ASP:HUM:POL QT say NML and
At the beginning of the meeting, Harada-shachoo (=president) said that he appreciated the completion of the sales budget last month, and....

After announcing the onset of the meeting in line 1, Imada immediately shifts to his own topic, and begins his report turn in line 2. This immediate, uninterrupted, and unmarked shift from the announcement of the meeting's beginning to his report turn is evident in

the latching between his utterances in lines 1 and 2. His first topic is the Executive Management Meeting (*kee'ee shikkoo kaigi*) that he has recently attended. Executive Management Meetings are gatherings where managers from different departments discuss important matters concerning the management of their company (i.e., STAR Office Supplies). Imada accounts for the fact that his report on the Executive Management Meeting does not provide up-to-date information (lines 2 through 6). Along with the fact that the chair appearing in Excerpt 4.2 gives an excuse for not being able to report on the most recent manager meeting, this suggests that the chairs at *bukai* are not only obligated to make reports about upper-level meetings, but are also sensitive to the timeliness of their reports. Given that any time-sensitive information may be transmitted electronically, the chairs' reports on upper-level meetings do not seem to be the most efficient way to share information regarding urgent issues. It is rather a matter of formality, and these reports are expected at all departmental staff meetings.

The formal nature of the chair's report is also observed in the next example. Like the other chairs we have seen in the previous examples, the chair in the following excerpt refers to the latest upper-level meeting immediately after he calls the meeting to order. In this case, the chair explains that he cannot report about the management meeting (*kee'ee kaigi*) because it did not take place that week.

(4.4) Marketing *bukai* (STAR TECH): opening

- 1 Hayama: .h ja: sumimasen.
 INJ excuse_me
 .h So, excuse me.
- 2 °e:° bukai o hajimemasu ga,
 FL staff-meeting ACC start:POL CNJ
 Uhm we're going to start the staff meeting.
- 3 (0.7)

4 → °e° konshuu wa °ano° kee'ee-kaigi: ga
 FL this_week TOP FL management_meeting NOM
 (0.5)

5

6 → kyoo nai node
 today exist:NEG because
Uhm for this week..um..we didn't have the management meeting today
 (0.6)

7

8 Mita: °un.°=
 mm
 mm

9 Hayama: → =tokuni (.) kee'ee-kaigi no
 particularly management_meeting LK

10 → () jikoo wa arimasen.
 items TOP exist:NEG:POL
I don't have anything particular to report about the management meeting.
 (0.7)

11

Hayama (chair) calls the meeting to order in line 2, and addresses the latest management meeting (*kee'ee kaigi*) in line 4. Although there is a 0.7 second pause between lines 2 and 4, the conjunctive *ga* and the continuing intonation at the end of line 2 suggest that Hayama does not surrender his turn at this point. He explains that there was no management meeting that week (lines 4 and 6), and states that he has nothing particular to report about it (lines 9-10). As seen in Excerpt 4.2, the chair accounts for his inability to give an update on an upper-level meeting. However, the chair's initial report does not seem to be limited to that update on upper-level meetings. It is expected for chairs to update information to which other staff members might not otherwise have access at the beginning of a meeting. This is evident in the next example, where the chair is about to share a piece of information that has some influence on the other participants' work.

(4.5) Marketing *bukai* (STAR TECH): opening (building on Excerpt 4.4)

- 12 Hayama: *de,*
and
And,
- 13 (0.7)
- 14 Mita: *sono mae no kee'eekeigi wa*
that before LK management_meeting TOP
- 15 [*Tajima-san detenai yo*]
Tajima_Mr. attend:TE:NEG PP
Mr. Tajima didn't attend the previous management meeting.
- 16 Hayama: [*sono mae no kee'ee]kaigi wa*
that before LK management meeting TOP
- 17 *detenai.*
attend:TE:ASO:NEG
He didn't attend the previous management meeting.
- 18 (1.5)
- 19 → *de yuiitsu ima aru joohoo no naka de,*
and only now exist information LK among COP:TE
- 20 (0.3)
- 21 → *yuu to suruto*
say QT do:COND
- 22 → *minna no waaku ni kakawatte kuru*
everyone LK work DAT relate:TE come
- 23 → *bubun de wa,*
part COP TOP
**And, if I were to report something based on the limited information that I
have now, something related to your work would be...**
- 24 (1.1)
- 25 → *shitteru hito mo shiranai hito mo*
know:TE:ASP person too know:NEG person too
- 26 → *>iru kamoshiremasen kedo<*
exist maybe:POL CNJ
As some of you may or may not know
- 27 *kyuusurii no genkooki o desu ne,*
Q3 LK existing_machine ACC COP PP
- 28 *e::: hikyuumen renzu ni- de,*
FL aspheric lens COP COP
- 29 (0.5)
- 30 *sennihyaku ruumen (.) appu shiyoo to*
1200 lumens up do:VOL QT
- 31 (0.5)
- 32 *yuu hanashi ga*
say discussion NOM
- 33 (0.3)

34 *nainaini susunde*
secretly proceed:TE

35 (1.3)

36 *imashita.*
ASP:POL:PAST
there was a private discussion over a plan to upgrade our existing model of
Q3* to 1200 lumens by adopting an aspheric lens
(*Q3 is the brand name of their digital projectors.)

37 (0.4)

After stating that there is no report on the latest management meeting, Hayama (chair) attempts to hold the floor and continue his report by saying *de* (“and”) in line 1. While Hayama’s report is delayed for 0.7 seconds (line 13), Mita reminds him that Mr. Tajima did not attend the last management meeting (lines 14-15). Mr. Tajima is the immediate superior of both Hayama and Mita, who regularly attends the management meetings. Mita informs Hayama that he has nothing to report about the last management meeting (because Mr. Tajima was absent and so could not inform Hayama about what occurred). As seen in Excerpt 1.3, chairs are sometimes required to report on past upper-level meetings. At first, Hayama takes Mita’s utterance as a request for information on the last management meeting, and immediately tries to talk about it in line 16. However, as soon as Hayama comprehends what Mita says in line 15, which overlaps with his own utterance in line 16, he acknowledges Mita’s utterance by replicating a part of it (*detenai* [“didn’t attend”]) and completes his own utterance in line 17. Hayama does not have the option to present an overview of the management meeting. However, after a long pause (line 18), he starts to talk about the information he has (lines 19 and 21) by choosing an issue that may have influence on the participants’ work (lines 22-23). He acknowledges that some attendees might already know what he is about to say (lines 25-26), before revealing that the remodeling of their product has been secretly discussed (lines 27-37).

This suggests that the chair at a departmental staff meeting (*bukai*) is expected, if not obligated, to provide information, to which the other participants might not have access, at a specific time (i.e., right after the opening of the meeting.) In other words, the chairs' task is defined both by what they say and when they say it during a meeting. It is by behaving in this manner that a participant orients to and achieves his or her identity as a chair.

Reporting is an unmarked action in meetings (Boden, 1994; Ford, 2008). There is no need for the speakers to provide what Schegloff calls a "preliminary" (see Schegloff, 2007), an utterance projecting what kind of action comes next. As we have seen so far, chairs at *bukai* begin their reports soon after they have called their meeting to order. Attendees do not interrupt this transition. This process of turn taking is very different from the one we know about through everyday conversation. In fact, the concept of a turn as used in conversation analysis does not seem sufficient for describing this phenomenon. It is necessary, therefore, to introduce the concept of a report turn as a way to examine the turn taking mechanism that functions meetings. A speaker may be said to have a report turn in much the same way that he or she may have the *floor*, an interactional space that a central anchorperson (the floor holder) operates and orients to (Hayashi, 1996). While others may be invited to participate in the interactional space of the floor (Hayashi, 1996), however, a report turn is defined by a single speaker's right to conduct the action of reporting. A report turn remains generally (but not absolutely) uninterrupted until it comes to an end.

4.4 Nomination of the Second Reporter

As described so far, a chair at *bukai* commonly takes the first report turn immediately after announcing the onset of the meeting. The process does not involve self-nomination or introductory remarks. After finishing their own reports, the chairs need to allocate report turns to the other participants. The following excerpt is taken from the end of the chair's report turn that we saw in excerpt 4.3. Imada (chair) suggests that the rest of the participants will report "in order," and he yields the floor to the next potential reporter:

(4.6) Corporate Planning *bukai* (SOS): "hai ja doozo"

- 1 Imada: *ato: e: <jumban> ni chotto o::*
 also FL order COP SOF FL
 Next, uh in order er::
- 2 (1.0)
- 3 () *teki na mono o: (.)*
 of COP item ACC
- 4 °*gohookoku itadaite:*°
 PFX:report receive:HUM:TE
 I would like you to report on () items, and
- 5 *sono naka de: e:: () too no e: nanika*
 that among COP:TE FL such LK FL something
- 6 (1.5)
- 7 *kimegoto o: ga hitsuyoona teema ga arimashitara*
 decision FL NOM necessary theme NOM exist:POL:CND
- 8 *e:: dashite itadaite,*
 FL present:TE receive:HUM:TE
- 9 () °*giron shite ikitai to omoimasu.*°
 discussion do:TE go:DES QT think:POL
 among those items, if you have a topic that requires a decision, eh::
 something like (), I would like you to present it so that we can discuss
 it.
- 10 (3.0)
- 11 *hai ja doozo.*
 INJ INJ please.
 Okay so please go ahead.
- 12 (2.9)

In lines 1 and 2, Imada suggests that the other participants report “in order” (*junban ni*). He then encourages the participants to bring up any issues which requires a decision (lines 3-9). It seems that the chair’s turn comes to an end at this point and that a transition-relevance place (TRP) appears. However, no one takes the next turn during the three-second pause that follows the TRP (line 10). It is possible that nobody treats this TRP as a go-ahead signal and thus everybody waits for further instructions from the chair. In fact, Imada provides a clear signal by saying *hai ja doozo* (“Okay, so please go ahead”) to an unknown recipient in line 11. What makes this sequence particularly interesting is that Imada’s go-ahead (line 11) is followed by another long pause (line 12). Although Imada suggests that the participants report in order (line 1), he has not made clear who is next in this order. In other words, Imada, as the chair, has not yet nominated anybody as the next speaker. This is apparently non-problematic for Imada himself: he gives a go-ahead signal to an unspecified next reporter. Since Imada makes no clear nomination, it is up to the other participants to identify who is next in line to report as per Imada’s earlier instruction. The ambiguity in Imada’s turn-allocation (line 11) becomes problematic for some of the participants. The next example shows that some participants exchange looks but Imada does not make eye contact with anyone during the 2.9-second pause that follows his ambiguous nomination *hai ja doozo* (“Okay so please go ahead”):

(4.7) Corporate Planning *bukai* (SOS): “*hai ja doozo*” (building on Excerpt 4.6)

11 Imada: *hai ja doozo.*
 INJ INJ please.
 Okay so please go ahead.

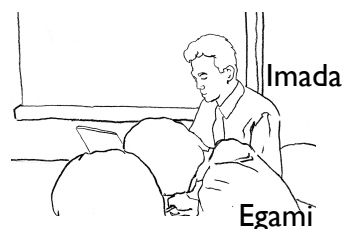


Figure 4.2. Imada makes no eye contact.

(2.9)

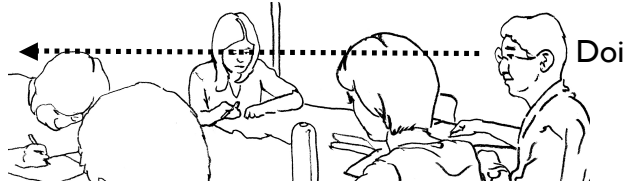


Figure 4.3. Doi looks at Imada.

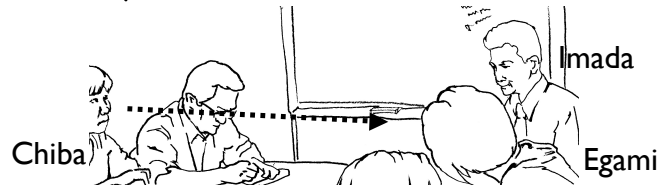


Figure 4.4. Egami looks at Imada, while Chiba looks at Egami.

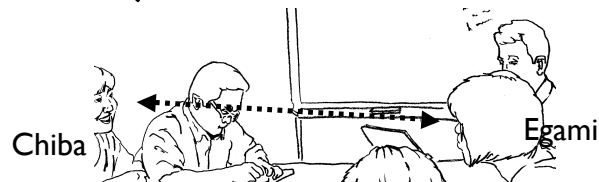


Figure 4.5. Chiba and Egami make eye contact.

13 Chiba: *hhh doozo.* ((extending her right hand towards Egami.))
 please
hhh Please go ahead.



Figure 4.6. Chiba extends her right hand towards Egami.

As soon as Imada gives the go-ahead signal by saying *hai ja doozo* (“Okay, so please go ahead”) in line 11 (Figure 4.2), Doi turns his gaze towards Imada who sits diagonally across from him (Figure 4.3). Imada’s gaze remains on his laptop computer and he does not return eye contact with Doi (Figure 4.3). Next, Egami, who has been taking notes while looking down, tilts her head towards Imada and looks at him (Figure 4.4). At the same time, Chiba turns her gaze towards Egami, who is sitting across from her (Figure 4.4). As Egami turns her gaze to Chiba, Chiba smiles at her (Figure 4.5). Finally, Chiba extends her right hand towards Egami and says *doozo* (“please go ahead”) in line 10

24 *eeto* () *Ando-san no hoo ga kite:*,
 FL Ando_Ms. LK SOF NOM come:TE

25 *konshuu isshuukan chotto: watashi no hoo: (mo)*
 this_week one_week SOF I LK SOF too

26 *hikitsugi o shiteimasu.*
 handover ACC do:TE:ASP:POL
 Well... now s- ... uhm () Ms. Ando joined us, and I've been training her
 as my replacement throughout the week.

After a 1.8-second pause in line 14, Egami begins her turn with the speech filler *eto* (line 15). This is followed by another long pause (line 16), and an inaudible utterance (line 17). Egami then turns her head to Imada and looks at him (line 18). In line 19, Imada responds by repeating a part of the instruction he provided earlier: () *tekina mono ga areba* (“If you have [] topics”). (See lines 3 and 4 in excerpt 4.6 for Imada’s original instructions.) This indicates that Imada interpreted Egami’s action (i.e., turning her head towards him) as a request for clarification regarding his previous instructions for taking report turns. However without waiting until Imada’s response is complete, Egami says to Imada, *watashi no hoo desu ka* (“Me?”) in line 20. Although she was previously prompted to take the next report turn by Chiba (line 13) and she begins to do so (line 15), she now shows a slight resistance by requesting that the chair clarify the legitimacy of this order. Imada confirms that Egami is the next speaker (line 21). After a 0.7 second pause, Egami finally begins her report turn (line 23).

It is noteworthy that both Egami and Chiba display concern for the legitimate order of report turns. As we saw in excerpt 4.6, Imada requested that the participants give their reports in order. However, he did not specify what kind of order he had in mind.

Excerpt 4.6 is replicated below:

(4.6) Corporate Planning *bukai* (SOS): “*hai ja doozo*”

- 1 Imada: *ato: e: <jumban> ni chotto o::*
 also FL order COP SOF FL
 Next, uh in order er::
- 2 (1.0)
- 3 () *teki na mono o: (.)*
 of COP item ACC
- 4 °*gohookoku itadaite:°*
 PFX:report receive:HUM:TE
 I would like you to report on () items, and
- 5 *sono naka de: e:: () too no e: nanika*
 that among COP:TE FL such LK FL something
- 6 (1.5)
- 7 *kimegoto o: ga hitsuyoona teema ga arimashitara*
 decision FL NOM necessary theme NOM exist:POL:CND
- 8 *e:: dashite itadaite,*
 FL present:TE receive:HUM:TE
- 9 () °*giron shite ikitai to omoimasu.°*
 discussion do:TE go:DES QT think:POL
 **among those items, if you have a topic that requires a decision, eh:
 something like (), I would like you to present it so that we can discuss
 it.**
- 10 (3.0)
- 11 *hai ja doozo.*
 INJ INJ please.
 Okay so please go ahead.
- 12 (2.9)

Before giving the “go-ahead” signal in line 11, Imada neither nominates the next speaker nor provides any specific instructions regarding how the participants should take turns after this point. He simply requests that the turns be taken *junban ni* (“in order”). Turns could be distributed based on factors such as the attendees’ names, ranks, or ages. In this case, however, it is the seating order that is the most obvious method to all of the participants. Since Imada has already taken the first report turn (as we saw in Excerpt 4.3), the most obvious choice for next reporter is the person sitting next to him. Egami is sitting to the left of the chair, although she is not directly alongside him (see Figure 4.7).

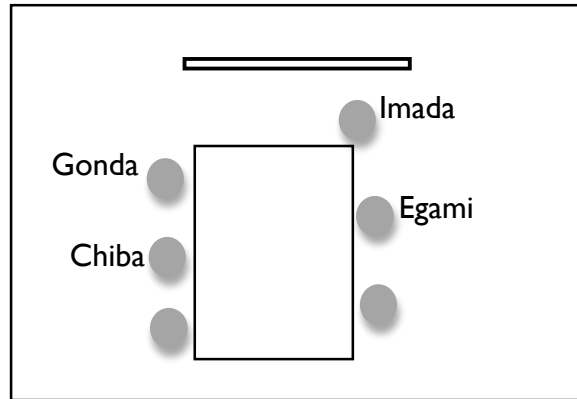


Figure 4.7. Seating arrangement of Corporate Planning *bukai* (1).

Gonda would be the next speaker if the turns proceeded in a counter clockwise direction. However, Gonda maintains a downward gaze after Imada gives the go-ahead signal, indicating that he has no intention of taking the next turn (see Figure 4.8).

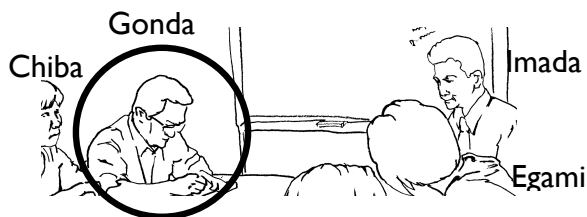


Figure 4.8. Gonda keeps his head down.

Gonda does not present himself as a potential next reporter at this point. The seating plan strongly suggests that because Egami rather than Gonda sits closer to Imada, the next turn will most likely belong to her. Chiba prompts Egami to begin reporting, implying that she at least believes Egami to be the clear choice for next reporter (see Excerpt 4.7).

As described above, a chair's instructions regarding the procession of next turns can be quite minimal. Furthermore, at least in the previous case, the default method seems to be to follow the seating arrangement. In the following excerpt, Sakai completes his report turn and then nominates the participant sitting next to him to be the next

reporter. As shown in Excerpt 4.1, Sakai has taken the first report turn immediately after announcing the opening of the meeting. His nomination in the next excerpt is for the second reporter.

(4.9) Corporate Head *bukai* (STAR Corp.): “It’s been random recently”

- 1 Sakai: *ijoo desu ne. hai.* ((leans back.))
 above COP PP yes
- 2 °(*watashi no hoo kara wa.*)°
 I LK SOF from TOP
That’s all, yeah, from me.
- 3 (1.9)
- 4 *ja* ((looks at Toyama)) *a: :* ((looks back at his laptop))
 INJ FL
So, uhmmm
- 5 (0.7) ((Sakai turns his head to look at Toyama again.))
- 6 *Toyama-san kara.*
 Toyama_Ms. from
starting from Ms. Toyama.
- 7 Toyama: *hhh .hh*
- 8 ((looking at Sakai with a resigned smile)) *ha(h) i. =*
 yes
Yes
- 9 Sakai: *>saikin randamu< da [ne. HAHA]*
 recently random COP PP
It’s been random recently, hasn’t it?
- 10 Toyama: [*>saikin randamu<*]
 recently random
- 11 *desu ne(hh)* ((nods and looks down.))
 COP:POL PP
It has been random recently, hasn’t it.
- 12 *.hh eeto:::*
 FL
Uhm:::
- 13 (0.7)
- 14 *ashita: no:: SOD no °kabunushisookai° ga*
 tomorrow LK SOD LK shareholders_meeting NOM
- 15 (*gozenchuu*) *atte:,*
 in_the_morning exist:TE
- 16 *sono ato (.) wa,*
 that after TOP
Tomorrow, there will be an SOD’s shareholders meeting in the morning and after that,

In line 1, Sakai says *ijoo desu ne* (“That’s it.”) and leans back in his chair. This would seem to mark the end of his report turn. However, like the case we saw earlier, none of the other participants volunteer to take the next report turn at this point. After a 1.9-second pause (line 3), Sakai nominates Toyama, who is sitting on his left side. Unlike the chair we saw in excerpt 4.6, Sakai designates the next speaker not only by calling her name, but also by looking at her. Her first response to this nomination is a chuckle (line 7), followed by the confirmation *hai* (“yes”) and a resigned smile (line 8). Sakai treats Toyama’s reaction as a sign of her surprise, and he accounts for it by saying *saikin randamu da ne* (“Recently it’s been random”) (line 9). Toyama immediately accepts Sasaki’s account by replicating his words (lines 10-11). This exchange between Sasaki and Toyama suggests that Sakai does not always adopt a “round-a-table, report-making cycle” (Boden, 1994, p. 102) to allocate turns at *bukai*. Immediately after accepting Sasaki’s account, Toyama indicates her intention to begin her report by uttering a prolonged filler *eeto::* (“Uhm::”) in line 12. After a 0.7-second pause (line 13), Toyama finally begins her report by describing her schedule for the upcoming week (line 14).

We have seen that the chairs of *bukai* call the meeting to order and take the first report turns. Although the second reporter is most likely to be the person who is sitting on either side of the chair, next turn by self-selection is not well-represented in the data. It is also worth noting that the order in which the participants report is still the ad hoc decision of the chair. As a result, the appointed second reporter may show some initial reluctance or surprise upon his or her nomination. If it is not unusual for the participants of departmental staff meetings to take their report turns in a round the table manner, whoever is sitting next to the chair should be aware that they could be appointed as the

second reporter. However, considering that the second reporter is actually the first nominated reporter, the second reporter's reluctance seems a reasonable response in this situation.⁵

4.5 Proclamation of the Report End: The Use of *ijoo desu*

As I mentioned earlier, report turns usually remain uninterrupted until they come to an end. This makes the end of a report turn easily identifiable for the other participants. It should be noted that almost all the reporters at the meetings in the data use the expression *ijoo desu* ("that's all") at the end of their report turns. The word *ijoo*, which literally means "above," functions as an anaphora referring to everything that has been mentioned up to that point. In the excerpt below, the reporter ends her report turn by saying *ijoo desu*:

(4.10) Corporate Planning *bukai* (SOS): Egami's report turn ends

- 1 Egami: °*koo itta ugoki ga aru no ka na*
this say:PAST operations NOM exist SE Q PP
- 2 *tee yuu koto ni narimasu.*° ((Egami looks down.))
QT say NML COP become:POL
°I guess there is movement like that.°
- 3 (4.0) ((Egami gazes at her notebook and moves her head up and down
three times.))
- 4 → *to watashi no hoo wa (.) >°(kore de)< ijoo desu.*°
FL I LK SOF TOP this INS above COP:POL
That's all from me.
- 5 (1.7)
- 6 Gonda: >*de ano< S- SC ni tsuite wa desu ne: ano:*
and FL SC about TOP COP:POL PP FL
And uh about the S- SC, uhm

⁵J. Bilmes points out that this is similar to a typical scene in his graduate seminar where it often takes some time before a person other than himself to speak during the discussion (personal communication, December 8, 2010).

