Power Relations and Interactional Dominance Among Multicultural Workers in Meetings

Fuyuko TAKITA

Institute for Foreign Language Research and Education

Hiroshima University

This paper aims to explore the notion of power relations and interactional dominance among scientists from different cultural backgrounds in department meetings. It seeks to explore how interactional dominance manifests itself linguistically in the meetings. According to Itakura (2001), "spoken interaction is seen as being inherently asymmetrical since interlocutors are bound to differ in their control of the content, quality and quantity of their dialogical contributions" (p.42). In a similar way to to Itakura, data from meetings between scientists are anlayzed to evaluate whether there was interactional dominance manifested among communicators from different backgrounds through spoken interactions in the meetings.

METHOD

This study is based on analysis of transcribed data (meetings and interviews) and ethnographic observations. The data for analysis came from an intercultural context of staff meetings among colleagues within a research institution in Japan. This particular institution was selected as a setting for my data collection of this study since it has a long history of employing workers from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds.

The members of the department are native speakers of English, Japanese and Chinese. Although the English proficiency levels of the participants were not tested, three of the non-native English speakers including the two junior Japanese scientists, Koji and Yusuke, and one Taiwanese junior scientist, Lin, all lived and studied at a university in the U.S. for several years and speak English fluently. 'Fluent' used here means that speakers can carry daily conversation and communicate their thoughts in English with little difficulty. However, Koji and Yusuke seem to have difficulty in expressing their opinions when the topics are related to scientific knowledge in the workplace, while Lin seem to have less difficulty in expressing them in her L2. Lin lived in the U.S. for more than twenty years although Koji and Yusuke lived there for less than eight years. Despite her Chinese accent, Lin's English proficiency level seems to be higher than those of the Japanese junior scientists. With the exception of Yamamoto whose English is limited, it was assumed that the two Japanese scientists were approximately equal in this respect, and Lin's level was above intermediate level in that she can express her thoughts and opinions relating to the scientific topic in English in the workplace more smoothly than the Japanese junior scientists. In contrast to these Japanese and Chinese researchers, Yamamoto visited the U.S. only once for a short period of time to conduct his research, and his English level is lower compared to three other non-native speakers of English in the department. He appeared to experience great difficulty in understanding what American senior scientists were saying and hardly made any comments in English.

The results and analysis section of this paper starts with a quantitative level of analysis, looking at

interactional dominance in terms of number of turns, and how much initiating and responding roles are shared in the creation of sequences of utterances. Data were analyzed first in terms of the distributions of turns taken among participants, since this is one way a speaker may overtly control the quantity of others' contribution to the interaction.

For further quantitative analysis, the use of initiations (I), responses (R) and follow-ups (F), proposed by Sinclair and Coulthard (1975), were identified and analyzed in addition to looking at the content of interactional behavior, such as giving information, suggestions, agreement, or confirmation. Also, to examine asymmetries in interactional patterns qualitatively, insights from the fields of conversation analysis (CA) and the Birmingham school of discourse analysis were applied by looking at how one speaker may control the other in terms of speaking rights, in particular through IRFs as well as through overlaps and interruptions, which affect participation in interaction.

RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

Distribution of Quantitative Dominance

In order to analyze the quantitative interactional dominance in the meetings, the number of turns taken by each speaker was counted (Table 1), as it can be an indicative of quantitative interactional dominance (Itakura, 2001).