Egami's utterance comes to a grammatical and prosodic end in line 2. However, no one takes the next turn. At the same time, Egami makes a gesture signaling that she is still in the process of making her report during the 4.0-second pause (line 3). Then, she proclaims the end of her report turn by saying *watashi no hoo wa (kore de) ijoo desu* ("That's all from me") in line 4. It is only after Egami's report turn ends in this manner that another participant (Gonda) takes the next turn.

Chairs use the same phrase to end their report turns. In the excerpt below, the chair (i.e., the first reporter) says *ijoo desu ne* ("That's all") to indicate the end of his report before he nominates the second reporter:

(4.11) Corporate Head *bukai* (STAR Corp.): the chair's report turn ends

1 Sakai: *konshuu no mokuyoobi na n desu kedo,*
 this_week LK Thursday COP SE COP:POL CNJ
About this Thursday,
 ((15 lines omitted))

17 *de: shuujitsu watashi to Aota-san to*
 and all_day I and Aota_Mr. and

18 °Wakai-san ga (ittekuru)°
 Wakai_Mr. NOM go:TE-come

19 (0.4)

20 °yotee desu.°
 schedule COP:POL
And Mr. Aota, Mr. Wakai and I are supposed to be there all day.

21 (5.0)

22 *gutai-*
 specific
Specific-

23 (1.4)

24 → *ijoo desu ne. hai.* ((leans back))
 above COP PP yes

25 °(watashi no hoo kara wa.)°
 I LK SOF from TOP
That's all, yeah, from me.

26 (1.9)

27	<i>ja</i> ((turns his head to look at Toyama)) <i>a</i> : : INJ FL So, uhmmm
28	(0.7)
29	<i>Toyama-san kara.</i> Toyama_Ms. from from Ms. Toyama.

Sakai has been speaking as the first reporter (see excerpt 4.2). In lines 1 through 20 (of which 16 lines are omitted in the above excerpt), he describes his work schedule for Thursday. His utterance comes to a grammatical, prosodic, and pragmatic end in line 20. However, no one treats this TRP as the end of his report turn. In fact, after a long pause in line 21, Sakai regains the floor and attempts to extend his report in line 22. Based on the abrupt cutoff in line 22, it seems that he intends to give more specific information about the work schedule he has just described. He immediately halts this attempt. Instead, after a long, 1.4-second pause, he announces the end of his report turn by uttering *ijoo desu ne hai*. (*watashi no hoo kara wa*), which means “That’s all, yeah, from me” (lines 24 and 25). Then, after a 1.9-second pause, he turns to Toyama, who is sitting next to him (line 27), and nominates her as the next speaker (line 29). What makes this example interesting is the fact that Sakai is the chair of this meeting, and he has control over the turn allocation. Because he knows when his own report, he could have nominated the next speaker without overtly marking the end of his report turn. He does, however, pronounce the end of his report. Formal announcements of a report-turn’s end, by participants including the chair, help facilitate turn allocation at the meetings in this study.

There are times, however, when a report turn develops into a question-and-answer sequence. On such occasions, turn taking among the participants becomes unconstrained. This is the case in the next excerpt. Prior to this segment, the reporter (Mita) explains that

one of their co-workers will be resigning soon, and that a new employee will begin work the following week. Kotani asks Mita about the desk assignment for this new employee. In response to Kotani's question, Mita explains that she is thinking about assigning a small table next to the desk of another employee (Mark) to the new employee. Kotani, however, has concerns about this:

(4.12) Marketing *bukai* (STAR TECH): the desk assignment situation

- 1 Kotani: *maaku no tokoro, jitsuwa asoko* (.)
Mark LK place actually there
- 2 *toriaezu oku supeesu mo nani mo*
tentatively put space also what also
- 3 *nai kara:=*
exist:NEG so
Actually, there is no space whatsoever at Mark's place, not even for putting something there for a little while, so=
- 4 Mita: *=aa chigau chigau.*
oh no no
=Oh, no no.
- 5 *da- ano toriaezu hikitsugi no ji-*
FL tentatively handover LK
- 6 *toki dake wa ne?=
time only TOP PP*
Uhm just for the time being during the handover period, you know?
- 7 Kotani: *=aa aa [un.*
oh oh yeah
=Oh I see, [yeah.
- 8 Mita: *[un. sore de ii ().*
yeah that INS good.
[Yeah, that will do.
- 9 *((looking at Hayama)) sono ato ne?=
that after PP*
After that, right?
- 10 Hayama: *=°un.° ((making eye contact with Mita.))*
yeah
°Yeah.°
- 11 Mita: *Jojima-san no seki o*
Jojima_Mr. LK desk ACC
- 12 *kichinto ↓ne:.*
properly PP
Take care of Mr. Jojima's desk, okay?

15 Hayama: [suimase:n. [hai.
 sorry yes
Sorry. Yes.

16 Mita: [hahaha[ha

17 Jojima: [☺_____

18 Hayama: [ja sore wa
 INJ that TOP

19 Hayama: yookentoo [tte yuu koto de.
 need_to_be_considered QT say NML COP:TE
So, that's it for the items on the agenda.

20 Jojima: [☺_____

21 Mita: [hhh .hh hh .hh

22 Hayama: [sookyuu[ni chakushu shimasu. °suimasen.°
 quickly launch do:POL sorry
I will launch it immediately. Sorry.

23 Mita: [hh .hh hh hhh

24 Jojima: [☺_____

25 Jojima: °£onegaishimasu.£°
 please
Please.

26 Hayama: → ((raising his head)) ijoo desu ka? ((looks at Mita))
 that COP:POL Q
Is that all?

27 Mita: → ijoo desu.
 that COP:POL
That's all.

28 Hayama: °hai.°
 yes
All right.

29 (1.4)

30 Hayama: ((turning to Ishida)) dewa omataseshimashita.
 INJ make_you_wait:HUM:POL:PAST
So, I'm sorry to keep you waiting

31 [ishida-san.
 Ishida_Mr.
Mr. Ishida

32 Ishida: [hai.
 yes
Yes.

The onset of Jojima's burst of laughter in line 14 indicates that he takes Mita's utterance *kichinto* ↓*ne*: ("properly, you know") in line 12 as *laughable* (Glenn 2003). In response

to Mita's comment, Hayama looks down with an apologetic smile (line 14) and says *suimase:n* ("Sorry") without looking up, in a slightly playful way (indicated by the stretching of sound) in line 15. Hayama's apology elicits Mita's laughter in line 16. Mita laughs again in lines 21 and 23. The precise positioning of Mita's laughter indicates that she treats Hayama's particular choice of the expressions *yookentoo* ("need-to-be-considered") in line 19, and *sookyuu-ni* ("immediately") in line 22 as laughable. These expressions, in addition to the assertion *chakushu-shimasu* ("I will launch [it]") that Hayama uses in line 22, normally occur in a formal context. The use of these formal expressions in casual conversation creates a playful effect. Mita's laughter in lines 21 and 23, therefore, indicates that she interprets their present talk as casual rather than formal. In other words, her report turn has become a casual conversation. Hayama interrupts in line 26: He asks *ijoo desu ka* ("Is that all?") in order to establish whether or not Mita has finished her report. Hayama displays his reorientation to his identity as the chair, and tries to reorganize the frame of reporting activities by returning from the digression. In response to Hayama's inquiry, Mita says *ijoo desu* ("That's all") and confirms the completion of her report (line 27). By providing a formal announcement of her turn completion, Mita displays her reorientation to reporter status. Upon confirming the end of Mita's report turn, Hayama nominates Ishida, a guest speaker who is supposed to give a slide presentation, as the next reporter (line 32). In sum, *ijoo desu*, the formal announcement of a report turn's ending, is crucial for turn allocation at meetings in the data.

4.6 Nomination of Next Reporter

I have described how chairs at *bukai* take the first report turn themselves, and then nominate the second reporter after they finish their report. The second reporter may show mild resistance or surprise upon being nominated. But once the second reporters finish, the rotation of report turns seems to go rather smoothly. For example, the next excerpt shows that the person sitting to the left of the previous (second) reporter demonstrates his readiness by responding immediately to the chair's nomination.

(4.14) Corporate Head *bukai* (STAR Corp.): the third reporter

((Prior to this segment, Toyama announced that she was going to have a few days off during the following week. Her announcement was made as an additional comment after she completed her report.))

- 1 Sakai: *hayame no natsuyasumi (da).* ((turns to Toyama))
early LK summer_vacation COP
You're taking summer vacation early.
- 2 Toyama: ((nods slowly))
- 3 Sakai: ((looking onto the laptop screen))
moo ikkai yotee shiteru n janai;
more one_time plan do:TE:ASP SE TAG
Aren't you planning another one?
- 4 Toyama: *hai. hachigatsu no (.) °(daiisshuu.)°*
yes August LK first_week
Yes, in August...the first week.
- 5 Sakai: *°isshuu° a soo ieba* ((looking at the laptop screen))
first_week oh that say:CND
The first week, oh, speaking of which,
- 6 *watashi no hoo mo °(sono hen)° (.)*
I LK SIO too that around
- 7 *janai desu ne. =hachigatsu no*
COP:NEG COP:POL PP August LK
me too, around that time...wait, it's August,
- 8 (4.0)
- 9 *yooka kara juunana made* ((looks up))
eighth from seventeen until
- 10 (1.1)
- 11 *oyasumi o °(itadakimasu.)°*
vacation ACC receive:HUM:POL
I'll have my vacation from the eighth until the seventeenth
- 12 (5.8) ((Sakai leans back))

13 Sakai: → *ja tsuzuite Maeda-san °onegaishimasu°*.
 INJ subsequently Maeda_Mr. please
 So, next, Mr. Maeda, please.

14 Maeda: → *hai*.
 yes
 Yes.

15 (1.0)

16 Maeda: → *nm::: watashi no hoo wa*
 FL I LK SOF TOP

17 → *sekyuritii to shinajii no futatsu de,*
 security LK synergy LK two COP:TE
 Nm::: I'm going to report on two things, security and synergy.

18 → *de: sekyuritii no hoo wa .hh*
 and security LK SOF TOP
 A:nd regarding security,

After having a brief exchange with Toyama regarding her future days off (lines 1-4),

Sakai takes the opportunity to announce his own vacation schedule (lines 5-11).

Toyama's report turn is thus brought to an end by Sakai's announcement followed by a significantly long pause in line 12. Sakai leans back against his chair and shows no intention of continuing to talk about his schedule. Meanwhile, none of the other participants, including Maeda, who is sitting next to Toyama, attempts to undertake a next report turn. After a 5.8-second pause, Sakai finally nominates Maeda as the next reporter by saying *ja tsuzuite maeda-san onegaishimasu* ("So, next, Mr. Maeda please") in line 13. Maeda immediately responds in the affirmative (line 14), and after a 1.0-second pause, he begins his report turn (line 16).

It turns out that Sakai, the chair of *bukai* shown in the previous excerpt, always nominates next reporters by calling out their names. This is the true even in cases where it is obvious that report turns follow the seating arrangement. The same is not true of Imada, the chair at the departmental staff meeting of the Corporate Planning Division of STAR Office Supplies. He does not nominate next reporters by calling out their names.

Instead, he prompts the projected next reporter by uttering *doozo* (“Please go ahead”) as seen in Excerpts 4.6 and 4.7. The following excerpt shows this practice:

(4.15) Corporate Planning *bukai* (SOS): the chair’s affirmative token *hai*

- 1 Fujino: °arigatoogozaimasu. [*ijoo desu.*°=
thank_you:POL above COP:POL
Thank you. That’s all.
- 2 [((Imada looks at Fujino.))
- 3 Imada: =*hai*. [*a °hai°¿*
yes oh yes
Yes. Oh yes?
- 4 Doi: [((sits up straight and looks at Imada.))
- 5 Imada: [*ii* [*°de°su ka.*] ((looking at his laptop screen.))
okay COP:POL Q
Okay?
- 6 [((Fujino turns her head to Imada.))
- 7 [((Fujino nods twice.))
- 8 Imada: *hai*. ((still looking at his laptop screen.))
yes
Yes.
- 9 (0.7)
- 10 Doi: *ja watashi no hoo kara.*
INJ I LK SOF from
So, let me start.
- 11 (0.9)
- 12 *eeto:: ma saishuu hookoku teki na*
FL INJ final report of COP
- 13 *kanji desu kedo,*
sense COP:POL CNJ
We::ll this is more like a final report,

In line 1, Fujino completes her report turn by saying *ijoo desu* (“That’s all”). Imada immediately provides Fujino with the affirmative response *hai* (“yes”) in line 3. But Imada’s use of the change-of-state token *a* (“oh”), which follows his initial affirmative response, suggests that Fujino’s remark in line 1 is “informing” (Heritage, 1984) to

Imada.⁸ The rising intonation accompanying Imada's second *hai* (line 3) invites Fujino's attention. It is not clear whether or not Imada's utterance *ii desu ka* ("Is it okay") in line 5 is intended as a question. The expression is ambiguous both because it lacks rising intonation and because of the fact that Imada is not longer paying attention to Fujino. Fujino, however, treats Imada's utterance in line 5 as the first position of a question-answer sequence. She provides the second position by nodding to confirm the completion of her report turn in line 6. Meanwhile, Doi sits up straight after Fujino's announcement and remains silent while looking at Imada in line 4. Doi responds to Imada's affirmative token "*hai*" ('yes') (line 8) by beginning his report turn in line 10. Unlike the chair (Sasaki) we saw in Excerpt 4.14, Imada does not nominate Doi by calling his name. Instead, the affirmative token *hai* ("yes") (line 8) marks the end of the previous report turn and functions as a cue for next projected reporter (Doi).

The absence of an overt nomination by the chair is also evident in the following excerpt (which is taken from the same meeting as the previous excerpt). STAR Office Supplies (SOS) and STAR Corporation (their parent company) are adopting two different billing cycles. Because both companies are currently in the process of transferring all of the office-supply business from STAR to SOS, these two different billing cycles often cause confusion among the accounting staff as well as with any other employees that deal with their partner companies. Fujino raised this issue while Doi's report turn is still

⁸Heritage (1984a) calls the English particle "oh" a "state-of-change" token, and suggests that its core function is to display that "its producer has undergone some kind of change in his or her locally current state of knowledge, information, orientation or awareness" (p. 299). Although its generic semantics remain consistent, it also has functions particular to the sequential environment as well as to its position within a turn (Heritage, 1984a, 1998, 2002). Both Saft (2001) and Ikeda (2007) recognize the similarities between the English "oh" and the Japanese *a(a)*, and they refer to the latter as a "change-of-state token." However, it should be noted that Ikeda (2007) finds that the use of *a* by Japanese-speaking interviewers is quite different from the use of "oh" by English-speaking interviewers in terms of its frequency as well as its pragmatic functions during language proficiency interviews.

effective. This becomes the central topic of the meeting. Prior to the following excerpt, Imada begins jotting down notes on the whiteboard.

(4.16) Corporate Planning *bukai* (SOS): the billing cycle problem

- 1 Gonda: *ja m- minasan ga motteru mono o (°sukoshi°)*
 INJ everyone NOM have:TE:ASP thing ACC SOF
- 2 *[ittan,*
 once
So, the stuff you have,
- 3 *[((Gonda turns his head and looks at Imada's writing on the board.))*
- 4 *(2.0) ((Imada continues jotting down notes on the whiteboard. Gonda continues looking at the notes.))*
- 5 Imada: *((jotting down)) ja Doi-sa [n ni atsumete:]*
 INJ Doi_Mr. DAT gather:TE
So bring them together to Mr. Doi, and
- 6 Gonda: *((looking at Imada's notes)) [Doi-san ate ni okutte]*
 Doi_Mr. to DAT send:TE
Send them to Mr. Doi, and
- 7 *(1.0) ((Imada continues jotting down notes on the whiteboard. Gonda continues looking at the notes.))*
- 8 Gonda: *((looking at Imada's notes.)) sore igai genba ni*
 that except field DAT
- 9 *an no ka doo ka o kakunin shite*
 exist SE whether_or_not ACC check do:TE
Check if there is anything else in the field or not.
- 10 *(7.0) ((Imada continues to write on the whiteboard.))*
- 11 *((Imada finishes writing and puts the marker in the whiteboard tray.))*
- 12 Imada: *((looks at Doi)) °ja° yoroshii desu ka.*
 INJ all_right COP:POL Q
Are you fine with that?
- 13 Doi: *hai. ((with a bitter smile))*
 yes
Yes.
- 14 *(6.4) ((Imada is looking at his laptop screen The other participants keep their heads down.))*
- 15 Imada: *((looks at Doi)) ato wa.*
 else TOP
Anything else.
- 16 Doi: *ato wa ii °desu.° hai.=*
 else TOP fine COP:POL yes
Nothing else, Yes=

17 Imada: =*hai*. ((looking at his laptop screen))
 okay
 =Okay.

18 (0.8) ((Chiba sits up straight and swiftly looks both ways.))

19 Chiba: *hai. eeto:: jinjijimu-*
 yes FL personnel_practices

20 *ma- mazu chuutosaiyoo no hoo*
 firstly mid-career_recruitment LK SOF

21 *na n desu keredomo:,*
 COP SE COP CNJ
 Yes. Uhhmm this is about personnel practices-, f- firstly, our mid-career
 recruitment,

While Imada continues to write notes on the whiteboard, Gonda appears to begin describing what participants can do with information that pertains to the partner companies (line 1). The use of the accusative case marker *o*, in Gonda's utterance (line 1), projects that a transitive verb will follow. However, in line 2, Gonda cuts his utterance short before providing a verb, and continues to look at the notes that Imada is writing. After a 2-second pause, Imada completes Gonda's utterance by providing the conjunctive form (i.e., the *te*-form) of the candidate verb *atsumeru* ("to collect") and says *Doi-san ni atsumete* ("bring [them] together to Mr. Doi") in line 5. As soon as Imada mentions Doi's name, Gonda completes his own prior utterance by providing the conjunctive form of the transitive verb *okuru* ("to send") in line 6. The semantic similarity between Imada's utterance in line 5 and Gonda's in line 6 indicates the accuracy of Imada's projection. Gonda continues to describe possible ways to solve the problem (lines 8- 9). Again, his utterance is completed with the conjunctive form of the verb *kakunin suru* ("to check") in line 9. In Japanese, a verb's conjunctive form can function as an affirmative request when it stands alone in informal speech. In other words, it is used as a medial form to precede another predicate or to attach to an auxiliary verb that indicates modality. Although Gonda's utterance ends with the conjunctive form (line 9), the absence of any intonation

contour at the sentence-final position makes it difficult to judge whether or not this forms a request. However, given that no one objects to or follows up on Gonda's utterance, it seems that the recipients treat it as a directive. During the 7-second pause in line 10, Imada continues to jot down notes on the whiteboard. No one, including the current reporter (Doi), and the projected next reporter (Chiba), claims the next report turn. Directly after he finishes writing and puts down his whiteboard marker, Imada asks Doi *ja yoroshii desu ka* ("Are you fine with that?") in line 12. This is an ambiguous question. It can be interpreted as either "Is it all right with you if we end your report and move on to the next reporter?" or as "Are you all right with the procedure that Gonda just described?" Support for the second interpretation comes from the fact that the procedure Gonda has just described will result in an increased workload for Doi. The bitter smile, which accompanies the affirmative response *hai* ("yes") in line 13, suggests that Doi is reluctantly accepting the proposition that the second interpretation makes reference to. Doi's response is followed by a 6.4-second pause. During this pause, no one claims the next turn, including the projected next reporter (Chiba). After looking at his laptop screen during this long pause, Imada finally checks to see if Doi has anything more to add (line 15). Imada's question displays a continuing orientation to Doi as the relevantly active reporter. But once Doi indicates that he has no intention of continuing as the reporter (line 16), and Imada confirms this (line 17), Chiba sits up while swiftly looking in both directions (line 18), and then begins her report (line 19).

As shown in the last two examples, projected next reporters attend to the chair until the previous report turn's end has been noted. This seems particularly true for meetings where report turns proceed in a clockwise fashion around the table. Because the

reporting order is pre-assigned by the seating arrangement, the chair's nomination is not meant to select the next reporter but to issue a go-ahead signal to the projected next reporters. If neither an official recognition of a previous turn's end nor the chair's nomination of the next reporter is available, the projected next reporter find it difficult to launch a new report turn. I will examine this type of unusual case below.

As the seating arrangement in Figure 4.9 suggests, Fujino is projected to be the third reporter and to follow Egami's report turn.

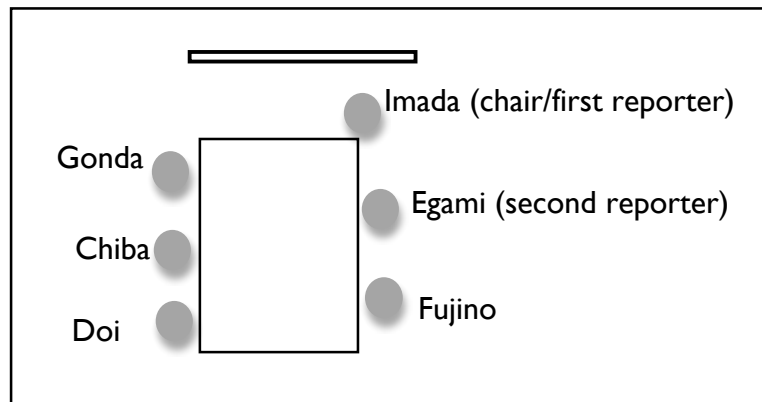


Figure 4.9. Seating arrangement of Corporate Planning *bukai* (2).

In the next excerpt, Fujino takes the third report turn without being nominated by the chair. Without the chair's assistance, Fujino makes sure that the previous report turn, which has been expanded by Gonda, is at a potential end. Prior to this segment, Gonda points out that the company might need to find a warehouse for their new Shanghai subsidiary. This topic emerges in relation to Egami's report on a future remittance to that company. This excerpt begins from the end of Gonda's comment:

(4.17) Corporate Planning *bukai* (SOS): silent preparation for next report turn

((Relating to Egami's report, Gonda has just mentioned the possibility of finding a warehouse for their new subsidiary in Shanghai.))

- 1 Gonda: *mada sonnani- ano kakutee dewanai shi:*,
yet such FL definite COP:NEG CNJ

2 *kongo ano yakuinkai toka ni*
future FL board etc. DAT

3 *uttaenakyaikenai n desu kedo:*
appeal_must SE COP:POL CNJ
**It is not uhm definitive yet, and in the future, er we must appeal to the board
of directors, but**

4 (0.5)

5 *dooyara soo yuu hookoo mo*
apparently that say direction too

6 (1.4)

7 *shiya ni irete yatteikanaito.*
view DAT bring_in:TE do:TE-go:NEG:CND
It seems that we should look into that too.

8 (9.7)

9 Fujino: °*sumimasen hanashi garatto kawarimasu kedo*°
sorry topic completely change:POL CNJ
Sorry to completely change topics but

10 °*watashi (mo hookoku) sasete-itadakimasu.*°
I too report do:CAU:TE-receive:HUM:POL
If you allow me to, I would like to report.

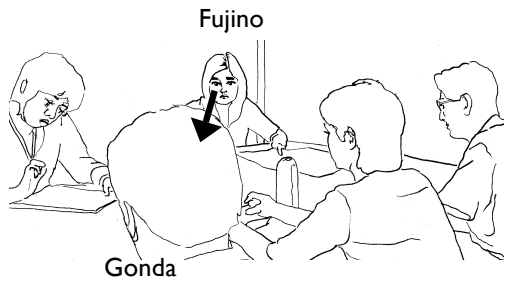
11 °*etto soo desu ne*°
FL that COP:POL PP
uhm let me see...

12 () *na n desu keredomo,*
COP SE COP:POL CNJ
This is about (),

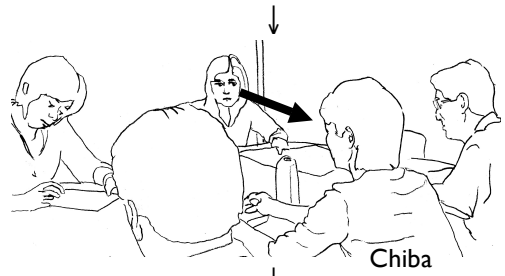
In lines 1 through 7, Gonda tells the other participants that they should take into consideration the possibility of searching for a new warehouse for their Shanghai subsidiary even though everything about this company is still in the planning stage. His utterance in line 7 might appear to be incomplete because the conditional (subordinate) clause is left on its own without an accompanying main clause. Ford, Fox & Thompson (1996) argue that the boundaries of Turn Construction Units (TCU) are contingent upon a variety of factors including syntactic units, intonation contour and gestures. Although Gonda's utterance in line 7 might look syntactically incomplete, it has a falling intonation contour at its end. Gonda looks down as he finishes line 7 and does not look up again. It is possible that the isolated *if*-clause extending across lines 5 and 7 *dooyara soo yuu*

hookoo mo shiya ni irete yatteikanaito (“It seems that if we don’t bring the course of action like that into view as well”) is designed to stand alone. Stirling (1999) argues that an isolated *if*-clause in Australian English should be treated as an independent entity rather than as an incomplete conditional sentence. Given that Gonda’s utterance apparently comes to an end in line 7, it seems reasonable for the chair to confirm the end of Egami’s report turn at this point. However, the chair does not take any action. Without an action from the chair, the projected next reporter (Fujino) cannot immediately start her report turn. In fact, a full 9.7 seconds passes prior to the initiation of her report turn in line 9. A detailed examination of participant gaze and bodily movements reveals that Fujino is carefully preparing for her upcoming report turn during this long pause. She makes sure not only that Gonda’s speech comes to an end but that the previous reporter, Egami, has nothing further to say. Figure 4.10, on the next page, further illustrates how Fujino reaches the point where she can finally begin her report turn during the 9.7-second pause.

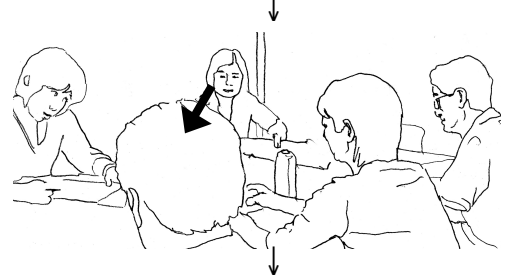
After Gonda ceases to talk, Fujino writes something in her notebook for five seconds. She then looks up and at Gonda. Gonda keeps his head down and shows no intention of speaking further. The other participants, including the chair (not shown in Figure 4.10), are all attending to their planners or notebooks. Only Chiba’s head is more or less upright because she is holding her planner in her extended arms. Fujino glance at Chiba, but Chiba’s gaze remains on her planner. Fujino then looks at Gonda again only to find him still with his head down. As Fujino turns her head slightly towards Egami, Egami gives Fujino a sideways glance without shifting her posture. When Fujino makes



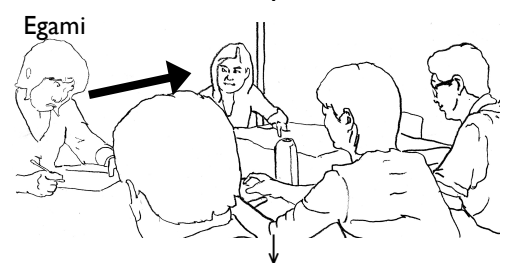
((After writing in her notebook for five seconds, Fujino looks at Gonda while he keeps his head down))



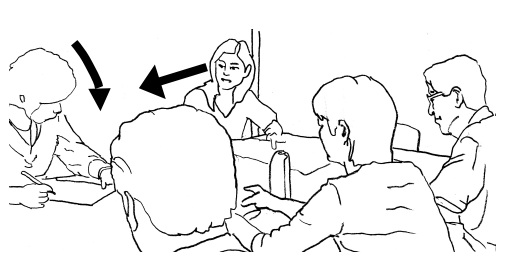
((Fujino moves her eyes to glance at Chiba who gazes at her planner))



((Fujino looks down, looks up, and looks at Gonda))



((Egami moves her eyes to glance at Fujino while Fujino slightly turns to Egami))



((As Fujino looks at Egami, Egami turns her head slightly and nods to Fujino))



((Fujino nods back to Egami))

Figure 4.10. Getting ready during the 9.7-second pause.

eye contact with Egami, Egami nods slightly to Fujino. Fujino then nods back to Egami, and begins her report turn.

Like the other projected next reporters that we saw in excerpts 4.14, 4.15, and 4.16, the projected next reporter in excerpt 4.17 does not rush to begin her report turn. In Excerpt 4.14, when the previous report turn (which is expanded by the chair) reaches a TRP, the projected next reporter, who is sitting next to the second reporter, does not take the third report turn. Then, 5.8 seconds later, the chair nominates this person as the third reporter, and this nominee responds immediately. Similarly, the projected next reporters in Excerpt 4.15 and 4.16 wait until the chair confirms the end of the previous report turn to begin their reports, although they do not receive an overt. The chair (Imada) in excerpt 4.17 does not give the projected next reporter (Fujino) any cues. As a result, she carefully assesses whether or not the last speaker (Gonda) and the last report-turn holder (Egami) have finished speaking before she begins her report.

Seating arrangements may function to give the participants a basic knowledge of when in the sequence their report turn will occur. However, the seating arrangement alone does not give a member clearance to begin their report turn. In this sense, one's position in the seating arrangement may be thought of as something like an airline ticket: it serves as proof of a reservation—but in order to board the plane, the proper check-in procedures must be taken.⁹ In the data, chairs usually assist in this “check-in” process by confirming the end of the current reporter's turn. In addition, chairs might nominate the next reporter by calling out his or her name, although this process seems redundant when the rotation of reporting activities is obvious from the seating arrangement. When chairs

⁹My metaphorical use of an airline ticket should not be confused with Sack's (1992b) use of *ticket*—the item used by a speaker to warrant the right to begin or close a conversation.

do not help projected next reporters go through the proper check-in procedures, the reporters must do so by themselves. This is exactly what Fujino does in excerpt 4.17. As the projected next reporter, Fujino confirms that both the last speaker (Gonda) and the previous reporter (Egami) have nothing more to say.

Excerpt 4.17 shows an unusual case. Chairs of *bukai* commonly get involved in the process of report-turn transition. It is worth noting Egami actually announces the end of her report turn long before Excerpt 4.17. As the next excerpt shows, the projected next reporter (Fujino) does not take immediate action in order to start her report turn after Egami has finished. Instead, Gonda takes the next turn in order to make some comments in relation to Egami's report:

(4.18) Corporate Planning *bukai* (SOS): new subsidiary in Shanghai

((Egami has been talking about financial plans for their new subsidiary in Shanghai.))

- 1 Egami: .h de *setsubi kankee wa:*,
and facilities related Top
- 2 *nihon de tehaishita mono o:*
Japan LOC obtain:PAST item ACC
- 3 (0.5)
- 4 *eeto: gembutsu-shussshi ga dekinai*
FL in_kind_contribution NOM do:POT:NEG
- 5 *soo-na node:*
MOD-COP because
And for their facilities, I heard that we are not allowed to directly invest in the items we get in Japan, so
- 6 (0.9)
- 7 *kikai o:*
machine ACC
- 8 (0.4)
- 9 *watasuto dooji ni*
hand_over:CND same_time COP
- 10 *kikaidaikin o morau to yuu yoo na*
machine_payment ACC receive QT say like COP
it's like handing over the machines and receiving payment for them at the same time

26

(1.7)

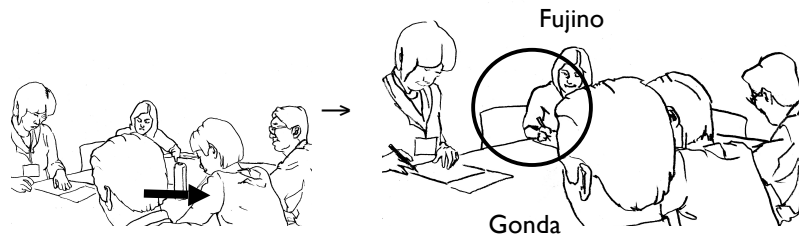


Figure 4.12. Gonda leans back whereas Fujino continues taking notes.

27 Gonda: >de ano< S- esushii ni tsuite wa desu ne: ano::
 and FL SC about TOP COP:POL PP FL
And uh about the S- SC...

28 (0.6)

29 toosho kangaeteita yorimo,
 originally think:TE:ASP:PAST than
more than what we originally thought

30 ((Gonda makes eye contact with Egami.))

31 Egami: [hai.
 yes
 Yes.

32 Gonda: [okane ga kakari[s(hh)oo na n desu.=
 money NOM cost:INF-MOD COP SE COP:POL
it seems it's going to cost=

33 [((Egami and Doi chuckle.))

34 =>Sato-san no ohanashi ni yoru[to<
 Sato_Mr. LK talk according_to
=according to Mr. Sato

35 Egami: [hai.
 yes
 Yes.

36 Gonda: >wakannai n da kedo sa.<
 know:NEG SD COP CNJ P

37 untenshikin to shite,=
 operating_cost QT do:TE
It's not certain, but as operating cost,

38 Egami: =hai.
 yes
 Yes.

39 (0.6)

40 Gonda: tabun
 perhaps

41 (1.2)

42 niseyman gurai wa
 twenty-million about at_least

43 (1.8)
 44 *tsukizuki,*
 monthly
 monthly
 45 (0.6) ((Gonda turns his head to Doi.))
 46 *kangaenakyaikenai no kamoshirenai desu*
 think_must SE might COP:POL
 Maybe, we might need to expect at least about twenty-million yen monthly.

If this were an ordinary conversation, there would be a perfect opportunity for turn-taking after line 23, because it is here that Egami's turn arrives at its grammatical, prosodic, and pragmatic completion. However, in this excerpt, nobody begins a next turn during the four-second pause in line 24. The projected next reporter (Fujino) is no exception. She keeps her head down while taking notes (Figure 4.11). Meanwhile, Egami gazes at her notebook on the table, and then moves her head up and down as if she is checking a list. Because it is not until line 25 that Egami clearly end her report by saying *ijoo desu* ("that's all"), we can reasonably speculate that her nonverbal behaviors in line 24 demonstrate her ownership of the current report turn. In fact, no one speaks while Egami is checking her notebook, despite the significantly long pause.

Even after Egami apparently finishes her report turn in line 25, Fujino does not start her report turn. As Figure 4.12 shows, she remains silently engaged in taking notes during the 1.7-second pause in line 26. Meanwhile, Gonda leans back as soon as Egami signals the end of her report (Figure 4.12). As he moves his upper body forward, he begins commenting on SC (STAR China), the new subsidiary mentioned by Egami.

Gonda's turn is interesting in three ways. First, it is preceded by what Schegloff calls a *pre-beginning*—a non-speaking participant's nonverbal action that projects the possibility that he or she will take the consequent vocal turn (see Schegloff, 1996b). Ford

(2008) has documented the use of non-vocal actions by potential next speakers in her work-meeting data. In Ford's data, some participants display a pre-beginning and eventually win the next speaker nomination from the chair (Ford, 2008). In Excerpt 4.18, Gonda leans back at a possible transition place, then leans forward as he begins to speak. Unlike the participants in Ford's data, however, Gonda does not need to win the nomination.

Second, Gonda's gaze in line 30 suggests that he initially formulates his turn in response to the previous speaker (Egami), who has just addressed a possible increase in the overseas remittances of pre-operating costs for their new subsidiary (SC). Gonda explains that the operating cost of SC is likely to expand beyond the amount their company (SOS) originally predicted. This particular information is not included in Egami's report. Although it is not clear whether or not Egami is aware of the greatly elevated operating cost, her repeated use of the backchannel *hai* ("yes") (lines 31, 35 and 38) indicates that she takes herself to be the primary recipient of Gonda's speech (see Kita & Ide, 2007). After turning his head toward another participant (Doi) (line 45), Gonda moves his gaze over all the other participants. By this time, Egami's gaze is no longer fixed on him.

The third way in which Gonda's turn is interesting is that he presents his upcoming talk as a continuation of Egami's report by initiating his turn with the conjunctive *de* ("and"). This contrasts with the way the third reporter (Fujino) begins her report turn in Excerpt 4.17. Here she draws a clear boundary between the previous talk and her upcoming report. For the reader's convenience, Excerpt 4.17 is partially replicated below:

(4.19) Corporate Planning *bukai* (SOS): “Sorry...” (partial replication of Excerpt 4.17)

9 Fujino: °*sumimasen hanashi garatto kawarimasu kedo*°
sorry topic completely change:POL CNJ
Sorry to completely change topics but

10 °*watashi (mo hookoku) sasete-itadakimasu.*°
I too report do:CAU:TE-receive:HUM:POL
If you allow me to, I would like to report.

11 °*etto soo desu ne*°
FL that COP:POL PP
uhm let me see...

12 () *na n desu keredomo, ...*
COP SE COP:POL CNJ
This is about (), ...

In line 9, Fujino first apologizes for the fact that she is about to change topics. She then announces the onset of her report by saying *watashi (mo hookoku) saseteitadakimasu* (“If you allow me to, I would like to report.”) (line 10). Fujino’s hedged beginning in line 10 is similar to what Ford (2008) calls *pre-framing*, the turn-initial patterns of hedging or mitigation preliminary to an action that might be redundant or irrelevant to what has been discussed. Ford (2008) finds pre-framing patterns in the speech of *bidders* (i.e., speakers who win the chair’s nomination by showing their interest in speaking). Fujino in Excerpt 4.19 is not a bidder. She is a projected next reporter. Since her report turn is projected by the seating arrangement, and not by the topic, what she is going to say does not need to be related to what the previous speaker has said. Therefore, it is peculiar that this projected reporter uses pre-framing in the turn-initial position. While the pre-framing in Ford’s data is always followed by the projected action itself, Fujino’s pre-framing in line 9 is followed by a proclamation of her upcoming reporting action (line 10). As a result, this turn-initial formulation serves as a preliminary to her report turn.

4.7 Summary

In this chapter, I have appraised examples of turn allocation at *bukai* where participants take turns giving their reports. At these staff meetings, turns are often distributed according to the seating arrangement. I have distinguished report turns from the notion of turns as regularly used in the CA literature in order to demonstrate how their allocation takes place in the data. A chair will regularly take the first report turn without specifically marking its beginning after announcing the opening of the meeting. The second reporters may show some resistance or surprise upon being nominated by the chair. This reaction is not evident in the turns of subsequent reporters. Regardless of the obviousness of the selection of next reporter, chairs play an important role in the process of report-turn transition by confirming the end of a report. In addition, chairs may nominate the next reporter. The absence of the chair's involvement in this process causes the projected next reporters to perform a proper transition themselves. They need not only confirm the completion of the prior report but also carefully formulate the opening of their report turn.

The main purpose of the departmental staff meetings (*bukai*) is to exchange reports among staff members. All the participants are expected to take report turns for this reason. There are other kinds of in-house meetings where agendas serve a determining factor in turn allocation. I will examine such cases in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5

AGENDA AND TURN ALLOCATION IN *KAIGI*

5.1 Introduction

The excerpts I examined in the previous chapter are taken from relatively small-sized departmental staff meetings called *bukai*. Each of the departmental staff meetings in the data consists of six to seven participants. The atmosphere at these staff meetings is often casual although some formality is maintained as we saw in the previous chapter. In the data, there are also large interdepartmental or interorganizational meetings that involve more participants than the staff meetings. While the staff meetings are often held weekly, interdepartmental (or interorganizational) meetings are called less frequently: many of them are scheduled on a monthly or even quarterly basis. Each of these large meetings consists of employees from various divisions of a single company or representatives of affiliated companies within the same corporate group (i.e., STAR Group). These large meetings are usually conducted in accordance with an agenda. Each topic on the agenda may consist of multiple sub-topics. For example, if the agenda includes topics such as “the recent drop in sales,” the discussion might be built around several reports on sub-topics, such as analysis of past sales, problems in the distribution system, changes in customers’ preferences, and so on. Each topic (or sub-topic) often has a designated reporter. If this reporter is not among the regular attendees of the meeting, he or she is invited as a guest speaker.¹ There is also a case where the chairperson

¹To the best of my knowledge, a board meeting is a prime example of large in-house meetings where reporters are always pre-selected from non-regular attendees. The agenda for the board meeting is distributed to the participants long before the event. The designated reporters carefully prepare for their presentations.

provides the participants with an agenda as a rough guideline in advance of the meeting, and then provides a more specific agenda for discussion on site. In this chapter, I will first examine how the chair of an interdepartmental meeting allocates report turns to pre-selected reporters in accordance with an agenda. Next, I will look at cases where the chair of an interorganizational meeting has participants give reports in response to specific items on the agenda that he presents at the opening of the meeting. Lastly, I will describe an irregular case where the turn-taking pattern is initiated by a participant's question and not by the chair.

5.2 Nomination of Pre-Selected Reporters

As described above, large in-house meetings often have designated reporters who are expected to give their reports on issues contained in the agenda at some point during the meeting. They do not have to compete for their chance to speak. In the previous chapter, we saw that chairs often nominate the next speaker whose chance to report is obvious from the seating arrangement. Nomination of a designated reporter is similar in the sense that who takes the next report turn is also obvious from the agenda. Having pointed out that the chairs nominate a pre-selected next speaker, it is interesting to examine how they actually carry out such a task. The first two examples are taken from the Quality Control Committee (*hinshitsu-kanri iinkai*), a quarterly meeting where the staff of the Quality Control Department updates the managerial employees across the company on various issues related to the quality control of their products. The participants of this meeting usually include two senior executives of the company, a few selected members of the Quality Control Department, and approximately ten managers of

other divisions. Okuda, the head of the Quality Control Department, serves as the chairperson during this meeting.

In the following excerpt, Okuda nominates another member of his department to report on the results of the inspection called *ukeire kensa*—the inspection of materials or products that the company has purchased from other manufacturers.

(5.1) Quality Control Meeting: Inspection

- 1 Okuda: *e ja, ijoo degozaimasu.*
FL so above COP:HUM:POL
Well so, that is all from me.
- 2 (0.3)
- 3 *e: tsuzukimashite, e: nibamme,*
FL continue:POL:TE FL the-second
- 4 *e: ukeire-kansa-gawa kekka [kara,*
FL receiving-audit-side result from
uh: moving on to the second item, er: from the results of our inspection of the materials we received,
- 5 [((Okuda turns his head left towards Sasaki))
- 6 *°sasaki-san onegaishimasu.°*
Sasaki-Mr. please
Mr. Sasaki, please.
- 7 Sasaki: *hai.*
yes
Yes.
- 8 (0.8)
- 9 *soredewa e hikitsuzuki chuudan no e::*
so FL continue:INF middle-row LK FL
- 10 *koomoku niban.*
item two-number
so to continue, the middle row, er: item number two.
- 11 (1.5)
- 12 *toogetsu ukeire-kensa-kekka no hoo,*
this-month receiving-inspection-result LK SOF
- 13 *e: setsumee-sasete-itadakimasu.*
FL explain-CAU:TE-receive:HUM:POL
If you allow me to, I will explain the results of this month's inspection.

At the beginning of this meeting, all the participants received a handout that the Quality Control Department had prepared. Prior to the above segment, Okuda reported on several issues included in the first part of the handout. After announcing the completion of his report by saying *ja ijoo de gozaimasu* (“That is all from me”) in line 1, Okuda introduces the next topic listed on the handout, that is, the results of the inspection (lines 3 and 4). He then turns his head toward Sasaki, who is sitting on his left, and prompts him by saying *sasaki-san onegaishimasu* (“Mr. Sasaki, please”) in line 6. After accepting this nomination with an affirmative response *hai* (“yes”) (line 7), Sasaki clarifies the place in the handout where the upcoming topic is located (lines 9 and 10). This suggests not only that he is oriented to the handout, but also that he draws the recipients’ (i.e., the other participants’) attention to it. After a 1.5-second pause (line 11), Sasaki introduces his topic *ukeire kensa* (i.e., the results of this month’s inspection) in line 12 and says that he is going to explain it (line 13). Although Okuda has already introduced the topic of Sasaki’s report (lines 3-4), Sasaki re-introduces it as a “pre” (Sacks, 1992a; Schegloff, 1980) or more specifically a “preface” (Houtkoop & Mazeland, 1985) to his upcoming presentation (lines 9, 10, 12 and 13). In line 9, Sasaki even uses the phrase *hikitsuzuki*, the infinitive form of the verb *hikitsuzuku* (“to continue”). This is almost identical to the expression *tsuzukimashite* that Okuda uses (line 3), the verb *tsuzuku* (“to continue”) followed by the polite suffix *-mas*. Such redundancy suggests that Sasaki adopts a formal orientation when beginning his report turn.

Report turns often develop into question-and-answer sequences. As shown in the previous chapter, these expanded sequences may happen both before and after the reporter announces the end of his or her report turn. Sasaki’s report turn in excerpt 5.1 is

followed by a question-and-answer sequence after he announces the end of his report. When this question-and-answer sequence comes to an end, Okuda nominates Takano as the reporter of the next item on the agenda (concerning the status of the complaints that the company received from consumers in the previous month). The excerpt below illustrates this process. Unlike the previous case, Okuda does not introduce the upcoming topic, but instead whispers something to Takano, who then starts his presentation:

(5.2) Quality Control Meeting: Consumer complaints

- 1 Anzai?: *kihontekini wa ano soo yuu () ni*
 basically TOP FL that say COP
- 2 *shite-arimasu.*
 do:TE-ASP:POL
 Basically, we have arranged like that.
- 3 (2.3)
- 4 Okuda: ((turns his head towards Takano.))° ()°



Figure 5.1. Nominating the next reporter: Okuda turns his head towards Takano.