TABLE 1. Number of Turns Taken by Each Speaker

Speaker Name	Meeting 1	Meeting 2
Gary	35	27
Don	16	16
Lin	6	10
Koji	9	4
Yusuke	0	0
Interpreter	6	n/a
Yamamoto	n/a	1

As can be seen in the table, Gary, an American senior scientist who is a section chief, and Don, an American senior scientist who was a former section chief, had the highest number of turns in both meetings 1 and 2. The table also shows that Koji, a Japanese junior scientist, and Lin, a Taiwanese scientist, had some turns in both meetings, but still much fewer than the two senior scientists, Gary and Don. What is notable is that Yusuke, a Japanese junior scientist had absolutely no turns in either meeting, which indicates a large asymmetry among the speakers in the meeting. Yamamoto, a senior Japanese scientist was absent from meeting 1, but when he attended meeting 2, he only had one turn to speak throughout the meeting. While hierarchy clearly plays a major role in power relations in the workplace that could affect the distribution of talk or the number of turns taken by a speaker, it is interesting that Yamamoto, who is the most senior member of the department, spoke only once in the meeting he attended. Furthermore, Yusuke spoke no words at all in either meeting although he expressed in the interview that he feels that he can talk more in the American style of meetings, unlike the rigid hierarchical style of Japanese meetings. Figure 1 shows the

same information visually to highlight the comparison of the distribution of turns taken by each speaker in the two meetings combined.
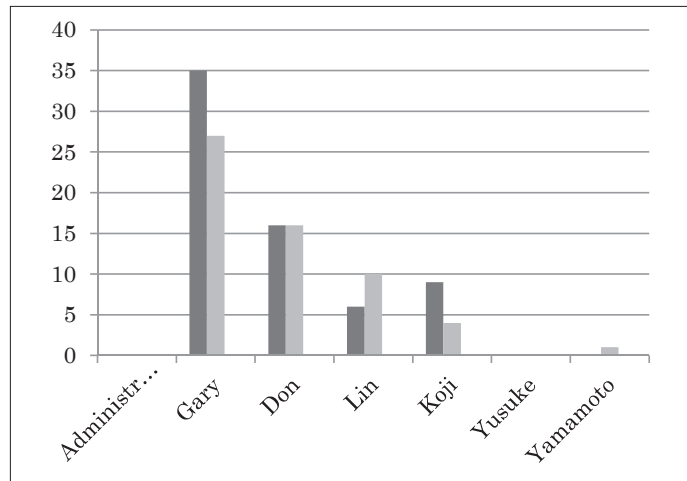

FIGURE 1. Number of Turns Taken by Each Speaker in Meeting 1 and Meeting 2
(darker shade shows meeting 1, and the lighter one, meeting 2)

In both meetings, the two American scientists demonstrated the largest number of turns, which could indicate interactional dominance, since level of participation can be a measurement of asymmetry (Itakura, 2001). Although the amount of participation can be one indicator of power imbalance, in order to conduct more detailed analysis on the quality and content of the distribution of participants, the following section looks at speakers' discourse in meeting interactions.

IRF (Initiation, Response, and Follow-ups) as Indication of Dominance

After looking at the number of turns taken by each participant to analyze their contributions of the meetings, I move my focus to an IRF (initiation, response, follow-up) discourse analysis proposed by Coulthard and Brazil (1981) in order to further analyze interactional dominance.

Controlling actions consist of initiations, which require the other speakers to make responses. In order to analyze the interactional dominance by speakers, the number of initiations, responses, and follow-ups were counted and analyzed in the two meetings. As Coulthard and Brazil explain, initiations are often made by interlocutors in order to control a sequence of interactions as well as the other speakers' conversational behavior.

Tables 2 and 3 show the number of IRF and ReI (re-initiation) taken by each speaker in meetings 1 and 2, respectively. ReI is considered as an initiating move oriented towards the previous initiating move. For example, someone may initiate with "Does anyone have anything to report?", then receive a response from someone such as "Yes, I would like to announce that there will be a conference next month….". The first speaker may then make an initiating move again, referring back to the previous initiating move by saying something like "Well, does anyone else have something else to report?". In this case, the first speaker is not

TABLE 2. Number of IRF and ReI Taken by Each Speaker in Meeting 1

Name	I	R	F	ReI
Gary	29	39	3	7
Don	15	15	1	2
Lin	6	5	1	1
Koji	11	5	1	4
Administrator	1	2	1	0
Yusuke	0	1	0	0
TOTAL	62	67	7	14

TABLE 3. Number of IRF and ReI Taken by Each Speaker in Meeting 2

Name	I	R	F	ReI
Gary	17	8	8	2
Don	10	7	2	2
Lin	3	8	0	1
Koji	1	4	0	0
administrator	1	4	0	0
Yamamoto	0	1	0	0
TOTAL	32	32	10	5

giving a typical follow-up, but instead, the speaker is making a re-initiating move that controls the sequence of interaction.