- 5 Takano: ((turning his head towards Okuda.)) *hai. e:*
 yes FL
 Yes. er:



Figure 5.2. Responding to the nomination: Takano turns his head towards Okuda.

- 6 (0.7) ((Takano looks at his handout.))
- 7 *e: hai. etto dewa ano rokugatsudo no kure-*
 FL yes FL so FL June-period LK

8 [shijoo-kureemu-jookyoo (.)
market-complaint-status

9 [((The other participants start turning to the next page of the handout.))

10 °gohookoku itashimasu.°
PFX:report do:HUM:POL
Uh, yes. Well so, uhm, for the month of June, I will report on the status of the comp- complaints from consumers.

11 (1.1) ((Some participants are still turning the page.))

12 °e::to° rokugatsudo no kensuu wa
FL June-period LK number-of-cases TOP

13 rokujuuyon-ken °de°
sixty_four-cases COP:TE
There were sixty four cases of consumer complaints in June, and . . .

Following a significantly long pause (line 3) after the previous speaker has finished talking (line 2), Okuda turns his head toward Takano and whispers to him (line 4) (Figure 5.1). In response, Takano turns his head to Okuda and immediately provides an affirmative token *hai* (“yes”) in line 5 (Figure 5.2). Although it is not clear what Okuda says to Takano in line 4, we understand that Takano takes Okuda’s utterance as a nomination because he begins his report turn (line 7) after providing the affirmative response (line 5). Takano first states his topic *rokugatsudo no shijoo-kureemu-jyookyoo* (“the status of the complaints [received] from customers in the month of June”) in lines 7 and 8, and he announces his upcoming action (i.e., reporting) in line 10. As seen at the beginning of Sasaki’s report turn in Excerpt 5.1, Takano provides a preface to his upcoming presentation. This is similar to what Sacks (1992b) calls a “story preface”: a pre-story utterance (e.g., “I have something terrible to tell you”) that not only secures the teller’s right to produce a multi-turn unit (i.e., story) but also arouses the recipient’s interest to hear the rest of the story. In both Excerpts 5.1 and 5.2, the reporters provide what I call a *presentation preface*, and they earn the right to produce an extended talk (i.e., presentation).

Given that the recipients of the presentations in Excerpts 5.1 and 5.2 are almost all in a managerial position (including two executives), one possible explanation for the particularly careful wording in the reporters' presentation prefaces is an aspect of the recipient design (Sacks, 1992b; Sacks and Schegloff, 1979). However, I would argue that a presentation preface is a "category-bound activity" (Sacks, 1972) that is carried by the presenters. Therefore, the formality in presentation prefaces is attributed to the formality that the presenters find in the activity of presentation, and not necessarily to the assumed formality of the meeting. This point is evident in the next excerpt, in which a presenter maintains formality in his presentation preface despite the overtly casual atmosphere of the staff meeting:

(5.3) Marketing *bukai* (STAR TECH): InfoComm

- 1 Hayama: ((turns back and looks at Ishida))
dewa omataseshimashita *Ishida-[san.*
 INJ wait:CAU:HUM:POL:PAST Mr. Ishida
 So, thank you for waiting, Mr. Ishida.
- 2 Ishida: [°*hai.*°
 yes
 Yes.
- 3 Ishida: *suimasen.* ((bows)) *ghh* [hh
 sorry
 I'm sorry.
- 4 Jojima: [HHHHH
- 5 (0.3)
- 6 Ishida: [*osawagase- [shimashita.*]
 cause_a_fuss:HUM:POL:PAST
 Sorry for troubling you.
- 7 Hayama: (((smiling)) [*honto da yo*] *oma* [e:.
 really COP PP you
 We know.
- 8 Mita: [phh [hahaHAHA
- 9 Kotani: [HAHAHA
- 10 Hayama: [*fuzakeyagat*] [*te.*]
 fool_around:MOD:TE
 You jerked us around.

11 [(Ishida grins at Hayama and rises from his seat.)

12 Mita: [hh .hhh

13 Ishida: ahaha
: ((Lines 14-24 are omitted.²))

25 Ishida: → *soredewa*
INJ
So,

26 (3.6)

27 Ishida: → *gogatsu no n? (.)*
May LK

28 → *e rokugatsu ju[u::*
oh June
In May, huh? oh it's June tw....

29 Mita: [ɛ*gogatsu.ɛ=*
May
May

30 Kotani: =() [*da.*
COP
It's ().

31 Ishida: → [*ninichi kara ka na?*
..welfth from Q PP
twelfth, I guess.

² The omitted part of Excerpt 5.3 is shown below:

14 (0.6)

15 Kotani: (*teru*)?=
()?=
=keshita hoo ga ii ka [na denki.
turn_off way NOM good Q PP lights
I wonder if we should turn off the lights.

17 Mita: [un. *Keshichao?*
yeah turn_off:ASP:VOL
Yeah, let's turn them off.

18 (Kotani): un.
yeah
Yeah.

19 Ishida: (3.7) ((walks to the switch by the door and flips it off.))

20 Hayama: *an meeryoo-kanketsu ni ne.*
FL clear-simple COP PP
Uhm make it simple and clear.

21 (3.0) ((The room gets dark. The slide projected on the front screen becomes apparent.))

22 Ishida: ((to the researcher)) *socchi daijobu desu ka?*
there all_right COP:POL Q
Are you all right there?

23 Researcher: *daijoobu desu.*
all_right COP:POL
I'm all right.

24 (6.0)

- 32 → *senshuu no mo- suiyoobi kara*
last_week LK Wednesday from
From last week Th- Wednesday
- 33 (0.3)
- 34 → *kinyoobi made no mikkakan, e:*
Friday until LK three_days FL
until Friday, for three day, uhm
- 35 → *amerika no (.) darasu to yuu tokoro de*
America LK Dallas QT say place DAT
- 36 → *°infokomu no shoo ga*
InfoComm LK show NOM
- 37 → *okonawareta n desu keredomo°*
conduct:PSS:PAST SE COP:POL CNJ
there was the InfoComm show in a place called Dallas in America.
- 38 Kotani: *darasu?*
Dallas
Dallas?
- 39 (0.5)((Ishida looks at Kotani.))
- 40 Ishida: *chigaimashi[ta. [rasubegasu deshita.*
mistake:POL:PAST Las Vegas COP:POL:PAST
No. That was Las Vegas.
- 41 Kotani: [hHAHAHA
- 42 [((Other participants burst out laughing.))
- 43 (1.6) ((Other participants continue laughing.))
- 44 Ishida: { () }
- 45 Hayama: *[omae honto] ittekita n daroo na:.*
you really go:TE-come:PAST SE COP PP
Did you really go there?
- 46 (4.6) ((All participants continue laughing loudly.))
- 47 Ishida: → *.hh (.) sore no >°chotto°< gohookoku o (.)*
that LK SOF PFX-report ACC
- 48 → *sa[sete]-itadakimasu.=*
do:CAU:TE-receive:HUM:POL
I will report on that, if you let me.
- 49 Hayama: [HAI.]
yes
Yes.
- 50 =*onegaishimasu.*
please
=Please.

Ishida attended this staff meeting as a guest speaker in order to give a report on “InfoComm,” a recent international trade show for professionals in the audiovisual

information and communication industry. Although Ishida's presentation was scheduled as the first item on the agenda for the meeting, he did not show up on time. One staff member tried to locate him by calling his department, but could not find him. The meeting eventually began without him.³ He finally arrived thirty minutes after the meeting had started, and then waited for his turn until all the regular members of this *bukai* finished their reports. When everybody has finished reporting, Hayama (chair) says to Ishida, *omataseshimashita Ishida-san* ("Thank you for waiting, Mr. Ishida") in line 1. *Omataseshimashita* is a formulaic expression that service providers often use in order to politely apologize after they have kept their clients waiting. Considering that Ishida is the one who made Hayama wait, Hayama's remarks sound sarcastic. Ishida's apologetic utterances (lines 3 and 6) show that he took Hayama's previous utterance as an accusation. He apologizes for his tardiness with his head bowed, but he soon finds his own apology to be laughable (line 3), as does Jojima (line 4). Ishida then displays recognition of the trouble he has caused by saying *osawagase-shimashita* ("I caused you trouble") in line 6. After hearing the first part of Ishida's utterance, Hayama responds to him by speaking quite casually without using the polite form of the copula *desu* (line 7). Hayama even uses the informal second person reference *omae* ("you") toward Ishida. Despite the seeming hostility in Hayama's utterances, his smile suggests that he is not seriously accusing Ishida. Therefore, Hayama's response draws laughter from both Mita (line 8) and Kotani (line 9). Hayama even upgrades his informal tone by using the vulgar expression *fuzakeyagatte* ("You jerked us around") in line 10. This invites more laughter from Mita (line 12) and Ishida (line 13). It is clear from all of this that Ishida's report turn started in a friendly atmosphere.

³See Chapter 3 for the premeeting of this *bukai*.

After dimming the lights in preparation for his slide presentation, Ishida begins to provide a presentation preface (line 25). Ishida first introduces the topic of his presentation by describing the time (lines 27, 28, 31 32, 34), the location (line 35), and the name of the tradeshow (line 36). He then says, *sore no gohookoku o (.) sasete-itadakimasu* (“I will humbly report on that”) in lines 47-48. This pattern parallels the prefaces that the reporters employ in the earlier excerpts (Excerpts 5.1 and 5.2), in which the reporters explicitly state what they are going to do even when their upcoming actions are obvious and indeed expected. Ishida’s presentation preface is, however, interrupted when Kotani requests clarification of the name of an American city Ishida has just mentioned (line 38). Although Ishida first explains that InfoComm took place in Dallas (line 35), it was actually held in Las Vegas. Kotani’s clarification request *darasu?* (“Dallas?”) accompanied with a rising intonation (line 38) thus not only initiates the self-repair (of the place name by Ishida) but also serves as the first pair part of an insert sequence (see Schegloff, 2007) in lines 40-46. As Ishida provides the second pair part by correcting the name of the city he visited (line 40), the sequence further expands to include the laughter of all the participants (lines 41-43). The laughter intensifies after Hayama playfully jeers at Ishida (line 45). When the laughter dies down 4.5 seconds later, Ishida resumes completing a presentation preface (line 47) by using the anaphoric pronoun *sore* (‘that’) to refer to what he had mentioned before the insert sequence. That is, he tries to put his presentation back on track and move away from the digression. This excerpt shows that formality is evident in presentation prefaces regardless of the type of meeting. The production of a presentation preface is thus the category-bound activity of a presenter. While Ishida reorients himself to his identity as a presenter, Hayama also

completely transforms himself from a laughing audience member to the chairperson. Hayama then responds to Ishida's presentation preface by saying *HAI. onegaishimasu* ("Yes, please") in lines 49-50. Although both Ishida's identity as an invited presenter and Hayama's chairmanship are pre-assigned roles, they only emerge as *situated identities* (Zimmerman, 1998) in their talk during the sequence described above.

5.3 Soliciting Information According to the Agenda

Unlike departmental staff meetings where the participants are expected to report upon the work of which they are in charge, the participants of interorganizational meetings may be asked to give reports in response to specific items on an agenda that the chair has addressed during the meeting's opening. In this section, I will examine how the chair allocates turns and nominates next reporters in these cases. I will also attend to the ways the nominated reporters begin their report turns.

The first excerpt is taken from a committee meeting called *sekyuritii bijinesu purojekuto* ("Security Business Project") in which participants from across the corporate group discuss their security-related issues. Before examining the excerpt, I should briefly explain the "security-related issues" that serve as the basis for this committee.

The corporate group (STAR Group) as a whole manufactures and sells office furniture and office supplies. By the time I visited the STAR group for my research in the summer of 2005, many Japanese consumers had been increasingly concerned about security on many levels. In response to this social phenomenon, the STAR group had just started putting special emphasis on their security-related products and services. For example, the STAR group's security-related products include furniture (e.g., storage

cabinets with an electronic locking function) as well as office supplies (e.g., cashboxes with an authentication key). There were a significant number of products considered to be “security related,” including a variety of items handled by the group’s delivery service. “Security” had become a buzzword not only for the STAR group but for the entire industry of office furniture and office supplies. The concept of security became an important business category suggesting an expansion of profit-making opportunities. From the necessity to formulate group-wide strategies for enhancing their security-related businesses, the STAR group organized the “Security Business Project” committee that consisted mainly, but not exclusively, of sales and marketing managers from across the group.

At the same time, the group’s own efforts to protect personal information had also become another important security-related concern. In 1998, JIPDEC (Japan Institute for Promotion of Digital Economy and Community) established the PrivacyMark System, intended to assess the security of personal information handled by private enterprises in compliance with Japan Industrial Standards.⁴ This system grants the use of the PrivacyMark, otherwise known as the P-Mark, private enterprises that meet the security standards established by the JIS Q. Because the Act on the Protection of Personal Information (Act. No. 57 of 2003) went into effect for all private enterprises in April 2005, there was a pressing need for the STAR Group to receive a PrivacyMark certification in the summer of 2005. As described on JIPDEC’s website, PrivacyMark “is an effective tool that allows private enterprises to demonstrate that they are in compliance

⁴ JIS Q 15001:2006 (Personal Information Protection Management System—Requirements)

with the law and that they have voluntarily established a personal information protection management system with a high level of protection.”⁵

It is in this situation that the “Security Business Project” committee had their second meeting.⁶ The participants included ten people (with the chair) from various divisions of the STAR Corporation and four people from the affiliated companies within the STAR Group. During the opening, Maeda (chair) goes over some rough guidelines (which he distributed to the members during the first meeting in the previous month), and explains how he wants to conduct the meeting. In this speech, Maeda describes an agenda: it will be comprised of three topics to be addressed by each participant at the meeting. The following is a part of his speech:

(5.4) Security Business Project: Chair’s Introduction of the Agenda

- 1 Maeda: *de kyoo ano::: etto teema.*
and today FL FL topic
- 2 *e: zenkai okubarishite-arimasu keredo,*
FL previously distribute:HUM:TE-ASP:POL CNJ
- 3 *e: kono sekyuritii-bijinesu: (.) purojekuto;*
FL this security business project
- 4 *ma kono naka de:*
INJ this inside LOC
- 5 (0.3)
- 6 *ma e: >zenkai watashi no hoo kara iimashita*
INJ FL previously I LK SOF from say:PST:POL
- 7 *keredo<, e: yahari sorezore no eeto*
CNJ FL as_expected each LK FL
- 8 (0.3)
- 9 *>kampanii tte no ka na; kaisha tte yuu no*
division QT one Q PP company QT say one
- 10 *ka na;< e: ga e: sekyuritii ni taishite*
Q PP FL NOM FL security about

⁵http://privacymark.org/privacy_mark/about/outline_and_purpose.html (Copyright © 2008-2011 JIPDEC)

⁶Their first meeting was held in the previous month.

11 *ugoki o suru. (.)*
 action ACC do

12 *de sono toki ni e: yahari (.)*
 and that time DAT FL as_expected

13 *mokuhyoo o shikkari motanakereba-ikenai*
 goals ACC firmly have:NEG:CND-go:POT:NEG

14 *to yuu koto de, ((looks down at the handout))*
 QT say NML COP:TE

15 *e: katsudoo-mokuyoo ka hambai-mokuhyoo. (.)*
 FL activity_goal or sales_goal

16 *de koko ni tsuite chotto minasan no iken o (.)*
 and here about SOF everyone LK opinion ACC

17 *e kikasete-moratte, e: koo yuu mono o*
 FL listen:CAU:TE-receive:TE FL this say thing ACC

18 *tsukutteku ugoki o shite-ikitai na:.*
 make:TE-go activity ACC do:TE-go:DES PP

Regarding uhm today's topic, that er I distributed last time, in this Security Business Project, as I said last time, uhm each division? Each company takes action about security. And, for that, we must have a definite goal, either for activities or sales. And I want to hear your opinion about this issue, so that we make something like this (guideline).

19 *de sorekara nibamme ni (.) ano:: (.)*
 and also the_second DAT FL

20 *zenkai mo kore deta ka to*
 previously too this come_up:PST Q QT

21 *omou n desu kedo,*
 think SE COP:POL CNJ

22 (0.4)

23 *e: fooramu toka ne, e: hoomupeeji.*
 FL FORUM etc. PP FL homepage

24 (0.4)

25 *e shanai-intora ni koo yuu mono o*
 FL in-house intranet LOC like_this say item ACC

26 *tsukuroo. tsukuttara doo daroo.*
 make:VOL make:CND how COP

27 (0.3)

28 *yuu yoo na hanashi ga atte,*
 say like COP discussion NOM exist:TE

29 *zenkai ano Aoki-san to Sakai-san to*
 previously FL Mr. Aoki and Mr. Sakai with

30 *chots- sannin de ranchimiitingu shinagara,*
 SOF 3 people INS lunch-meeting do:INF-while

31 (.0.3)

32 e chotto e: giron shita mono mo aru node,
 FL SOF FL discussion do:PST issue too exist because

33 e >soo itta mono o tataki ni shinagara=
 FL like_that say item ACC basis COP do:INF-while

34 =chotto minna< ga e:: koo yuu mono
 SOF everyone NOM FL like_this say item

35 ni taisuru
 vis-a-vis

36 (1.0)

37 koto ni tsuite no chotto disukasshon o
 thing about LK SOF discussion ACC

38 shitai na: °to°.
 do:DES PP QT

And secondly, uhm I think this also came up last time, er there was a plan to create something like this in our in-house intranet, like FORUM and homepage. I had a lunch meeting with Mr. Aoki and Mr. Sakai, and we talked about it. So, based on the things discussed in that meeting, I want to have a discussion about this plan with all of you.

39 (0.6)

40 sorekara sambamme ni wa e: >kaku kampanii no
 and_also the_third DAT TOP FL each company LK

41 ima made no ugoki to kongo no katsudoo
 now until LK movement and future LK activities

42 ni tsuite to<
 about QT

43 (0.3)

44 e yuu koto de,
 FL say NML COP:TE

45 ma kaku kampanii kara chotto, e::
 INJ each company from SOF FL

46 (0.9)

47 hayai mon de ikkagetsu tatta e:: (.)
 fast thing COP:TE a_month pass:PAST FL

48 chotto ugoki (.) nan↓ka o chotto
 SOF movement etc. ACC SOF

49 kikasete hoshii na: (.)
 listen:CAU:TE want PP

50 e yuu huu ni °omottesasu°.
 FL say like COP think:TE:ASP:POL

51 de kono naka de ano soomu no hoo no
 and this among LOC FL Admn. Dept. LK SOF LK

52 Takeda-sanno hoo de (.) chotto hora e: (.)
 Mr. TakedaLK SOF COP:TE a little INJ FL

53 *piimaaku*
P-Mark

54 (0.4)

55 *puraibashiimaaku no ugoki* (.) no koto de
PrivacyMark LK action LK thing COP:TE

56 *moshi* (.) *e: ohanashi-itadakereba.*
if FL PFX-talk-get:HUM:POT:CND

57 (0.3)

58 *yu u huu ni omotteimasu.*
say like COP think:TE:ASP:POL

And also, thirdly, it's about each company's movement so far and future endeavors. I would like to hear what you've been doing in the past month. And as a part of this topic, I'm wondering if Mr. Takeda from the Administrative Department could talk us about P-Mark, I mean, PrivacyMark,

Based on what the chair describes in this speech, I summarize the three topics on the agenda below:

- (1) Discussion of each company's (division's) goal for security-related business
- (2) Creation of group-wide guidelines for security-related business
- (3) Update of each company's (division's) activities and future endeavors in relation to security issues (including the STAR Corporation's application for a PrivacyMark)

The chair's intention is to put together information about each section's marketing goals for security-related business so that he can compile guidelines for the STAR Group's unifying approach to security-related issues. He had made a list of *kampanii* ("companies")⁷ under the umbrella of the STAR group along with their security-related products and services, and he projected a chart that contained the list on a large screen behind him during the meeting. After giving the above speech, he continued to talk for another three minutes. The following excerpt shows that once again, toward the end of his long opening speech, he describes what kind of information he wants the participants to share. He then nominates the first reporter:

⁷By using the *katakana* word *kampanii* ("company") the speaker refers to four affiliated companies as well as three operational divisions of the STAR Corporation.

(5.5) Security Business Project: Chair's Introduction of the Agenda

- 1 Maeda: *de kaku kampaniii no kono torikumi ni tsuite*
and each company LK this project about
- 2 *e chotto kaku kampa[nii (.) ano:*
FL SOF each company FL
- 3 [((Maeda looks at his laptop screen.))
- 4 *mondai ari: nashi (.) e[:::*
problem exist:INF without FL
- 5 [((Maeda starts making adjustments
to the chart on his laptop screen. He continues working on the chart while he is
speaking until line 10.))
- 6 *aruwa moo suuji made tsukutte-kita yo to (.)*
or already numbers even make:TE-come:PAST PP QT
- 7 *yuu yoo na kono- koto ga areba*
say like COP this thing NOM exist:CND
- 8 *sono han'i-nai de chotto (.)*
that range_in COP:TE SOF
- 9 *oshiete-hoshii na to omou n desu kedo,*
teach:TE-want PP QT think SE COP:POL CNJ
**And regarding this project, I would like you to tell me whether or not your
company has a problem. If you say, "We have already set numerical targets," I
would like you to share that too.**
- 10 (0.4)
- 11 [((Maeda turns towards Wada))
- 12 [*JOS no hoo Wada buchoo kono hen wa doo desu;*
JOS LK SOF Wada manager this area TOP how COP:POL
Wada-bucho, how are things going in this regard at JOS?

Between lines 1 through 9, Maeda states that he wants the participants to share their opinions about this group-wide project, in particular, whether or not they have any problem with it. As he speaks, he glances at his laptop screen (line 3). Earlier in his speech, he emphasizes the importance of setting definite goals for security-related business (see excerpt 5.4). This time, he encourages the participants to reveal the numerical targets specific to their security business, if such targets are available (lines 6-9). At the same time, he begins working on his laptop to make adjustments to his chart. His gaze is thus fixed upon his laptop screen while he speaks to the audience. As he turns

to Wada after a 0.4 second pause (lines 10-11), he nominates him (Wada) by calling out the name of Wada's company (i.e., JOS) in line 12. Maeda then addresses Wada by name and title *bocho* ("manager") and asks a specific question: *kono hen wa doo desu* ("How are things going in this regard?") in line 12. The use of the anaphoric expression *kono hen* (Lit. "this area") suggests that Maeda asks Wada to address the issues Maeda has just mentioned in lines 1 through 9. The following excerpt shows how Wada provides his response and begins his report turn:

(5.6) Security Business Project: JOS (building on 5.5)

- 12 Maeda: [JOS no hoo Wada buchoo kono hen wa doo desu;
 JOS LK SOF Wada manager this area TOP how COP:POL
Wada-bucho, how are things going in this regard at JOS?
- 13 (0.7)
- 14 Wada: *hai. ano .hhhh*
 yes FL
Yes, well .hhhh
- 15 *e Maeda buchoo ni ano izen hookoku shita ka to*
 FL Maeda manager DAT FL before report do:PAST Q QT
- 16 *omou n desu ga tenkirokku ni tsuite wa e:::*
 think SE COP:POL CONJ ten-key-lock regarding TOP FL
I think I have told Maeda-bucho about this before, but regarding the ten-key-lock cabinets, er:::
- 17 (0.3)
- 18 *kono shichigatu no koohan ni*
 this July LK later_half DAT
later this July
- 19 (0.9)
- 20 *demoki o kaku shiten ate ni*
 demonstration_model ACC each branch address DAT
- 21 *ireru*
 bring-in
we are going to install some demonstration models at each of our branches,
- 22 (0.6)
- 23 *yotee de ima keekaku shiteru n desu.*
 schedule COP:TE now plan do:TE:ASP SE COP:POL
we are planning to schedule that installation.
- 24 (0.5)

25 *de ma sono shiten- kaku shiten ate ni*
 and INJ that branch each branch address DAT

26 *ireru ni atatte ma mokuhyoodaisu o*
 bring_in on_the_occasion INJ target_quantity ACC

27 *kimeru.*
 decide
Before installing the models, we decide upon the target quantity.