As can be seen in Tables 1.2 and 1.3, both senior American scientists demonstrated a large number of initiations and responses compared to other speakers. Extract 1 is an example of how Gary's initiation showed control over the other speaker's conversational behavior.

Extract 1

1.Gary: Dr. X over the xxx department it's a study of…eh…xxx and xxx of mice xxx in xxx, and I am gonna have to pick up somebody…<u>does anyone have an interest in that?</u> It's H who is really working with…

2.Lin: [If somebody advises me, then I will try to

3.Gary: [yeah… it might be a good thing for you to undertake in in terms of broadening your…<u>I think it will probably be a good thing.</u>

4.Lin: But I do need help. I don't really have a lot of experience, if someone is interested, I thought it would be faster way to learn.

5.Gary ((10 sec))
The other thing I mentioned in my e-mail is, one of things is performance appraisal.

In this example, Gary initiates first in line 1 to ask everyone in the department whether anyone is interested in conducting a study and presenting it. In line 2, Lin responds and volunteers to get involved. Then in line

3, Gary gives a follow up with his judgment, saying that it would probably a good thing for Lin to experience and broaden her study field. After Gary makes an evaluative response, Lin then suggests that she needs some help from someone who is more experienced. However, Gary gives 10 seconds of pause and initiates something completely different with a new topic. In this example, we can see that Gary is controlling the conversation first by raising a question in his first initiation. According to Sacks, (1992) questions can control conversation because a person who asks a question has a right to talk again after the other talks (p.54). In the excerpt, in line 1, Gary asks, "does anyone have an interest in that?". Soon after Lin volunteers herself in line 2, Gary immediately gives an evaluative comment in line 3. As soon as he gets an acceptable response by Lin and gives an evaluative comment, he then attempts to move on to another topic in line 5 without responding to what Lin said about needing help in line 4. In addition, Gary leaves an unusually longer pause (10 seconds) than his usual 2 to 3 second pause. It is possible that Gary is attempting to give a chance for someone else to volunteer in response to Lin's "if someone else is interested" in line 4. By pausing for a long time and shifting to another topic, Gary is managing to direct and control Lin's action to a great extent and avoiding being directed and controlled in his own interactive behavior.

In order to visually compare the number of I-R-Fs and ReI taken by each speaker, bar graphs based on Tables 2 and 3 are shown below in Figures 2 and 3. The figures contain the total number of IRFs and ReIs used by all the participants as well as the numbers by each participant in meeting 1 and meeting 2, respectively.
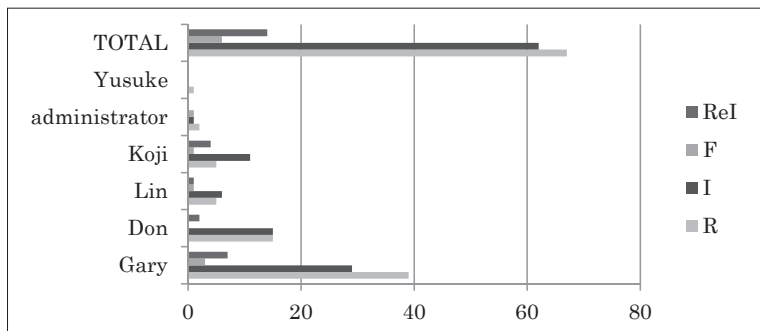