28 (0.3)

29 *moo kimeta n desu ga:*
 already decide:PAST SE COP:POL CNJ
We *did* decide it already.

After indicating his uptake of the nomination with an affirmative response *hai* (“yes”) in line 14, Wada prefaces his report by saying *Maeda-bucho ni izen hookoku-shita ka to omou n desu ga* (“I think that I told Maeda-bucho about this before”) in lines 15 and 16. In this preface, Wada displays recognition that what he is about to report is already known to one of the recipients (i.e., Maeda). In this way Wada downgrades the newsworthiness of his report for Maeda. However, the content of his report meets the criterion that Maeda specifies earlier in excerpt 5.5. Wada’s company, JOS (Japan Office Supplies), is one of the operational divisions of STAR Corporation, and it sells a wide range of products (including products manufactured by companies other than the STAR Corporation) to its corporate clients. The “ten-key-lock” cabinet, manufactured by STAR Corporation, is a line of office cabinets that you can lock with the attached ten-key keypad. Wada explains that JOS is currently planning to expand sales of the ten-key-lock cabinets by installing their demonstration models in JOS’s sales branches (lines 18, 20, 21, 23). In addition, Wada says that JOS “decides upon” the target number of the models to install (lines 25-27). He first uses the verb *kimeru* (“to decide”) in the present tense in line 27. But he soon repairs this by replacing the verb with its past tense, *kimeta* (“decided”), in line 29. He also uses the adverb *moo* (“already”) to emphasize that his

division has already set the target quantity of the demonstration models (line 29). As shown in the above excerpt, Wada addresses one of the agenda topics requested by Maeda (i.e., “the specification of a definite goal concerning the security business for each division”) in the beginning of his turn.

From the transcript above alone, it is not clear why Maeda chooses Wada as the first reporter. Because Wada is not sitting next to Maeda, the seating arrangement does not seem to be the basis for Maeda’s choice. Maeda does not give an account for his choice of next reporter. He nominates Wada as if the choice were obvious. Interestingly, Wada does not show any surprise when nominated. Although there is a 0.7-second pause before Wada’s first response arrives (line 13), it takes an average of 0.6 to 0.7 seconds for the participants of this meeting to begin their report turn after they are nominated (see Excerpts 5.7 & 5.8 for exception). The chart Maeda has on his laptop screen, which is also projected on the large screen behind him, however, provides a clue as to the method of allocation for report turns. It has a list of security-related products in the left column, and each company’s (division’s) name in the top row.⁸ Since Wada’s division (JOS) is in the far-left of the top row, (first on the list of company names) it is reasonable to assume that Maeda allocates report-turns according to the list on the chart, and that is what the other participants seem to perceive. This becomes evident when Maeda nominates the next reporter:

(5.7) Security Business Project: Office Creation

1 Maeda: *ja °wakarimashita.°*
 ITJ understand_PST
 I see.

⁸Due to my nondisclosure agreement with the STAR Group, I could not obtain either the handout nor a copy of the chart used in this meeting.

2 (0.7)

3 *jaa SFC kyoo chotto (.) okureru nde:,*
ITJ SFC today a_little be_late because

4 *eeto (.) [ofiisu kurieeshon no hoo wa [doo °desu°.*
FL Office Creation LK side TOP how Cop
So, since the person from SFC will be coming a little late today, uhm, how is
Office Creation?

5 [(Maeda looks at Hamano while Hamano is looking down.)]

6 [(Maeda looks down.)]

7 (1.0)

8 ((Maeda looks up and turns towards Naka sitting to his left.))

9 (0.6)

10 Naka: ((Naka looks at Maeda and points in the direction of Hamano.))
°(saisho wa)°=
first TOP
First.

11 Maeda: =[hai. (.) ja ha- hamano san
yes ITJ Mr. Hamano
Okay. Then, Mr. Hamano.

12 [(Maeda looks at Hamano.)]

13 (0.4)

14 Hamano: *e: ano: chotto: soo itta:*
FL FL SOF like_that say_PST

15 *jisseki tte yuu:: toraekata*
actual_performance QT say viewpoint
Er: uhmm from such viewpoint, which is based on the actual performance. . .

After providing the acknowledgement token *wakarimashita* (“I see”) to confirm the completion of the previous (Wada’s) report turn in line 1, Maeda nominates a representative from Office Creation (line 4) “because the representative from SFC is coming late to the meeting” (line 3). On the top row of Maeda’s chart, SFC is listed second and Office Creation third. This confirms that Maeda is nominating next speakers according to the list of companies in his chart. Since the chart is also projected on the large screen behind Maeda, everyone could have predicted who would be next if the person from SFC were not available. However, as the long pauses in lines 7 and 9 indicate, no one responds to Maeda’s nomination. Office Creation is an affiliate company

that provides design services to office owners. Although Hamano is at the meeting in order to represent Office Creation, Naka is also involved in the operation of that company in the sense that he, as the senior manager of the Business Interior Department, leads a sales team that finds potential customers for Office Creation. Therefore, there are two potential speakers who can address the security-related business issues of Office Creation. Because Maeda does not nominate the next reporter by name in line 4, neither Hamano nor Naka volunteers to take the role. After Naka suggests to Maeda that Hamano go first (line 10), Maeda nominates Hamano by name in line 11. Upon receiving this nomination, Hamano begins his report in line 14.

It is noteworthy that Maeda turns his gaze to both Hamano (line 4) and Naka (line 8). This suggests that Maeda does not prioritize one potential speaker over another. He simply orients to the company name that appears in his chart. This explains why he always mentions a company name in addition to a participant's name when he nominates next reporters during the first round of reporting activities. The only exception is when Maeda nominates Naka as another reporter after Hamano completes his report turn. Maeda calls Naka by name and title only:

(5.8) Security Business Project: *Naka-bucho*

- 1 Hamano: *hai. (. ijoo desu ne.*
 yes above COP:POL PP
 Yes. That's all.
- 2 (0.3)
- 3 Maeda: ((looking at his laptop)) *Naka-buchoo no hoo kara.*
 Naka Manager LK SOF from
 From you, Naka-bucho.
- 4 (1.4) ((Maeda keeps his gaze on the laptop screen. Naka glances at Maeda
 twice.))

5 Naka: *un. ano::*
 yes FL
 Yes. uhhh::

After Hamano announces the completion of his report in line 1, Maeda nominates Naka (line 3). Despite the relatively long pause that follows Maeda’s nomination, he does not look at Naka, who, in contrast, glances at Maeda twice. This seems to suggest that Maeda is convinced that Naka will speak next whereas Naka waits and see what Maeda is doing.

Although Maeda had initially provided a lengthy description of the agenda at the opening of the meeting (see Excerpt 5.4), the first reporter (Wada) designed his report turn to meet the specific request that Maeda provided immediately before nominating Wada (see Excerpt 5.5). This does not mean that the agenda described earlier by Maeda has become invalid. The next excerpt shows that a newly nominated reporter clearly orients to the three agenda topics mentioned by Maeda at the opening of the meeting:

(5.9) Security Business Project: E-Land

1 Maeda: *Shima-san no hoo, E-rando no hoo wa?*
 Mr. Shima LK SOF E-Land LK SOF TOP
 How about you, Mr. Shima? How is “E-Land”?

2 (0.6)

3 Shima: → *hai. ano watashi no hoo wa ano ato-*
 yes FL I LK SOF TOP FL later
 Yes. Uhm my report will

4 → *nochihodo no teema to: kasanaru?*
 later LK topic with overlap
 overlap? with the topic that will be taken up later.

5 → *iwayuru kongo no dookoo tte yuu*
 what_you_call future LK trend QT say
 what you call, “the future trend.”

6 (0.4)

7 → *kasanaru bubun ga aru to wa omou n desu ga:,*
 overlap part NOM exist QT TOP think SE COP:POL CNJ
 I think that there are places where my report will overlap with the topic.

8 (0.4)

As we have seen in Excerpt 5.6, Maeda nominates Shima in the form of a question *X no hoo (wa)?* (“How about X?”) Again, Maeda is not asking Shima to share his personal opinion, but rather to provide information about his division, specifically the product catalogue called E-Land. Shima is a manager of the Educational Business Division of the STAR Corporation, and he is in charge of sales based on E-Land—the company’s catalogue of their products used in educational environments such as schools. After acknowledging the nomination with the affirmative response *hai* (“yes”) in line 3, Shima mentions that what he is about to say might overlap with a topic that is supposed to be covered later. To recall the three agenda topics mentioned earlier by Maeda:

- (1) Discussion of each company’s (division’s) goal for security-related business
- (2) Creation of group-wide guidelines for security-related business
- (3) Update of each company’s (division’s) activities and future endeavors in relation to security issues (including the STAR Corporation’s application for a PrivacyMark)

In lines, 3, 4, 5, and 7, Shima explains that what he is about to say may partially overlap with a topic to be discussed later, namely *kongo no dookoo* (“future movement”) in line 5.

In Maeda’s speech, he uses the phrase *kongo no katsudoo* (“future work”), instead of *kongo no dookoo*, as a part of the third topic (Excerpt 5.4; line 41). Shima might have mistaken the *kanji*-compound word *katsudoo* (“activity, endeavor”) for *dookoo* (“movement, trend”). Whatever caused such a discrepancy, Shima prefaces his report by announcing that it will be related to their “future,” the topic Maeda suggested earlier.

Shima, in fact, is talking about his division’s future work:

(5.10) Security Business Project: E-Land (building on 5.9)

9 Shima: *e::: E-rando de wa ima made (.)*
 FL E-Land LOC TOP now until
 Uhmmm in “E-Land,” up until now

10 ookina kategorii yottsu de
large categories four INS

11 yatteta n desu.=
operate:TE:ASP:PAST SE COP:POL
we divided our business into four categories.

12 =ma bungu jimuyoohin seekatsuzakka,
INJ stationery office_supplies household_goods
'Stationery' 'Office supplies,' 'Household items,'

13 (0.3)

14 e: gyooji gakushuu tte koto de
FL event learning QT NML COP:TE

15 ma °gakkoo mawari (to).°
INJ school peripherals QT
'Event and Learning,' which is a category for school-related items.

16 (0.4)

17 de: >tamatama moo sore de
and by_chance already that INS

18 yatteta n desu ga<
operate:TE:ASP:PAST SE COP:POL
And we happened to have had it that way.

19 tsugi dasu katarogu kara: ,
next release catalog from
But starting from the next catalog,

20 (0.5)

21 (gyooji)gakushuu ni tsuite,
event learning regarding
for the 'Events & Learning' category,

22 >maa koko ga ano ichiban boryuumu ga aru
INJ here NOM FL the_most volume NOM exist

23 wareware mo tokka suru tokoro na nde<
we too specialize place COP because
**well, this is the category where we have the largest volume of business, and we
pay special attention to it, so,**

24 ma soko o (.) kategorii o kan-
INJ there ACC category ACC

25 sono naka o saibunka shiyoo to.
that inside ACC subdivision do:VOL QT
Well, there, for that category, we'll subdivide that.

26 (0.5)

27 yuu koto de: ,
say NML COP:TE
so,

28 (0.7)

29 e: gyooji gakushuu o muttsu ni wake(te).
FL event learning ACC six into divide:TE
er: we divided the 'Events & Learning' category into six parts,

30 *de gookee de kon de kyuu ni naru no ka na?*
and total INS this INS nine COP become NML Q PP
then, I guess this makes the total number of the categories nine?

31 *kyuu no kategorii ga aru n desu ga,*
nine LK categories NOM exist SD COP:POL CNJ
We have nine categories, and

32 *sono muttsu ni waketa kategorii no uchi no*
that six into divide:PAST categories LK inside LK

33 *hitotsu ga:,*
one NOM
One of the six new categories is,

34 (0.3)

35 *e:::: bohan- anzen-boohan to. (.)*
FL security safety_&_security QT
Uhhh:: 'Security & Safety.'

36 *yuu kukuri o: e: konkai kara.*
say categorization ACC FL this_time from
We'll have such categorization from next time

37 *ma dakara .hh (.) nikagetsugo desu ka;*
INJ so in_two_months COP:POL Q

38 *ni deru katarogu kara:,*
DAT be_released catalogue from
So, in two months? From the catalogue that comes out then...

39 *maa dasshite-iku yoo.*
INJ implement:TE-go fashion
we will implement that new category.

40 (0.6)

41 *de:, >ma honto wa ammari yorokobashii koto*
and INJ really TOP not_very delightful thing

42 *janai n desu kedo<=*
COP:NEG SE COP:POL CNJ
And this is not really a pleasant thing, but

43 *=gakkoo de mo ma kono boohan anzen tte hijooni*
school LOC too INJ this security safety QT very much

44 *kiiwaado ni natchatteru mon desu kara:,*
keyword COP become:TE:ASP NML COP:POL because
this "Security & Safety" has become very much a keyword in schools too, so

45 (0.4)

46 *ma uchi no hoo de mo kategorii to shite no ma (.)*
INJ we LK SOF LOC too category QT do:TE LK INJ

47 *dai kategorii ni maa*
big category COP INJ
for us, as a category, (.) a big category

48 (0.5)((Shima moves his right arm upward three times.))

49

maa shooshin? shookaku saseta jootai desu.
INJ promotion upgrade do:CAU situation COP:POL
it has been promoted? upgraded. That's how it is.

Shima explains that “E-Land” used to have four major categories: “stationary and office supplies,” “household items,” “PC peripherals,” and “event and learning” (lines 9-18). However, they decided to subdivide the “event and learning” into six categories, bringing the total to nine categories (lines 19 -31). One of the new categories is “safety and security,” and it will appear in their newest catalogue, which will be released in two months (lines 32-39). Since “safety and security” became keywords at schools (41-44), Shima’s division has stressed the importance of the concept they represent by treating it as one of the large categories in their new catalogue (46-49).

As Shima says in excerpt 5.9, his report touches upon the “future movement” of his division, that is, their new emphasis on the sale of products under the “safety and security” category. What is noteworthy is that both Shima (in Excerpt 5.9) and Wada (in Excerpt 5.6) mention a potential problem of their report before they start it. In Excerpt 5.6, after being nominated by Maeda, Wada says:

(5.11) Security Business Project: JOS (partial duplication of Excerpt 5.6)

14 Wada: *hai. ano .hhhh*
 yes FL
 Yes, well .hhhh

15 *e Maeda buchou ni ano izen hookoku shita ka to*
 FL Maeda manager DAT FL before report do:PAST Q QT

16 *omou n desu ga tenkirokku ni tsuite wa e::::*
 think SE COP:POL CONJ ten-key-lock regarding TOP FL
 I think I have told Maeda-bucho about this before, but regarding the ten-key-lock
 cabinets, er::::

Wada's report fulfills the information requirements that Maeda previously specified at the outset of the meeting. However, it might be problematic in the sense that he plans to talk about something that Maeda already knows⁹. Sacks (1992b) explains that when we talk, we orient to what we believe our recipients know. This is one of the operating maxims of "orientation to co-participants," a common phenomenon of our conversation (Sacks, 1992b, p. 564). Wada's report is adequate as the second pair part of an adjacency pair whose first pair part is Maeda's request for information. Wada's comment is also satisfactory as a report since it addresses the topic provided by the chair. However, following the maxim of orientation to co-participants, Wada first attempts to clarify his understanding of Maeda's knowledge. This indicates the institutionality of their conversation in two ways. First, Wada chooses to provide the information, which he knows Maeda already is aware of, because he is talking to a group of people (and Maeda is not the only recipient). Second, Maeda, as the chair, asks Wada for information that he already knows, because he is conducting a meeting, not having a dyadic conversation.

Wada has therefore successfully addressed the agenda topic provided by Maeda. This suggests that if there are agenda topics provided by the chair, the participants are, by convention, expected to address them in the ways specified by. Shima (in Excerpt 5.10) orients to this convention, and alludes to a potential violation of this expectation as a preface to his report. In ordinary conversation, speakers might intentionally save a particular topic for later without this being considered a potential violation of any

⁹If this were a dyadic conversation between Wada and Maeda, Wada's comment could have been considered as a strategic movement. That is, it could be either a reminder that would prompt Maeda to remember their previous conversations, or a sign of Wada's strong desire to talk about it regardless of Maeda's prior knowledge of it.

conversational convention. Shima's concern, therefore, reflects the institutionality of the meeting.

As we have seen so far, nominated reporters attempts to ascertain and address potential problems (such as deviations from what the audience may expect) at the beginning of their reports. The reporter in the next excerpt also initially gives an account for the possibility that his upcoming comments do not meet the chair's expectations. Prior to this segment, Aoki, the representative of SFC, entered the room. Although SFC is the second on the list in Maeda's chart, Maeda had to skip that report turn because Aoki was not yet present. Aoki has just announced that he is ready to talk about SFC's security-related business activities and goals, including their numerical targets. However, instead of asking Aoki to report, Maeda decides to nominate Endo first:

(5.12) Security Business Project: SLC

- 1 Maeda: ((to Aoki)) *chotto saki ni ano chotto SLC-san.*
SOF in_first FL SOF
Let me go for SLC-san first.
- 2 *uri no hoo no (.) chotto kangae o kiite,*
sales LK SOF LK SOF idea ACC listen:TE
I will listen to ideas from sales, and
- 3 *de e:: SFC-san no hoo ni modorimasu kara.*
and FL SFC LK SOF DAT return:POL so
then, uhm we will get back to you, SFC-san.
- 4 (0.7)
- 5 *ja, Endo-san.* ((turning towards Endo))
INJ Mr. Endo
So, Mr. Endo.
- 6 (0.6)
- 7 Endo: *ano wareware wa ano °betsuni°*
FL we TOP FL particularly
- 8 *hambai-butai de mo °igyoshu°.*
sales_team LOC even different_business
Uhm Although we are a sales team, we are in a different line of business.
- 9 *HHH[H*

10 Maeda: [hambai-butai [janai desu ka:.]]
 sales_team COP:GNEG COP:POL Q
 You are a sales team, aren't you?

Maeda refers to SLC as “SLC *san*” (line 1) and SFC “SFC *san*” (line 3). It is common practice to attach the honorific suffix *san* to another company’s name in Japanese business. Although SLC (STAR Logistics Company) is an affiliated company of the STAR Corporation to which Maeda belongs, it is technically a separate entity. It is therefore not unusual for employees of the STAR Corporation to use the designation “SLC *san*.” However, SFC (STAR Furniture Company) is an official name of the office furniture division of the STAR Corporation, and thus it is not a separate company. Although it is not clear why Maeda uses “SFC *san*,” he might just be trying to maintain the equilibrium between the two participants (Endo and Aoki), by referring to them in a similar manner.

Maeda suggests that he would like Endo, the representative of SLC, to report from the perspective of the sales company (lines 1 and 2). In this utterance, Maeda differentiates between SLC and SFC by putting the former in the category of *uri* (‘sales’), implying that SFC is, in contrast, a manufacturer. SLC has a division called Furniture Interior Operation Department, which specializes in the moving, remodeling and designing of offices. Endo is a manager of this department. The business of Endo’s division often includes the sales of products manufactured by the STAR Corporation as part of their comprehensive approach to customer needs. It seems to be for this reason that Maeda puts SLC under the category of “sales.” Since Maeda has already mentioned the name of Endo’s company in line 1, it is unnecessary for him to repeat it when nominating Endo. After a 0.6-second pause (line 6), Endo expresses his reservations about categorizing his work at SLC as “sales” (lines 7-8). Although he admits that his

division is a sales team, he says that it is in an *igyoshu* (“different line of business”) in line 8. In fact, the sale of STAR products is not a central activity for Endo’s team. His team is more like a contractor than a sales agency. Therefore, he tries to distinguish his team from the regular sales divisions. In response to Endo’s claim (line 10), Maeda insists that Endo’s division is a sales team by adding the comment *hambai-butai janai desu ka:*, which is similar to the English tag-question “You are a sales team, aren’t you?” In this comment, Maeda even recycles the word *hambai-butai* (‘sales team’) that Endo used in the previous turn.

We have seen that reporters may give accounts of potential problems in their upcoming reports at the very beginning of their turns. In order to identify what is potentially problematic in Endo’s report, it is necessary to further examine his turn:

(5.13) Security Business Project: SLC (building on 5.12)

```

10 Maeda:      [hambai-butai [janai desu ka:.]
                sales_team COP:GNEG COP:POL Q
                You are a sales team.

11 Endo:      [suuchi-mokuhyo      ] (      )
                numerical_goal

12            >meekakuni tateta wake janai n desu yo<
                clearly set:PAST reason COP:NEG SE COP:POL PP
                Numerical goals haven't been clearly set.

13            yosan no naka de
                budget LK inside LOC

14            nenkan kore dake uru toka
                per_year this extent sell SOF
                like how much we should sell per year within our sales volume budget.

                : ((6 lines are omitted.))

21            shooruumu (.) o sono:: (.) tsukuru yo to.
                show_room ACC FL create PP QT

22            tookyoo eegyoosho ni tsukuru yo to itta toki ni:,
                Tokyo_sales_office LOC create PP QT say:PAST time DAT
                When we said "we are going to make a showroom," "we will make it inside our
                Tokyo sales office,"

                : ((13 lines are omitted.))

```

36 *ichioo shumireeshon o shimashita.*
tentatively simulation ACC do:POL:PAST
We did a tentative simualtion

: ((10 lines are omitted.))

47 *kiki dake dewanakute,*
equipment only COP:NEG:TE

48 *kooji mo hikkurumete*
construction too include:TE
Including not only equipment sales, but also construction, and

49 *sekyuritii-kanren de roppyakugojuuman gurai.*
security_related INS 6.5 million about
we estimated about 6.5 million yen in security-related sales.

50 (1.3)

51 *GA (.) mokuhyoo to ieba mokuhyoo;*
NOM goal QT say:CND goal
You can say THAT is our goal.

Endo admits that his division does not have a clear numerical goal for their security-related business (lines 11-12) in such a way that they estimate how much their security-related sales should be within their annual sales budget (lines 13-14). As he did in the prior segment, he re-attempts to distinguish his team from other regular sales divisions. He contrasts his team with the other sales divisions where security-related sales can be easily estimated as part of their annual sales volume budget. In other words, he states that, because his division of SLC is a special kind of sales team, it does not have a clear sales goal in the manner expected by Maeda of a regular sales division. Endo further explains that his team simulated their sales operation when SLC decided to build a showroom inside their Tokyo sales branch (lines 21-22, 36). As a result, his team estimated about 6.5 million yen in their security-related sales (lines 47-49). After a 1.3-second pause, he states that 6.5 million yen per contract could be considered their goal (line 51). It is now clear why Endo needs to allude to a potential problem in the preface to his report: his team's sales goal is estimated in a manner different from that of the other sales divisions.

As described earlier, a chart that Maeda prepared is projected on the large screen during this meeting. The chart has a list of security-related products in the left column, and each company's (division's) name along the top row, so that Maeda can enter all the organizations' sales goals for each product. It is, however, difficult for Endo's team to predict what exact security-related items they will sell as part of their service operations. That is, it is difficult for him to report on his business in the way requested by Maeda.

Once again, I would like to recall how the chair describes the agenda in his speech at the beginning of this meeting. He describes the third topic on the agenda in the excerpt below:

(5.14) Security Business Project: Chair's introduction of topics (detail of Excerpt 5.4)¹⁰

40 Maeda: *sorekara sambanme ni wa e: >kaku kampanii no*
 and_also the_third DAT TOP FL each company LK

41 *ima made no ugoki to kongo no katsudoo*
 now until LK movement and future LK activities

42 *ni tsuite to<*
 about QT
And also, thirdly, about each company's movement so far and future endeavors

43 (0.3)

44 *e yuu koto de,*
 FL say NML COP:TE

45 *ma kaku kampanii kara chotto, e::*
 INJ each company from SOF FL
So, from each company, er::

46 (0.9)

47 *hayai mon de ikkagetsu tatta e:: (.)*
 fast thing COP:TE a_month pass:PAST FL
It's already been a month, er::

48 *chotto ugoki (.) nan↓ka o chotto*
 SOF movement etc. ACC SOF

¹⁰In excerpt 5.14, the English translation is provided differently from its counterpart in excerpt 5.4. Since I did not conduct a detailed analysis of excerpt 5.4, I added the English translation in a way that allows non-Japanese speakers to quickly capture the content of the chair's speech. The translation does not necessarily reflect the details of the original Japanese expressions. However, in excerpt 5.14, I tried to translate the utterance as closely to the original expressions as possible while maintaining a certain degree of naturalness in English.

49 *kikasete hoshii na: (.)*
listen:CAU:TE want PP
I want to hear about your activities.

50 → *e yuu huu ni °omottesasu°.*
FL say like COP think:TE:ASP:POL
That's what I am thinking.

51 *de kono naka de ano soomu no hoo no*
and this among LOC FL Admn. Dept. LK SOF LK

52 *Takeda-sanno hoo de (.) chotto hora e: (.)*
Mr. TakedaLK SOF COP:TE a little INJ FL

53 *piimaaku;*
P-Mark
**As a part of this topic, from Mr. Takeda of the Administrative Department,
about P-Mark,**

54 (0.4)

55 *puraibashiimaaku no ugoki (.) no koto de*
PrivacyMark LK action LK thing COP:TE

56 *moshi (.) e: ohanashi-itadakereba.*
if FL PFX-talk-get:HUM:POT:CND
**About how the PrivacyMark is coming along. If you wouldn't mind talking
about it.**

57 (0.3)

58 → *yuu huu ni omotteimasu.*
say like COP think:TE:ASP:POL
That's what I am thinking.

This segment can be divided into two parts. The first part is Maeda's request for information from each company (or division) about business activities related to security issues (lines 40-50). The second part is Maeda's request for information about "PrivacyMark" from Mr. Takeda of the Administrative Department of STAR Corporation (lines 51-58). What is common to both parts is the way Maeda concludes his request: he adds the expression *yuu huu ni omotte(i)masu* ("That's what I am thinking") in lines 50 and 58. Hiroko Tanaka (2001) points out that the Japanese complementizer *to* (and other related components such as *tte*, *toka*, *to yuu*, etc.) may be placed after a stretch of talk, and as a result, it retroactively re-formulates the prior talk as the direct object of the upcoming verb such as *yuu* ("say") and *omou* ("think"). This means that the Japanese

complementizer works as a “pivotal device” and allows the speaker to enact a type of action-repair on the prior talk. This is what Maeda does here. By uttering *yuu huu ni* (“like [that]”) in line 50, for example, Maeda retroactively turns the prior part of his talk (lines 40-49) into the direct object of the upcoming verb *omotteimasu* (“think”). As a result, Maeda transforms the action of his prior talk (i.e., request) to a seemingly less demanding one (i.e., representation of thought). Deployment of *yuu huu ni omotteiru* seems to be a strategy to mitigate the imposition of his request. Likewise, Maeda mitigates his request to Takeda (described in lines 51-56) by complementizing it in line 58. A strategic use of the Japanese complementizer is thus available even when the quotative particle *to* is absent.

Besides the common use of the same phrase in both sections, we can find different types of expression used in the two parts as well. First, Maeda refers to potential reporters (i.e., most of the participants) by a collective term for organizations *kaku kanpanii* (“each company”) in line 45, but refers to Mr. Takeda by name plus the name of his division *soomu no hoo no Takeda-san* (“Mr. Takeda from the Administrative Department”) (lines 51-52). Second, there is a significant difference in the formulation of requests. In line 49, Maeda says *kikasete-hoshii na*: (“I want to hear” [Lit. “I want you to let me hear”]) and presents his demand in the form of his inner thought indicated by the elongated use of the pragmatic particle *na*. In contrast, Maeda uses the humble expression *moshi ohanashi-itadakereba* (“if you could tell us” [Lit. “if I could humbly have you tell us”]) to request Takeda’s report (line 56). It is apparent through these differences that Maeda treats Takeda’s report as somehow special. In order to find the reason for this special treatment, I would like to examine the next excerpt in which

Maeda nominates Takeda as the next reporter. Unlike the previous cases where Maeda nominates the next reporter not only by name but also by company (division), the next excerpt shows that Maeda nominates Takeda while introducing Takeda’s report topic as well:

(5.15) Security Business Project: P-Mark

- 1 Maeda: *ato jaa ima chotto hanashi deta*
 also so now SOF talk come-up:PAST
And also, something that came up just now
- 2 *Takeda-san no nyuu-tai:shitsu? >tte yuu ka<=*
 Mr. Takeda LK access_control QT say or
Mr. Takeda’s “access control” or
- 3 Takeda: = [°hai °
 yes
Yes.
- 4 Maeda: = [janai p(h) ii-ma (h) ak (h) u da (h) [ne (h) .h hh.h
 COP:NEG P-Mark COP PP
No, it’s P-Mark, right?
- 5 Takeda: [°hai °
 yes
Yes.
- 6 Maeda: *un ugoki de: nanka (.)*
 yeah movement COP:TE something
- 7 *ohanashi-itadaketara.*
 PFX-talk-get:HUM:POT:CND
Yeah. If you could tell us about how that’s coming along.
- 8 Takeda: *eeto puraibashii-maaku wa:*
 FL privacy-mark TOP
Well, Regarding the PrivacyMark,
- 9 *kariunyoo to yuu katachi de:*
 tentative-operation QT say form COP:TE
It’s a tentative operation...

In line 1, Maeda says *ato* (‘and’ ‘also’ or ‘another’) to indicate that he now moves on to the next topic. Interestingly, he ties the upcoming topic to the previous discussion by suggesting that it is something that “came up now” (line 1). Maeda then introduces the next topic as *takeda san no nyuu-taishitsu* (“Mr. Takeda’s access control”) (line 2). Although Maeda initially introduces the topic as *nyuu-taishitsu* (“access control”), it is

both try-marked (see Sacks & Schegloff, 1979) with upward intonation, and followed by *tte yuu ka*, the phrase used for the self-initiation of a repair (Rosenthal, 2008). That is, the first candidate topic *nyuu-taishitsu* instantly becomes *repairable* (Schegloff et al., 1977; Schegloff, 1992c, 2007). Instead of replacing the trouble source right away, Maeda overtly renounces it by adding the negative form of the copula *janai* (“is not”) (line 4). He even laughs at his own error (line 4). He completes his self-initiated repair by uttering the correct word *piimaaku* (“P-Mark”) with laughter (line 4). Takeda immediately validates this topic by providing an affirmative response *hai* (“yes”) in line 5. Maeda returns an affirmative token *un* (“yeah”) to confirm Takeda’s acceptance of the topic (line 6), and he completes his turn with a conditional clause *ohanashi-itadaketara* (“if you could tell us”) in line 7. Although Takeda’s utterance is structurally incomplete, its falling intonation indicates that it is prosodically at an end. In fact, Takeda finds a TRP and begins his report in line 8. This suggests that Maeda’s grammatically incomplete utterance (in the form of an isolated *if*-clause) serves as a request to Takeda.

It may seem arguable that Takeda is the recipient of Maeda’s utterance when many other participants are sitting at the same table. However, as Figure 5.3 shows, the direction of Maeda’s gaze suggests that his utterance in excerpt 5.15 is ultimately addressed to Takeda. The first part of Excerpt 5.15 is replicated alongside Figure 5.3 below:

(5.16) Security Business Project: “P-Mark” (The beginning of Excerpt 5.15)

- 1 Maeda: *ato jaa ima chotto hanashi deta*
 also so now SOF talk come-up:PAST
 And also, something that came up just now
- 2 *Takeda-san no nyuu-tai:shitsu? >tte yuu ka<=*
 Mr. Takeda LK access_control QT say or
 Mr. Tamura’s “access control” or

3 Takeda: [= ^ohai^o
 yes
 Yes.]

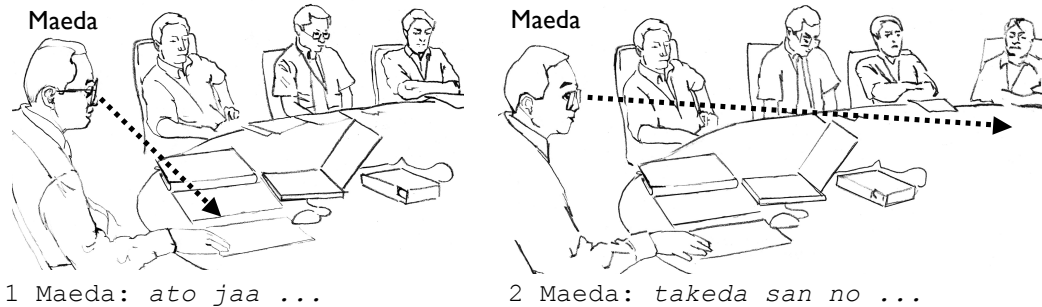


Figure 5.3. Maeda shifts his gaze to Takeda.

Maeda moves his gaze upwards and looks straight at Takeda as he mentions Takeda's name. This suggests that Maeda selects Takeda as the primary recipient of his utterance at this moment. Takeda's response token *hai* ('yes') in line 3 also suggests that Takeda finds himself as the primary recipient of Maeda's utterance.

Let us compare how two chairs (Okuda and Maeda) introduce pre-selected reporters at their meetings:

From Excerpt 5.1

3 Okuda: *e: tsuzukimashite, e: nibamme,*
 FL continue:POL:TE FL the-second

4 *e: ukeire-kansa-gawa kekka [kara,*
 FL receiving-audit-side result from
 uh: moving on to the second item, er: from the result of our inspection of
 the materials we received,

5 [((Okuda turns his head left
 towards Sasaki))

6 ^o*sasaki-san onegaishimasu.*^o
 Mr. Sasaki please
 Mr. Sasaki, please.

From Excerpt 5.15¹¹

- 1 Maeda: *ato jaa ima chotto hanashi deta*
also so now SOF talk come-up:PAST
And also, something that came up just now
- 2 *Takeda-san no nyuu-tai:shitsu? >tte yuu ka<=*
Mr. Takeda LK access_control QT say or
Mr. Tamura's "access control" or
- 4 Maeda: = [*janai p(h)ii-ma(h)ak(h)u da(h) [ne(h).h hh.h*
COP:NEG P-Mark COP PP
No, it's P-Mark, right?
- 6 Maeda: *un ugoki de: nanka (.)*
yeah movement COP:TE something
- 7 *ohanashi-itadaketara.*
PFX-talk-get:HUM:POT:CND
Yeah. If you could tell us about how that's coming along.

Both chairs orient to the maintenance of continuity during the transition between report turns. Okuda says *tsuzukimashite* (“to continue”) and introduces the next report as the second item listed on the handout. Similarly, Maeda says *ato* (“also”) to refer to another item on the agenda and explains that it is “something that came up just now” to indicate that the next report is related to what has been talked about up to that point. Another similarity is that both chairs introduce the topic that the next reporter will discuss. Okuda suggests that the next report is *ukeire-kansa-gawa kekka kara* (“from the results of our inspection.”) Maeda first introduces the upcoming topic as *nyuutaishitsu* (“access control”). But he finds it to be repairable and replaces it with *p(h)ii-ma(h)ak(h)* (“P-Mark”). Differences are also found in the ways that these two chairs prompt the pre-selected reporters. Okuda simply says *Sasaki-san onegaishimasu* (“Mr. Sasaki, please”). We have also seen that Okuda does not necessarily announce the next reporter’s name when he knows that the next reporter is ready (see excerpt 5.2). As we saw in Chapter 4,

¹¹In order to elicit the chair’s utterance only, lines 3 and 5 are omitted from the original transcript.

the chairs at departmental staff meetings (*bukai*) also employ minimal utterances such as *doozo* (“please”) to nominate the next reporter. Maeda in the other excerpts we have seen in this chapter also shows that he usually nominates next reporters by mentioning their name and affiliation. In contrast, Maeda in excerpt 5.15 chooses his words of nomination differently: he makes the specific request *ohanashi itadaketara* (“if you could tell us”) parallel to the expression *ohanashi itadakereba* (“if you could tell us”), which he used in the opening (see excerpt 5.14). By making this specific request, Maeda explicitly *projects* what kind of action the next speaker takes.

Schegloff (1980) uses the term “preliminary” to refer to a particular kind of first pair part that allows speakers to project an action of their own that comes in the third position.¹² Maeda’s utterance is not exactly what Schegloff calls “preliminary” because it does not project the speaker’s (i.e., Maeda’s) own action. But it serves as a *preliminary announcement* of Takeda’s turn by making a projection of his “telling” action.

It is also noteworthy that Maeda’s nomination of the next speaker is also similar to “topic-proffering” (Schegloff, 2007). Unlike topic solicitation (e.g., Button and Casey, 1994), in which speakers invite their recipient to offer a topic, topic-proffering is a speaker’s practice of proposing a topic during the first pair part. Whether or not the topic is accepted and further expanded in the second pair part is up to the recipient (Schegloff, 2007). One of the two characteristic features of topic-proffering is that the proposed topic is “recipient-oriented” in the sense that “the recipient is, or is treated as being, an/the

¹²Schegloff (1980) points out that speakers frequently utter phrases such as “I wanna tell you something” or “Can I ask you a favor?” while projecting what kinds of action (e.g., telling or request) will follow. Although the projected action does not take place within the same talk unit, the recipient(s) may expect that it will come in the following sequence. Schegloff (1980) calls this type of pre-sequential utterance “preliminary.” The preliminary utterance provided by the chair in Excerpt 6.3, however, does not project the same speaker’s (i.e., the chair’s) next action. It serves as a preliminary to the next speaker’s turn instead.

As we saw in Figure 5.3, Maeda addresses himself to Takeda after mentioning Takeda's name in line 2. Takeda's affirmative response *hai* ('yes') in line 3 does not merely indicate that Takeda considers himself as the primary recipient of Maeda's utterance. The precise timing of the affirmative response suggests that Takeda also acknowledges that Maeda is about to initiate a self-repair. After becoming the primary recipient in line 3, Takeda is now in a position to approve (or disapprove) "the repair proper" (Schegloff, 1992) that Maeda provides. In line 5, Takeda approves Maeda's repair proper, that is, the candidate word *pii-maaku* ("P-Mark") in line 4. Maeda's attempt to specify Takeda's report topic in lines 2 and 4 thus has "the sequential force of (a question)" (Schegloff, 2007, p. 170) by soliciting Takeda's confirmation in lines 3 and 5. Thus, Takeda becomes the solo recipient of Maeda's request *ugoki de: nanka (.) ohanashi-itadaketara* ("if you could tell us about the approach") in lines 6-7. It is arguable that Takeda has no choice but to accept the topic proposed by Maeda whereas a real topic-proffering should allow a recipient to decline the proposed topic. It is also true that Takeda is there in order to talk about a particular topic in the first place. However, if we carefully look at how Takeda formulates his response turn in line 8, we can see that Takeda does not accept the topic in exactly the same way as Maeda proposed. Takeda uses the word *puraibashii maaku* ("PrivacyMark") in line 8, instead of *pii maaku* ("P-Mark") as previously used by Maeda (line 4). The latter is an unofficial nickname coming from its logo that is a large "P" whereas the former is the official name of the certification program. Therefore, Takeda actually supplies an other-initiated other-repair of Maeda's use of the lay term.

I would like to examine another aspect of excerpt 5.17: the predictability of turn allocation. The agenda of a meeting is usually preplanned and each participant is

informed in advance. As we saw in both excerpts 5.1 and 5.2, chairs often go through the agenda in the *order* of the typed format (e.g., email message or handout.) Although predicting the next reporter is often possible by referring to the meeting agenda, this is not the ultimate determination of turn allocation. The selection of the next speaker is, to a great extent, up to the chair’s *in-situ* discretion. Although Maeda requested Takeda to talk about “PrivacyMark” at the beginning of this meeting (see Excerpt 5.14), the discussion was not organized in the way that Maeda had described. Therefore, exactly when Takeda would be nominated to talk has been unpredictable until this point of the meeting. In Excerpt 5.17, Takeda appears to be the primary recipient of Maeda’s utterance. However, observation of Takeda’s bodily conduct suggests that he does not know his turn is coming next. Figure 5.4 alongside of Excerpt 5.18 shows that Takeda does not make eye contact with Maeda until he hears Maeda mention his name:

(5.18) Security Business Project: “P-Mark” (the beginning of Excerpt 5.17)

- 1 Maeda: *ato jaa ima chotto hanashi deta*
 also INT now a_little talk come_up
 And also, something that came up just now
- 2 *takeda-san no nyuu-tai:shitsu? >tte yuu ka<=*
 Mr. Takeda LK access_control QT say or
 Mr. Tamura’s “access control” or
- 3 Takeda: =^o*hai*^o
 yes
 Yes.

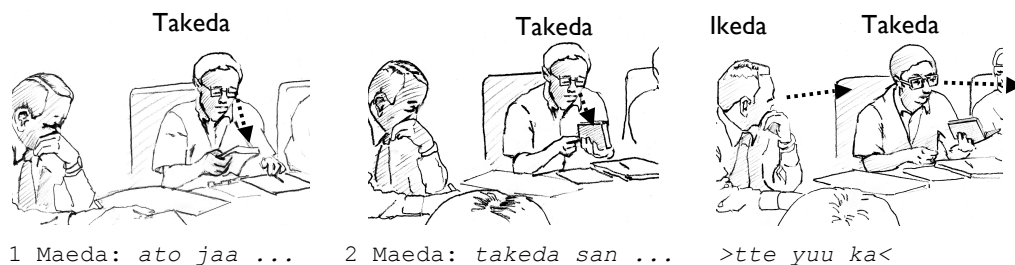


Figure 5.4. Takeda shifts his gaze to the chair after being nominated.

As the three pictures in Figure 5.4 show, Takeda is just opening his pocket planner when Maeda begins to introduce the next topic. Immediately after Maeda mentions Takeda's name, Takeda turns his gaze to Maeda. At the same time, another participant (Ikeda) turns his head upwards and looks at Takeda. This suggests that Maeda's utterance (line 2) not only prompts Takeda to get ready for his upcoming speech, but also directs the other participants' attention toward Takeda even before his turn launches. In other words, turn allocation by the chair is not a unilateral activity. It in fact involves not only the nominee of the next report turn but also the other participants.

In sum, Maeda simultaneously performs multiple tasks in this turn-allocation process: (a) selection of next reporter, (b) projection of next action, and (c) proffer of a topic. We have seen thus far that chairs normally exercise the practice of selecting the next reporter regardless of the predictability of next reporter even though this process might be skipped in *bukai* (see Chapter 4). However, the explicit projection of next action is unnecessary since the nomination of the next reporter makes it obvious as to when the nominated person will report. The proffering of a topic seems unnecessary as well given the case that chairs announce the topic earlier in the meeting. Therefore, the chair's nomination of the next reporter appears to be sufficient as an apparatus of allocating report turns in the data. The turn allocation process we saw in excerpt 5.17 thus seems to depart from this pattern. There are two possible reasons why Maeda treats Takeda's report differently from the reports of the other participants. In line 2, Maeda introduces the topic as *Takeda-san no* ("Mr. Takeda's"). By attributing the topic to Takeda, Maeda treats him as the proper handler of the topic (PrivacyMark). In other words, Maeda

orients to Takeda's identity as an expert¹³ on the topic. The other possible reason is that, unlike the other participants, Takeda does not have to follow the chair's initial agenda. As I described earlier, this "Security Business Project" committee is mainly composed of sales and marketing managers from across the STAR group. Whereas these participants' interests view security projects to be a potentially growing field of business, Takeda is working on the application for the PrivacyMark certificate in order to prove to the public that his company is seriously concerned about the security of both customers and employees. Takeda's repair of Maeda's use of the lay term *pii maaku* ("P-Mark") in his response turn (line 8) suggests that he takes up the identity (i.e., an expert on PrivacyMark) that Maeda had previously invoked.

5.4 Soliciting Opinions: Unplanned Event

This chapter has so far revealed that, in interdepartmental and interorganizational meetings, chairs allocate report turns according to an agenda. In other words, chairs closely follow a list of topics when facilitating the participants' reporting activity. This is in large part because the chairs prepare the agendas. If something prevents the chair from following his original plan, however, does the turn-allocation need to be altered? In this section, I examine this unusual case.

In the following excerpt, Harada asks Gonda (the chair) a question about the agenda before the meeting starts:

¹³I am using the term "expert" in the relative sense that Takeda knows more about the issues of PrivacyMark than do the other participants.

(5.19) Executive Management: Pre-meeting (partial duplication of Excerpt 3.1)

- 14 Harada: ((turning to Gonda)) °*nanika*
something
- 15 [*tokubetsu na [ken (ga aru)?*°
special COP matter NOM exist
Are there any special items we need talk about?
- 16 Gonda: [((turns to look at Harada))
- 17 [((Other participants gaze toward Harada
and Gonda))
- 18 (0.3)
- 19 Gonda: *iya tokuni:=*
no specially
No, not really=
- 20 Harada: =*hai.*= ((looks down and nods))
yes
=Okay=
- 21 Gonda: =(°*kyoo wa*°)=*hai.*
today TOP yes
=today, yes.