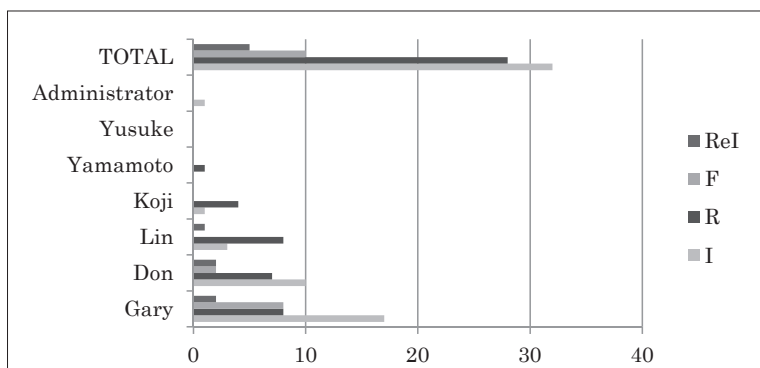**FIGURE 2. Number of I-R-F and ReIs Used by Each Participant in Meeting 1**

FIGURE 3. Number of I-R-F and ReIs Used by Each Participant in Meeting 2

As discussed above, Gary and Don demonstrated the larger number of initiations. With regards to the number of follow-ups, almost half of them in meeting 1 were done by Gary while almost all the follow-ups in meeting 2 were by Gary and some by Don. While initiating moves can be a predictor of domination in interaction, a large number of follow-ups could also indicate interactional dominance, as the speaker who makes an initiation has the final judgment on whether to produce a follow-up or withhold it. Those follow-ups produced by Gary included evaluative and judgmental comments such as "good", "it's not a bad thing", "very good" or suggestive or directive comments such as "you might wanna…" or "I think you should…" In meeting 2, Lin demonstrated a relatively large number of responses, which indicates her willingness to participate and contribute in the meeting. In meeting 1, Koji showed more initiations than any other Japanese participant. Although Koji's contributions to interaction are relatively frequent in number, he took more complying actions and gave in more without being able to succeed in completing his turns. In this case, Koji cannot be considered to be a dominant speaker since only instances of successful controlling action are treated as contributing to dominance in interaction.

Interruptions as an Indication of Dominance

Interruptions are similar to overlaps in the sense that they are not a regular feature of the turn-taking system. An overlap occurs when two speakers speak at the same time at a turn transition, where both speakers have a right to complete their utterances (Itakura, 2001, p. 81). Overlaps need to be differentiated from interruptions since overlaps are "very short instances of simultaneous speech, occurring very close to what could be end of a turn or utterance" (Preece, 2009, p. 104). Therefore, there are instances of simultaneous speech which are meant to be supportive rather than disruptive. On the other hand, interruptions exert interactional dominance (Preece, 2009, p. 104). Unlike overlaps, interruptions are an attempt to take the floor from the current speaker, which is often considered an indication of speaker dominance.

A speaker cannot be viewed as dominant, however, unless he or she completes the turn while the other speaker's turn is left incomplete. In West and Zimmerman's (1975) study, they explain that if speaker A is speaking, and speaker B begins in the middle of A's turn, speaker A drops out. In this case, speaker B's behavior is treated as indicative of dominance (West and Zimmerman, 1975). It means that the interrupting speaker can be viewed as dominant only if he or she completes the turn while the other speaker's turn is left incomplete. On the other hand, the interrupted speaker can be considered as dominant as, or even more dominant than, the interrupting speaker if he or she completes the turn, leading to the interrupting speaker's withdrawal from the floor (p. 114). In order to show an example of interruption, Extract 2 illustrates how Lin keeps getting interrupted without being able to complete her turns in interaction with Don.

Extract 2

1 Don:	Eh…if anyone has some interesting data…does anyone have any XXX data that has a large number of cases and a fairly typical, you know, incidence curve, or whatever?
2 Lin:	XXX, I have XXX incidence data. I can show you some results… and I am not sure if it's useful or…
3 Don:	[OK
4 Lin:	But I do have[some…

5 Don: [XXX is gonna be published?

6 Lin: It's publish[ed.

7 Don: [Oh, it's already published. Oh, that's my major concern. I don't wanna show
                        data that hasn't been published yet somewhere else.