Harada asks Gonda if there are any special (i.e., specially urgent or important) items that need discussing (lines 14-15). In response to Harada's inquiry, Gonda reaffirms that there is no particularly important item on his agenda (lines 19-20). This exchange suggests two things. One is that topics on an agenda differ in their urgency: some topics are more important or urgent to discuss than others. Two, it is up to the chairperson to plan the agenda. The chair decides which topics are more important than others. In addition, this exchange shows that Harada is entitled to ask this question without being obligated to explain why he needs to know about it. In fact, he does not explain why he asked this question, and Gonda does not ask him why. Instead, later in this meeting, Gonda yields the floor to Harada immediately after it starts:

(5.20) Executive Management: Opinion solicitation

- 38 Gonda: *ja kee'ee-shikkoo-kaigi hajimemasu.*
INJ management-leaders-meeting start:POL
So, we will start the management meeting.
(12 lines omitted)
- 51 (1.0)((Gonda turns to Harada))
- 52 Gonda: *ja harada-shachoo °no hoo°=*
INJ Harada president LK SOF
So, Harada-shachoo, please.
- 53 Harada: = [*hai.*
yes
Yes.
- 54 [((Gonda slightly bows to Harada))
- 55 Harada >*OHAYOOGOZAIMASU.*<=
good_morning
Good morning.
- 56 ALL: =*OHAYOOGOZAIMASU.*=
good_morning
Good morning.
- 57 Harada: =*otsukaresama desu.*
tired_person COP:POL
Thank you for being here.
- 58 (1.7)
- 59 Harada: *kyoo wa ano: tokubetsu: nagaku kakaru*
today TOP FL particularly long take
- 60 *yoo na are mo nai mitai na nde,*
MOD COP that either exist:NEG MOD COP because
It looks like we don't need a very long meeting today, so,
- 61 (0.6)

After completing the opening procedures of the meeting, Gonda immediately yields the floor to Harada (line 52). Doing so shows how Gonda interpreted Harada's previous inquiry (Excerpt 5.19). It seems that Gonda took Harada's question *nanika tokubetu na ken (ga aru)?* ("Are there any special items we need to talk about?") as a signal of his intention to use part of the meeting for his own purposes. Therefore, Gonda not only yields the floor but also delegates control of the meeting to Harada. After taking the floor and initiating a greeting sequence (lines 55 and 57), Harada says *kyoo wa ano: tokubetsu:*

nagaku kakaru yoo na are mo nai mitai na nde (“It looks like we don’t need a very long meeting today, so:”) in lines 59-60. As Harada’s deployment of the evidential marker *mitai* suggests, he learned that Gonda was not planning to have a long meeting. In other words, he is suggesting that there is time for another activity that was not included in Gonda’s original plan. In this way, Harada is projecting his upcoming action—something that he would not do if there were no time. Therefore, Harada’s utterance here serves as a *pre* (Sacks, 1992a; Schegloff, 1980) to what he is about to propose. It should also be noted that this *pre* is based on the information that Harada learned from Gonda as we saw in Excerpt 5.19. Therefore, we can consider Harada’s previous inquiry to Gonda as a *pre-pre* to Harada’s upcoming action. Harada continues:

(5.21) Executive Management: Opinion solicitation (building on Excerpt 5.20)

59 Harada: *kyoo wa ano: tokubetsu: nagaku kakaru*
 today TOP FL particularly long take

60 *yoo na are mo nai mitai na nde,*
 MOD COP that either exist:NEG MOD COP because
 It looks like we don’t need a very long meeting today, so,

61 (0.6)

62 → *e:: chotto totsuzen na n desu kedo ↓ne: ano::*
 FL SOF sudden COP SE COP:POL CNJ PP FL

63 *ma minasan (.) sekkaku isshookenmee*
 INJ you after_all hard_work

64 *gambatte-itadaitete .h e::*
 do_best:TE-receive:HUM:TE:ASP:TE FL

65 *chikara ga koo shuuyaku: ga*
 strength NOM like_this consolidation NOM

66 *dekiteru koto to desu ↓ne: (.)*
 do:POT:TE:ASP thing and COP:POL PP

67 *mm chotto: oi’oi tte yuu yoo na koto ga*
 SOF c’mon QT say MOD COP thing NOM

68 *a- atta nde:*
 exist:PST because

69 → *.h kyoo wa totsuzen desu kedomo:*
 today TOP sudden COP:POL CNJ

70 minasan kara desu ne, zen'in no minasan kara,
you from COP:POL PP everyone LK you from

71 genzai no sono soshiki-un'ei ni-okeru,
present LK that organization-operation in

72 sono minasangata no mondai-ishiki:
that you LK problem-awareness
I know it's sudden, but uhm well after all of the hard work you've done, you've
made us stronger. But sometimes I also felt like saying "C'mon." So, today, I
know this is short notice, but I would like to hear from you, from all of you,
what you notice about our management, good or bad.

73 (1.1)

74 aruiwa sono nanika aidea ga areba desu
or that something idea NOM exist:CND COP:POL

75 ne, ano koo yuu hookoo ni motteikeba
PP FL like_this say direction LOC take:CND

76 ii n janai ka mitai na no- (.)
good SE COP:NEG Q MOD COP NML

77 tokoro ga areba desu ne,
place NOM exist:CND COP:POL PP

78 ma honto wa jizen ni tte yuu koto mo
INJ truth TOP beforehand COP QT say NML too

79 arimasu kedomo, .h jizen dato
exist:POL CNJ beforehand COP:CND

80 dooshitemo iroiro kangae-sugite-shimau koto ga
necessarily various think:INF-exceed:TE-ASP NML NOM

81 aru nde,
exist because
Or if you have some ideas, something like "we should steer in this direction," I
would like to know. Well, I should have asked you this question in advance, but
if I had, you might have thought too much about it, so...

82 (0.8)

83 → kanari totsuzen desu kedomo
quite sudden COP:POL CNJ

84 chotto honne no tokoro o desu ne,
SOF true_feeling LK place ACC COP:POL PP

85 °minasangata ga ima° okanjinatteiru koto o:,
you NOM now feel:HON:TE:ASP thing ACC

86 chotto okikase-itadakereba ↓na: °to°
SOF tell:HON:INF-receive:HUM:CND PP QT

87 (0.6)

88 yuu huu ni
say like COP

89 (1.0)

omoimasu.
 think:POL

I know this is quite short notice, but I would like it if you could tell me what you really think about it, what you think at this time.

After projecting an upcoming action (lines 59-60), Harada talks from lines 60 to 90, and shares his concerns about the current management of the company. By so doing, he displays his institutional identity as the president. At the same time, his speech serves as an extensive preliminary to his upcoming action (i.e., opinion solicitation). Although he does not make this solicitation explicit until line 86, he projects it by alerting the recipients of the potential suddenness of what is about to happen by repeating the word *totsuzen* (“sudden”) in lines 62, 69 and 83. Here, the term *totsuzen* seems to serve as what Goodwin (1996) calls a *prospective indexical*, whose specification is not yet uncovered, but is to become available during the course of interaction. What constitutes *totsuzen* (“sudden”) is not yet clear to the recipients, but it will be revealed in Harada’s speech. The recipients are expected to attend to subsequent events in order to uncover its meaning (Goodwin, 1996). In addition, Harada explains that he has intentionally left his plan unannounced because he did not want the other participants to think too much about it (lines 78-81). Harada’s solicitation finally becomes explicit in lines 84 through 90, in what seems to be a representation of an inner thought:

chotto honne no tokoro o desu ne,
°minasangata ga ima° okanjinatteiru koto o;
chotto okikase-itadakereba ↓na: °to° (0.6) yuu huu ni (1.0) omoimasu.

(“I would like it if you could tell me what you really think about it, what you think at this time.”)

This is the same pattern that Maeda deploys when asking the participants for their reports at the Security Business Project meeting (see section 5.3). Like Maeda, Harada deploys *to*

yuu huu ni to complementize the prior part of his talk (i.e., the request) as the direct object of the verb *omoimasu* (“think”) and retroactively reforms it as his thought. Furthermore, by attaching the elongated pragmatic particle *na:* at the end of the prior talk, he turns his request into a direct quote of his private thoughts. Interestingly, there is a pause between the quotative particle *to*, and *yuu huu ni* (“like”). This suggests that both *to* and *yuu huu ni* function independently as complementizing units. Moreover, given the fact that the quotative particle *to* is absent in Maeda’s solicitation speech in Excerpt 5.14, *to* seems to be optional in this formulation, and it is thus uttered in a whisper.

Harada continues praising as well as criticizing the management of the company for another 4.5 minutes. In particular, he severely criticizes the company for having made little progress as an organization due, in part, to a lack of discipline. In the next excerpt, just before ending his turn, Harada encourages the participants to voluntarily take turns in sharing their opinions:

(5.22) Executive Management: Opinion Solicitation

- 1 Harada: *ma soo itta tokoro de ano:*
INJ that say:PST place COP FL
- 2 *>jikohansee mo hukumete desu ↓ne*
introspection too include:TE COP:POL PP
- 3 *minasangata ga hontooni doo yuu huu ni*
you NOM really how say way COP
- 4 *okangaeninatteru no ka=>ima okanjininatteru no ka<*
think:HON:TE:ASP SE Q now feel:HON:TE:ASP SE Q
- 5 (1.4)
- 6 *sore o chotto kyoo (.)*
that O SOF today
- 7 *oukagai- (.) shite desu ne, >aruiwa soko ni< (.)*
ask:HUM:INF do:TE COP:POL PP or there LOC
- 8 *(ano mata) koo yuu hookoo janai ka tte yuu*
FL again this say direction COP:NEG Q QT say
- 9 (0.3)

10 *totteku beki janai ka tte yuu koto mo*
 take:TE-go should COP:NEG Q QT say NML too

11 *kangaerareru ka na to.*
 think:POT Q PP QT
 Anyway, in that sense, uhm, I would like to hear what you really think,
 including your remorse, what you think today. You can also tell me something
 like “shouldn’t we go in this direction,” or “isn’t this the way we should go
 about it,”

In the excerpt above, Harada does not deploy the formulation of “complementizing unit + verb ‘think’” (i.e., [*to*] *yuu huu ni omotteiru* [“I am thinking that...”]). Instead, he provides a guideline for the task he has just given to the other participants, by listing some ideas in the “sentence + *ka*” formulation. For example, Harada first says *minasama ga doo yuu huu ni okangaeninneru no ka* (Lit. “what way you think”) (lines 3-4), and he immediately repairs it, and says *ima okanjinneru no ka* (Lit. “(how) you feel now”) (line 4). The verb *okangaeninneru* (“[you] think”) in the repairable is replaced by the verb *okanjinneru* (“[you] feel”). In addition, by adding the time adverb *ima* (“now”), Harada emphasizes his interest in hearing the participants’ current feelings, rather than careful deliberation. Harada also says *koo yuu hookoo janai ka* (Lit. “Isn’t it this way?”) (line 8), and after a micro pause, he replaces it with *totteku beki janai ka* (Lit. “should take [the direction] from now on”) (line 10). Alternatively, by adding an action verb *toru* (“take”) with the modal marker *beki* (“should”), Harada indicates that the recipients should take the subjective, rather than objective, perspective to express their opinions. Interestingly, Harada deploys multiple means of mitigation to end this instruction (lines 10-11). For example, he first uses the complementizing unit *tte yuu koto* (“like that”) and turns the prior part of his talk into the direct object of the upcoming verb *kangaerareru* (“can think”). By both attaching the particle *mo* (“too”) to the complement, as well as using the potential form of the verb *kangaeru* (“think”), he presents his ideas as possible

ways to address the issues. Furthermore, he puts the options into a “trial formation” (Hiroko Tanaka, 2001) by adding the question particle *ka* and the pragmatic particle *na*. This means that he presents his prior talk as something he is still unsure of himself. By using the quotative particle *to*, Harada retroactively turns the whole prior part of his talk (i.e, his instructions) into the direct object of the implied verb (“to think”). As a result, he manages to present his instructions as merely suggestions.

(5.23) Executive Management: Opinion Solicitation (building on Excerpt 5.22)

- 12 *erai totsuzen desu kedomo:*,
 quite sudden COP:POL CNJ
- 13 (0.5)
- 14 *chotto hitokoto zutsu okikishiteokitai na to omou*
 SOF word for_each hear:TE:ASP:DES PP QT think
- 15 *nde hitotsu °yoroshiku onegaishimasu.°*
 because one well beg:HUM
I know it’s quite short notice, but I would like to hear a word from each of you, so please.
- 16 (0.6)
- 17 *ano kochi[ra ka[ra tte yuuto (0.4)*
 FL this_way from QT say:CND
Well if I say “from over here,”
- 18 [((Gonda turns his head to look toward Harada))
- 19 [((Harada points towards the right))
- 20 (0.4)
- 21 *ano: (.) are deshoo kara ano*
 FL that MOD:POL because FL
- 22 *donataka- kara demo kekoo degozaimasu.*
 whoever from even okay COP:EMD:POL
it probably won’t do. So, anybody can start.
- 23 (9.0) ((Harada looks down and starts browsing his notebook. Gonda removes his reading glasses and looks around at the other participants moving his head from left to right))

Harada again addresses the suddenness of his request (line 12), and reminds the recipients that he wants to hear “a word from each of them” (line 14). This time, he presents his

request by deploying the pattern verb-*tai na to omou* (Lit. “I think I want to...”) (line 14). This last solicitation is followed by the formulaic expression *yoroshiku onegai shimasu*, with which he asks for the cooperation of the recipients. Harada continues to give suggestions on how to allocate turns: anyone can start (line 22); it is not necessarily to take turns according to the seating arrangement (lines 17 & 21). As soon as Harada mentions turn allocation, Gonda (chair) turns his head to look at Harada (line 18). After giving suggestions on turn allocation, Harada looks down and shows no intention of further managing the process. Meanwhile, Gonda removes his reading glasses (Figure 5.5) and looks around at the other participants while moving his head from left to right (Figures 5.6). He then looks at Harada (Figure 5.7). This suggests that Gonda displays his orientation to the chairpersonship although he has not been acting as the chair since Harada took the floor.

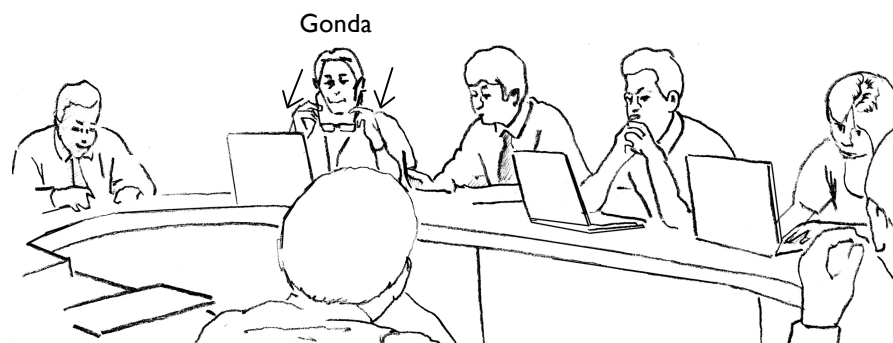


Figure 5.5. Gonda removes his reading glasses.

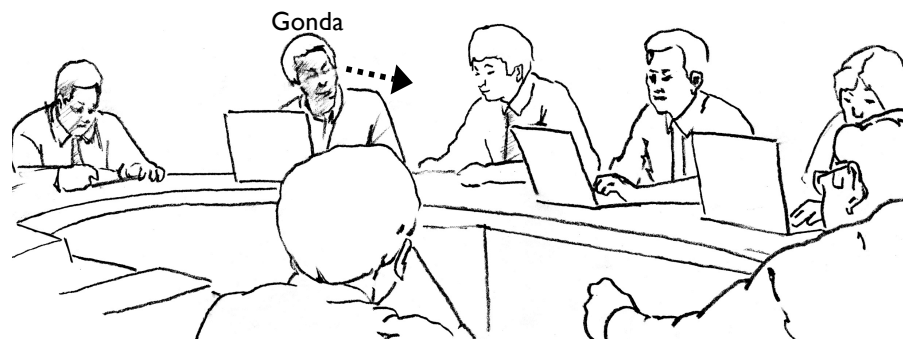


Figure 5.6. Gonda turns his head towards the left.

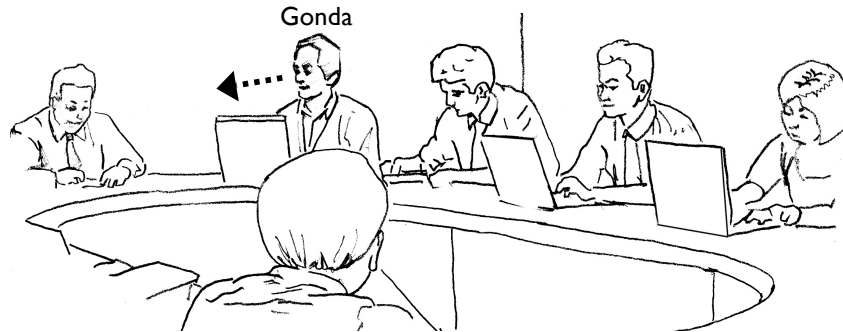


Figure 5.7. Gonda turns his head to look at Harada to his right.

After the 9-second pause, Sato volunteers to take the first turn:

(5.24) Executive Management: Opinion Solicitation (building on Excerpt 5.23)

- 24 Sato: *ja watashi[: k(h)ra(h) hi(h) [totsu(h) .h HA*
 INJ I from one
 Well, I've got one thing.
- 25 [(((Gonda and Harada direct gaze at Sato.))
- 26 Harada: [*hai hai hai*
 yes yes yes
 Yes, sure sure.
- 27 Sato: *nakanaka minasan mo ano yoku wakatteru*
 quite you too FL well understand:ASP
- 28 (*ten wa) iizurai deshoo kara.*
 point TOP say:INF:uneasy MOD:POL because
 It must be difficult for you to talk about uhm things you already understand
 well, so.
- 29 (0.7)
- 30 *ee:tto ima maa ano: atarashii sono: SC tte yuu*
 FL now INJ FL new FL SC QT say
- 31 *soshiki o,*
 organization ACC
- 32 (0.6)
- 33 *tsukuroo to shiteru wake desu ↓ne:.*
 make:VOL QT do:ASP NML COP:POL PP
 Well, uhm we are going to create a new organization called SC.

While volunteering to take the first report turn, Sato seems to find his own action to be laughable (line 24). However, no other participants join in the laughter. Given that Sato's action of taking the first turn is nothing short of commendable, it makes sense that the

other participants have nothing to laugh at. Harada immediately, and emphatically, approves Sato's initiative (line 26). Meanwhile, Sato prefaces his presentation with an account of the delayed response to Harada's solicitation on behalf of the other participants (lines 27-28).

After Sato volunteers to take the first turn, the other participants self-select turns to present their opinions. The order of turn taking among the members is seemingly random although relatively younger members wait until later in the meeting to take their turns. This turn taking process does not involve the chair. The next excerpt shows that Togawa starts his report turn after he confirms both the completion of the previous speaker's turn and the absence of another candidate speaker:

(5.25) Executive Management: Opinion Solicitation

- 1 Kodama: [sumimasen. [ano: hijooni
sorry FL very
- 2 [((Harada keeps moving his head up and down in small movements and continues nodding until line 7))
- 3 [((Togawa turns his head and looks at Kodama))
- 4 (0.9)
- 5 owari no nai hanashi [degozaimasu ga,
end LK exist:NEG story COP:EMD:POL CNJ
I'm sorry I'm going on endlessly.
- 6 Harada: [mnn
mm_huh
mm huh
- 7 Kodama: [°ma sonna koto (kangaetemasu.)° .h
INJ such thing think:TE:ASP:POL
Well that's what (I've been thinking).
- 8 [((Togawa faces forward and opens his mouth slightly))
- 9 (2.2) ((Togawa first briefly looks at Kodama, and then looks at Harada sitting to his left of))
- 10 Togawa: ima ano: (.) o: soshiki toshite
now FL FL organization as
- 11 ano shimpo ga nai to
FL progress NOM exist:NEG QT

- 12 (yo[*san n toki mo honto*)
budget LK time too really
- 13 Harada: [mnn
mm_huh
mm huh
- 14 Togawa: *shachoo osshaimashita kedo[mo,*
president say:HON:POL:PST CNJ
Well, you've said that we have made no progress as an organization, and you
said the same thing when we talked about the budget,
- 15 Harada: [mnn
mm_huh
mm huh

Kodama apologizes for his inconclusive comment (lines 1 and 5). Soon after hearing Kodama say *sumimasen* (“I’m sorry”), Togawa looks at Kodama, getting ready for his turn as Kodama seems to complete his own (line 5). However, Kodama has not really finished his turn, and adds *ma sonna koto (kangaete masu)* (“Well, that’s what I’ve been thinking”) in line 7, as Togawa faces forward and opens his mouth slightly. Togawa’s bodily movement suggests that he has projected the completion of Kodama’s turn and has prepared himself as the next speaker. During the 2.2-second pause that follows the end of Kodama’s turn, Togawa looks at both Kodama and Harada, and then starts his turn (line 10).

All the participants (except for three non-managerial members) take their turns in a similar fashion. Candidate next speakers identify that the previous speaker is finished and confirm that no other speaker is attempting to talk before starting their turns. The participants take turns on a self-selection basis. It is worth noting that Harada starts moving his head up and down when the current speaker’s turn is coming to an end, and he does this until the speaker’s turn is completed. At the same time, current speakers tend to lower their voices, almost to a whisper, as their speech comes to the end. This is how

Kodama ends his turn in the previous excerpt. The same phenomena are evident in the next excerpt:

(5.26) Executive Management: Opinion Solicitation

- 1 Togawa: *soshiki toshite no [taioo too mo=*
 organization as LK handling etc. too
Also, dealing with these things as an organization,
- 2 [((Togawa looks at Harada))
- 3 Harada: =*[mnn mnn*
mm_huh mm_huh
mm huh mm huh
- 4 [((Togawa and Harada give three small nods))
- 5 (0.9)
- 6 Togawa: [*°hitsuyoo na n jawanai ka na to omottemasu.°*
 necessary COP SE COP:NEG Q PP QT thik:TE:ASP:POL
I think it's kind of necessary to come up with ways to handle them.
- 7 [((Harada makes small nodding movements and continues to do so until line 9))
- 8 (1.6)
- 9 Togawa: *°ijoo desu.°*
 above COP:POL
That's all.
- 10 (3.1) ((Togawa picks up the tea in front of him and drinks. Uno swiftly turns his head to look at the participants sitting to the right of him, and then looks down))
- 11 Uno: *boku no hoo kara.*
 I LK SOF from
As for me.
- 12 (0.3)
- 13 Uno: *ano: ma kihonteki ni [maake ga*
 FL INJ basic COP marketing NOM
- 14 [((Uno looks up))
- 15 (*hasshinmoto) desu node:,*
 source COP:POL because
Uhm because the Marketing Department is basically (the source for),

Togawa lowers his voice (line 6), and Harada begins nodding continuously (line 7).

During the 3.1-second pause, which follows Togawa's closing remarks *ijoo desu* ("That's

all”) in line 9, Uno swiftly turns his head to look at the participants sitting to his right (line 10). He announces that he is taking the next turn (line 11) and then starts it (line 13).