8 Lin: But it's only in xxx

9 Don: It's all right. You need to have fairly dramatic xxx for that…we will take a look at it.

10Lin: I have the data set for [XXX

11Don: [Well, you do. OK.

As can be seen in the excerpt, Lin first gets interrupted by Don in line 2 when she says "I am not sure if it's useful or….". Don interrupts and says "OK" in line 3 which shows his control over their interaction. In line 4, Lin again attempts to provide more information about her data, but Don successfully interrupts her turn and raises another topic to find out whether her data is going to be published. In this conversation, we can see that Don's behavior can be treated as indicative of dominance since he interrupts Lin before she completes her turn and completes his own turn.

Extract 3 provides another example to show how the dimension of power is exercised in discourse between Gary and Lin through interruptions by Gary.

Extract 3

1 Gary: Could you resolve to make sure more than one person can use the server at the same time?

2 Lin: Actually [you can…uh…

3 Gary: [Make your own, and you can copy it on yours?

4 Lin: I think…I… when I get it, it came automatically…it's always there. She found my
                 re[search…and…

5 Gary: [The point is that more than one person can use it at the same time.

6 Lin: In fact, I think it's OK. It seems even though we get this warming [message…in fact…

7 Gary: [OK ((laughs)) I got a warning about language because it was created in Japanese, but it
                 worked ((laughs)) it saved my changes, so.

8 Don: I am reluctant to recommend it and not worry about it, because you spend a lot of time on
                 it. But just try to make minor changes.

9 Gary: I think it does save the changes…access in general, it always saves changes.

10 Don: Right.

11 Lin: Actually, I think it saves changes as you make it. Geographical data, they do the [same
                 thing.

12 Gary: [OK, anyway hopefully we could copy it and…apparently it all makes changes
                 simultaneously, just takes some dozens of times.

13 Lin: Actually, it gets updated some[how.

14 Gary: [Anyway, ((cough)) OK. Eh…

In this excerpt, Gary's turns 1 and 5 consist of initiating moves and Don's turn 2 and Lin's turn 4 consist

of responding moves. One immediately striking feature, marked by the square brackets, is the number of times Gary interrupts Lin in this interaction. In line 3 and 5, Gary, the section chief, exercises his power over Lin by interrupting her in the middle of her turns. In line 7, Lin tries to get the floor back and finish her turn, but Gary does not allow her to complete her turn. This time he takes a controlling action in line 5 saying "the point is that…" which indicates his power in the discourse. It shows his controlling power since Gary attempts to summarize the point on behalf of Lin and concludes the topic to the end which means she can no longer continue her turn.

In this case, Gary's attempted controlling action is successful since Lin drops her turn in the middle of her talking and gives the floor back to Gary. It can be inferred that Gary interrupts Lin in order to control her contribution by keeping her from providing and repeating information or giving obvious and irrelevant information. He seems to ensure that Lin only gives the key information expected by him.

To analyze participatory dominance in meetings, the number of SCA (successful controlling actions) and USCA (unsuccessful controlling actions) demonstrated by participants were counted and are shown in Table 1.4, following Itakura's (2001) suggestions that "a combination of a controlling action and a complying action is treated as an instance of successful controlling action" (p.70). On the other hand, a combination of a controlling action followed by a non-complying action is treated as an instance of an unsuccessful controlling action. This can be summarized as follows:

Successful controlling action = Controlling action + Complying action

Unsuccessful controlling action = Controlling action + Non-complying action

A complying action consists of a contribution that is restricted by the previous speaker's action (e.g., a positive response to an initiation or a withdrawn utterance when interrupted). In contrast, a non-complying action is a conversational contribution which is not restricted by or challenges the previous speaker's controlling action (e.g. a negative response or a completed interrupted utterance, according to Itakura (2001, p. 70).