As described above, Gonda (chair) has not been involved in the turn-taking process since Sato volunteered to take the first turn. However, when all the other senior managers finish taking their turns, it is finally Gonda’s time to express his opinion. The next excerpt shows that Gonda displays his orientation to his two different identities (i.e., the chairperson of the present meeting, and a senior manager representing his division) while he takes his turn:

(5.27) Executive Management: Opinion Solicitation

- 1 Kato: *ma ano:: matomerarenai n desu kedomo,*
 INJ JL summarize:POT:NEG SE COP:POL CNJ
- 2 [*ma kojinteki ni wa sonnna kanji de .h*
 INJ personally COP TOP such sense COP:TE
- 3 [((Harada keeps nodding until line 8))
- 4 (0.4)
- 5 *e:::*
 FL
- 6 (0.5)
- 7 *°yatte-ikitai (to) soo yuu tokoro o*
 do:TE-go:DES QT that say point ACC
- 8 [*kanjiteimasu.°*
 feel:TE:ASP:POL
 Well, I cannot summarize it well, but I personally feel that’s the way I want to do it from now on.
- 9 [((Kato subtly nodding his head))
- 10 (6.8) ((After 1.8 second, Gonda makes eye contact with Kato and slowly gives him a nod. Kato nods back to Gonda. Gonda puts his pen down, sits up straight, and leans forward to look around at the other participants from left to right.))
- 11 Gonda: *minasan (sorezore deshoo ka) .*
 you each MOD:POL Q
 Did (each of) you ()?
- 12 (0.5)
- 13 Gonda: *soredewa .h saigoni °()°*
 INJ lastly

14 *ma watashi: (.)*
 INJ I

15 *ga ano kanji:::ru n desu kedo ano*
 NOM FL feel SE COP:POL CNJ FL
 Okay, lastly, () uhm this is what I think, er:

16 (0.5)

Just as Kodama apologizes for his inconclusive comment just before closing his turn in Excerpt 5.25, the current speaker Kato is apologetic about the way he concludes his speech, saying *matomerarenai n desu kedomo* (“I cannot summarize it well”) in line 1. In Excerpt 5.25, Harada starts nodding when he hears Kodama’s apologetic comment. Similarly, in this excerpt, Harada starts nodding when he hears Kato’s apologetic comment, and he keeps nodding until Kato completes his turn. Gonda, as the final speaker, makes eye contact with Kato and seemingly confirms the end of the previous turn. Instead of beginning his turn right away, however, Gonda takes a long time to look around at the other participants and explicitly confirms that everyone has spoken (line 11). This suggests that he purposely takes the last turn. In fact, he says “*saigoni*” (‘lastly’) (line 13) to emphasize that he is the last one in the group to speak, excluding three other participants, who are also present, from the group. This meeting consists of the president (Harada), nine officers in senior managerial positions (including Gonda), and three employees from the Management Planning Division, who are subordinates to Gonda. When Harada solicited opinions from *minasan* (“everyone”), he did not specify who should respond to his request. Therefore, Gonda’s exclusion of his subordinates from the

group of respondents to Harada's request reveals the norm of this meeting: only senior managers participate in discussion.¹⁴

5.5 Summary

In this chapter, I mainly examined three large meetings: two interdepartmental meetings called Quality Control Committee (*hinshitsu kanri iinkai*) and Executive Management Meeting (*kee'ee shikkoo kaigi*), and an interorganizational meeting called Security Business Project (*sekyuritii bijinesu purojekuto*). Unlike in the departmental staff meetings (*bukai*), turn allocation does not exhibit a consistent pattern. In the Quality Control Committee, the chair first states an agenda based on a handout, and then becomes the first reporter. For a few of the topics listed on the agenda, he nominates pre-assigned reporters in the process of introducing the next topic. The nominated reporters deploy what I call a presentation preface, and by so doing, they display their orientation to the formality of presentation talk. The data from one of the staff meetings reveals, however, that such formality of presentation is not exclusive to this type of a meeting: it is, rather, attributed to the formality of the presentation from the participants' perspective.

The chair of the Security Business Project (*sekyuritii bijinesu purojekuto*) states the meeting's agenda in his opening speech, and asks representatives of the sales-related divisions and the affiliated companies to address the issues he has just specified in their reports. The chair then allocates report-turns according to the order he has decided. This order appears in a chart projected on the front screen. Nine participants give reports that

¹⁴After all the managers took their turns responding to Harada's request, Harada named Nishi, one of the three subordinates to Gonda, to share his opinion on the same issues. Because Nishi recently joined the company, Harada asked him "*doo desu ka shinsen na me de mite*" ('What have you seen through your fresh eyes?') and encouraged him to share his honest point of view of the corporate culture.

respond to the issues the chair introduces at the start of the meeting. When they cannot address the issues as requested by the chair, they delay the onset of their reports by inserting a long pause, or they preface their reports with an account of why they cannot address the issues in the way specified. When the chair finally allocates a turn to the only pre-assigned reporter, he gives a preliminary statement in which he orients to the reporter's expertise. The data also shows that the chair's deployment of the complementizing unit *yuu huu ni* ("like") allows him to retroactively transform the prior part of his multi-unit turn into the direct object of the upcoming verb *omou* ("think"). In this way, the chair mitigates the forceful sound of his requests to the participants.

Finally the data from the Executive Management Meeting (*kee'ee shikkoo kaigi*) shows that an unplanned event, such as ad hoc solicitation for opinions from the president, changes the regular turn allocation patterns, controlled by the chair, into another system where the participants voluntarily take turns. In this case, the chair does not get involved in the turn allocation process. In fact, the data shows that the chair also becomes one of the respondents whose opinion is solicited. However, the data reveals that there are times when the chair displays his orientation to the turn allocation process. It is also observed that the president deploys multiple complementizing units to mitigate his instructions.

As we have seen above, a pre-existing agenda gives a guideline for turn allocation. The chair draws on a pre-existing order of topics shown in the agenda in order to allocate turns to pre-assigned reporters. When the agenda is created on site, however, the order of turns is up to the chair. This does not mean that chairs have absolute control of the meetings. When the meeting moves off of its agenda, the chairs might temporarily lose control—at least, according to the observation of this study.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This study investigated how institutions are “talked into being” (Heritage, 1984, p. 290) through members’ practices during meetings in order to see how institutionality emerges. In particular, the study examined how sequentially organized actions reflexively constitute institutional identities in the dynamic structure of meetings, and recognized interactional methods, which the members employ in order to achieve a meeting. After establishing these objectives, I defined a meeting in Chapter 1, where I also reviewed previous studies of meetings and business discourse.

In Chapter 2, I discussed the relation between CA and ethnography, and stated my position as an analyst in that regard. I also described the data on which the study is based: video recordings of six Japanese in-house business meetings. The process of data collection was described in the same chapter. During the data collection, I realized that members refer to their departmental staff meetings as *bukai*, but to their interdepartmental or interorganizational (involving affiliated companies) meetings as either *kaigi* or *X kaigi* (where *X* is the specific title of the meeting). I also found that small meetings between two or three people were called *uchiawase*, and that members distinguished these it from the other two types of meetings. Having understood these emic categories, I established the following research questions:

- What are the overall features of organization at Japanese in-house business meetings?
- How do the participants manage the transition from the pre-meeting phase to the meeting proper?

- How are turns allocated in departmental staff meetings (*bukai*)?
- How are turns allocated in interdepartmental and interorganizational meetings (*kaigi*)?

Chapter 3 described both the opening and closing sequences, pointing out some common features across different types of meetings. For example, members (especially chairpersons) display a strong orientation to the meeting's scheduled starting time. Chairs often refer to the time as a legitimate reason to begin. There are also times when the participants mention the time in order to prompt the chairs to start the meeting. In this way, the participants display their identities in relation to the chairs. All the chairs share the same linguistic resources to mark the onset of a meeting: they use the expressions, *hajimemasu* ("I will begin") or *X (o) hajimemasu* ("I will begin X [the title of the meeting]"). Prior to this opening statement, chairs may initiate a greeting sequence (that is completed by the other attendees), and draw a clear boundary between the premeeting and the meeting proper. All of the meetings exhibit a consistent closing pattern. The chairs often formulate a preclosing by asking if anyone has anything more to say. If there is no uptake to the pre-closing, the chairs move to the closing proper. After the chairs announce the adjournment of the meeting, the meeting is closed with bowing and exchanges of an in-house business salutation (Yotsukura, 2003), *otsukaresama deshita*, or a thank-you, *arigatoo gozaimashita*.

Chapter 3 also showed how the participants managed the transition from the premeeting phase to the meeting proper. In large interdepartmental meetings, most of the participants remain quietly seated, with only a couple of the participants engage in a dyadic exchange. By refraining from interaction, members display their readiness long before the chair announces the opening of the meeting. The situation is different in *bukai*.

In these meetings all participants, including the chair, engage in multi-party talk during the premeeting period.

Given that the two types of meetings have different characteristics, Chapter 4 focused on *bukai* and examined patterns of turn allocation. I introduced the notion of a report turn—a multiple-turn unit designated for a single participant's report—and illustrated how these turns were distributed to each member. The study found that chairs always took the first report turn, in which they frequently report on recent upper-level meetings to the other members. It was also pointed out that chairs do not mark the beginning of their first report turn in any particular manner. Instead, the chairs begin their reports immediately after starting the meeting. Chairs nominate next reporters in a variety of different ways. One of the chairs frequently omitted the explicit nomination of the next reporter. He implied that the participants should take turns in the order of the seating arrangement without indicating a starting point. The participants responded to the ambiguity of his covert nomination by conducting a non-verbal negotiation of the turn allocation. Even after reaching an agreement, the designated next reporter tried to obtain the chair's approval. Thus the institutional identity of the chair emerged as the other participants displayed their orientation to it through their actions.

A reporter can finish a report turn by announcing its end with the formulaic expression *ijoo desu* ("that's all"). In *bukai*, chairs consistently play a primary role in turn allocation. The projected next reporters look carefully for signs that the chair recognizes the termination of the previous report turn before launching their own report turn. An example from Chapter 3 shows that when the chair has not officially recognized the completion of the previous report turn or nominated the next reporter, the next projected

reporter cannot immediately start her report turn. She looks around to make sure that nobody is preparing to speak, and then confirms completion of the previous report turn by exchanging nods with the previous reporter. This whole process fills a 9.7-second pause. Audio recording alone would not capture the sequential development of non-verbal interaction during this long pause. A case like this reconfirms the important role played by non-verbal behaviors in talk-in-interaction and encourages researchers to examine multimodal utterances (Goodwin, 2006) such as gaze, gesture, and bodily movement.

Chapter 5 looked at large interdepartmental and interorganizational meetings, which are referred to as *kaigi*. In these meetings, turn allocation did not show the consistent pattern seen in *bukai*. The chairs followed their agenda closely and appointed speakers according to their plans. I introduced the term “presentation preface,” in which the pre-selected reporters displayed their orientations to the formality attributed to their presentation practice. The chapter also highlighted the nominated reporters’ attempts to adequately address the topics issued by the chair. When they were unable to do so, their report tended to begin with a delay. In another meeting, we saw that an individual (the company’s president) temporarily took control from the chair as he solicited opinions from the participants. When this unplanned event took place, the chair was no longer active as “the chair” although he occasionally displayed a strong orientation to the turn management of the meeting. This unannounced solicitation by the president apparently influenced the turn allocation pattern. It was also observed that the chairs as well as the president (who solicited opinions from the participants) used a complementizing unit *yuu fuu ni* (“like”) to syntactically reframe their prior talk as the direct object of the upcoming

verb *omotteiru* (“think”). I analyzed these sequences using the notion of self-repair and explained that the speakers were able to change instructions into suggestions by representing them as inner thoughts.

Chapters 3, 4, and 5 showed that there were both similarities and differences between *bukai* and *kaigi*. Turn allocation patterns in the two types of meetings were found to share an institutionality that would be absent from turn taking patterns in ordinary conversations. However, through the close examination of turn allocation, this study found that institutionality emerged in different ways depending upon the type of meeting.

As the first conversation-analytic study to examine the organization of Japanese business meetings, this dissertation contributes to the growing body of CA research on institutional talking. CA research on business meetings in North America, Mexico, and Europe has steadily increased during the last ten years (e.g., Asmuß & Svennevig, 2009; Barske, 2006, 2009; Clifton, 2009; Ford, 2008; Kangasharju & Nikko, 2009; Markaki et al., 2010; Mirivel and Tracy, 2005; Rogerson-Revell, 2007; Vöge, 2010). In contrast, business meetings in a Japan-centered monolingual context have not been examined from a CA perspective, although Saft’s research (2000, 2001, 2007a, 2009) on faculty meetings in a Japanese university has been an important influence. I hope that the study upon which this dissertation is based will contribute to the research literature on business meetings and serve as a catalyst for further CA investigations of Japanese business meetings in particular.

Some of the members’ practices recognized in this study might not necessarily be bound to contexts specific to business meetings. To take recurring interactional routines

as an example, members of a faculty meeting in a Japanese university complete their reports with the formulaic expression *ijoo desu* ('that's all') (Saft, 2000). The meeting attendees in the data of this study also deploy the same expression in order to mark the end of their reports (see Chapters 4 and 5). The observation that the formulaic expression *ijoo desu* is used to accomplish the same action—making the completion of a report—across different types of meeting suggests that the expression is not tied to a particular category of meeting but rather to its sequential position in the activity of reporting. Therefore, we have identified the testable hypothesis that *ijoo desu* is used in reporting practices in different contexts. Likewise, the participants' deployment of an in-house business salutation *otsukaresama deshita* (Yotsukura, 2003) and the phrase *arigatoo gozaimashita* ("thank you") at the conclusion of a meeting is often seen in other contexts, business, and non-business, where people experience the closure of a joint activity. CA researchers can further study these formulaic expressions across a variety of contexts, in order to ascertain where in the sequential organization of an activity they appear, how they are related to the members' actions in that sequence, and what the members accomplish by using these expressions.

This study has also demonstrated how a social reality emerged as an emic category in talk-in-interaction. As described in Chapter 2, the members of STAR group distinguished different types of meeting by calling them *bukai*, *kaigi* and *uchiawase*. For instance, the Secretary Division excluded *uchiawase* from the list of my data collection sites because they did not consider it as a type of *kaigi*. Regardless of whether or not the members were conscious of how they separate and categorize their meetings, the study showed that differences existed not only in the labeling of meetings, but in their patterns

of turn allocation and sequential organization. In other words, members' semantic choices indexed an implicit conceptual knowledge of those organizational distinctions. This study revealed how members oriented to distinct orders of meeting as a matter of practical knowledge. It should be noted that the members of STAR Group used the word *uchiawase* to refer to small topic-driven meetings among people working on a common project. In contrast, *bukai* members were not necessarily working on the same project. They used *bukai* as occasions to report on their own work assignments, rather than for planning joint assignments. For this reason, I feel an urge to question to what extent researchers can make a general claim about the ways business meetings are conducted in Japan. For example, Yamada (1990, 1992, 1997) compares two meetings: one Japanese, the other American. These meetings were chosen for Yamada's study because they had the same number of participants, and these participants shared a similar status. However, once we recognize that variations in the emic categorizations of Japanese business meetings entail different organizational formats, it is important not to confound cultural with context-specific differences. This echoes Mori's (1999) concerns about the comparability of two meetings in Yamada's study. In order to discuss cultural differences in the ways participants manage topics, Mori says, "it seems necessary to investigate comparable meetings run by different people" (Mori, 1999, p. 194). Context-specific differences can be found within the same culture (as shown in this study).

The analysis of this study does not give a complete picture of meetings. For example, Saft (2000) finds in his faculty meeting data that a report always entails a question-and-answer sequence, and that these two stages (i.e., a report sequence and a question-and-answer sequence) create two participation frameworks: a "reporting

framework” and a “two party exchange framework” (see Saft, 2000, p. 115). One possible way to expand the current study is to examine the sequence that follows the reporting framework.

I have addressed hierarchical differences in members’ institutional identities only when the participants display their orientation to them. For example, in Chapter 5, we saw that the chair’s agenda for the Executive Management Meeting (*kee’ee shikkoo kaigi*) had to be modified because of an unannounced proposal by the president. It is hard to imagine that any regular meeting member has the authority to make such a last-minute change involving all the participants. In the same data, some participants had been excluded, by tacit understanding, from potentially responding to the president’s opinion solicitation, until the president specifically asked them to speak. This case was explained by a difference in status: The excluded members were *bucho* (“managers”) while the other participants were *honbucho* (“senior managers”). Members’ institutional relationships might emerge in many other sequences (e.g., question-and-answer sequences) as an embodiment of their orientations. From a CA perspective, it is possible to examine how members orient to institutional relationships as they unfold locally, moment-by-moment.

This study also demonstrated that the information we could obtain from participants’ non-verbal interaction (i.e., embodied interaction) complemented the sequential analysis of verbal interaction. For example, the 9.7-second pause, which appeared in Excerpt 4.17, was only explained by examining the participants’ embodied interaction during the pause. The video revealed that interactions between the projected next reporter and the other participants continued during the long pause until the reporter

started her turn. As Streeck, Goodwin, and LeBaron (2011) put it, “When people interact within embodied social frameworks that are structured and changed through their shifting co-presence, analysts should attend to what the participants themselves are treating as important” (p.12). With help from a camcorder, we can identify to what the participants orient.

On a final note, research like this contributes to the field of business communication studies. In particular, as Barske (2006) suggests, studies of business meetings across wider cultural settings will play an important role in future cross-cultural studies of business communication. Given the rise of business communication studies in the context of the continuing globalization of business itself, studies based on video-recordings of authentic business meetings help us gain a deeper understanding of how business is conducted within, as well as across, cultures. This study showed particular kinds of business meetings that took place in a particular corporate group. A goal for the future is thus to explore in-house meetings in a wide range of business enterprises to identify further commonalities and differences in meeting organization.

APPENDIX

CONSENT FORM

会話分析のためのデータ収集について
参加同意書

プロジェクト名 : Turn-taking in Japanese business meetings
リサーチャー名 : ハワイ大学 東アジア言語文化研究科 博士課程
村山 恵美
連絡先 : Department of East Asian Languages and Literatures
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- プロジェクトの目的および内容について
このプロジェクトの目的は、ビジネスに関わる日本語ネイティブスピーカーが社内において、どのように言語を用い、ミーティングという社会活動を達成させるのか、その過程を分析することにあります。データとして記録された会話は会話分析 (Conversation Analysis) の手法を用い、言語活動として分析されます。したがって、本プロジェクトの調査対象はミーティングで交換される情報そのものではありません。上記のリサーチャー（以下「リサーチャー」という）はミーティングに同席し、参加者による会話をビデオカメラ二台およびボイスレコーダーにて録画・録音させていただくほか、メモをとらせていただきます。ただし、ミーティングに参加するものではなく、発言等、ミーティング進行の妨げになる行為は一切いたしません。
- データの取り扱いと機密保持について
データはすべて、参加者のプライバシー保護および企業益に関わる秘密情報保護を必須とし、リサーチャーによってのみ取り扱われます。画像データおよび音声データはリサーチャーが文字に直し、記録（トランスクリプト）として分析に用います。また、個人、団体等が特定されるおそれがある部分について画像・音声上の修正を加えた状態でのみ、博士論文、学術論文、学会での発表等の機会において、参考資料として使用いたします。トランスクリプトに使われる名称等はすべて匿名になり、未処理のローデータが第三者によって取り扱われることはありません。
- 参加者による同意表明
「本プロジェクトの内容と目的、およびデータの取り扱いについて、上記の説明を理解し、リサーチャーによるデータ収集に参加協力することに同意いたします。また、本プロジェクトを不相当と判断した場合、いかなる時点においても協力を拒否する権利があることを承知しています。私および私に関わる一切のプライバシーは保護され、侵害されることがないと理解しています。さらに、本プロジェクトの目的およびデータの取り扱いの変更については、必ず私の同意（文書による）が必要であることを承知しています。なお、私は本同意書の控えを受領しました。」

氏名

署名（日本語でも英語でも結構です。）

日付（月／日／年）

リサーチャーから十分な説明が得られなかった場合、あるいはリサーチャーによる参加者の待遇に疑問が生じた場合は、下記の機関までご連絡ください。

Committee on Human Studies, University of Hawai'i, 2450 Maile Way, Honolulu, HI 96822

Phone (808) xxx-xxxx

c: Signed copy to subject

APPENDIX (CONTINUED)

(English version)

Consent Form for Participation

Project: Turn-taking in Japanese business meetings
Researcher: Emi Murayama
Address: University of Hawai'i at Mānoa
Department of East Asian Languages and Literatures
1890 East West Road, Moore Hall 382, Honolulu, HI 96822 U.S. A.
(808) xxx-xxxx

Project Description:

This research is being conducted to investigate how Japanese native speakers (adult speakers) interact in a particular kind of situation: business meetings. The videotaped-conversation (the conversation carried on in the meetings) will be transcribed and analyzed by the researcher alone using the Conversation Analysis approach. Therefore, the researcher's interest is in the conversation and not the details of the information exchanged in the meetings.

The researcher will sit in the same room and use the recording equipment, and also take field notes. However, the researcher will not participate in the meetings, and therefore will not interrupt the participants' discussion. Upon the agreement of all the participants, the researcher will videotape the meetings. The purpose of this videotaping is to gain a detailed record of the interaction that would not be obtainable from audio data only. The videotaped data will be handled only by the researcher, and will not be used by another individual.

The risks to the participants, in the sense that their utterances will be recorded, are minimal. There may be no direct benefit to you other than a sense of contributing to a scholarly work.

Confidential Handling of Data:

The researcher alone will handle all the data with the primary concern of the protection of the participants' privacy. Detailed transcripts of the recorded interactions will be prepared. On the transcripts, all identifying information (names, locations, etc.) will be edited out so as to protect the identities and privacy of the participants. All the data will be used only in conjunction with the researcher's academic activities (i.e., including conference presentations and scholarly publications). The information appearing in the data will be confidential to the extent required by law, including any information that needs to be confidential for the company's benefit. The Committee on Human Studies has the authority to review the record of this study.

Participation in this study is voluntary and may be terminated at any time without any negative consequences to the participants. When the study is completed, participants will be able to review the findings, if they so desire. If participants have questions, they can contact the researcher by email (xxx@hawaii.edu).

Statement of Consent:

I certify that I have read and understood the above, that I have been given satisfactory answers to my inquiries concerning the project procedures, and I hereby give my consent that the information that I provide may be used for the purpose of this study. I understand that I may refuse to participate or may withdraw from the study at any time without any negative consequences. I also understand that my identity will be kept confidential. If the purpose of the study or the usage of the data is changed, I will be so informed and my consent will be requested again. I acknowledge that I have received a copy of this form.

Name (print)

(Signature)

Date _____

(If you cannot obtain satisfactory answers to your questions or have comments about your treatment in this study, contact: **Committee on Human Studies**, University of Hawai'i, 2450 Maile Way, Honolulu, HI 96822. Phone (808) xxx-xxxx
c: Signed copy to subject

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