TABLE 4. Number of SCA and USCA Shown by Participants (Meeting 1 and 2 Combined)

Name	# of SCA	# of USCA
Gary	11	3
Don	18	3
Lin	2	12
Yamamoto	3	8
Koji	0	0
Yusuke	0	0
Administrator	2	2

As shown in Table 4, both Gary and Don have a large number of successful controlling actions compared to other speakers in the department. It indicates that both participants successfully controlled the other speakers' conversation actions to a great degree. Since the number of instances of successful controlling actions are treated as contributing to dominance in conversation, Gary and Don are also considered to be dominant speakers. In contrast, other speakers who demonstrated fewer successful controlling actions are

considered as dominated speakers since they could not successfully control the other speakers' conversational actions.

Identifying patterns of dominance is summarized as follows:

    More successful controlling actions = Dominant speaker

    Fewer successful controlling actions = Dominated speaker

Analysis of dominance based on the instance of successful controlling action indicates not only quantitative dominance as shown by the number of turns taken, but also identifies sequential dominance, which refers to "an overall pattern where one speaker tends to control the direction of conversation" (Itakura, 2001, p. 72).

    One of the controlling actions can also be demonstrated by interruptions. Interruptions may be controlling in the sense that speakers have a right to maintain and complete their turns. Therefore, they restrict speakers' right to participate in conversation (Sacks, Shegloff and Jefferson, 1974).

    Another way Gary exercises control over his subordinates is in the opening turn, where the nature of what is going to go on in the interaction is announced to everyone at the meeting. Extract 4 is an example of Gary announcing the opening turn and how everyone is explicitly told when to start talking. However, it shows how Gary responds with his own evaluation immediately after he invites others to speak.

Extract 4

Gary: So, that's it then. Has everyone had a chance to look at the scientific council recommendations I sent out a few days ago? (pause for 2 seconds) The final written recommendations. They weren't, they weren't particularly bad. Haha ((Laughs)). Actually, they were pretty good, I thought over all. Coz they don't ask us what other major new things that we need to oh…so, does anybody have any comments? (pause for 2 seconds) I think they are better than the original……we will have to respond, we will have to start drafting responses to those coz I have to have something back to Dr.S by April 11th, which is a week from the, the, ah...Monday. The other thing…I really need help on this.

    In this excerpt, Gary first closes the previous talk by saying "that's it then". Then he invites everyone to contribute to the talk by asking, " has everyone had a chance to look at …?". However, after he paused for two seconds, Gary immediately gives his own feedback saying "they weren't particularly bad….actually, they were pretty good". Later, everyone is explicitly invited to talk again with his question "does anybody have any comments?" This time, he only gives two seconds of pause and expresses his own comment saying "I think they are better than the original". These brief silences leave no time for anyone to jump in and respond to his elicitations. According to Yamada (1989), comparative analysis of American and Japanese pausing strategies revealed that the critical difference is one of pausing duration (p. 233). Further, her study showed that the longest pause (8.20 seconds) in the Japanese meeting is almost twice as long as the longest pause (4.60 seconds) in the American meeting (p. 237). Yamada reports that Japanese pausing strategies indicate an interdependent or sharing behavior because long pauses mean that all speakers share the moment of belonging together. However, she describes that for Americans long pauses suggest a relatively autonomous topic organization (p. 234). According to Yamada, Americans tend to use long pauses when speakers shift to a new topic in meetings. As implied by her explanation (1989), Gary may not understand

the importance of the function of long pause for Japanese speakers since his pauses usually tend to be short (average of 2 to 3 seconds). In particular, Gary does not normally give long pauses when he elicits participation from other members. Controlling the length of pause after eliciting participation may be another way of exercising power, consciously or unconsciously, in the meeting interactions.

In this last example, the power relationship is more explicitly expressed than the other examples shown earlier. On the basis of this type of example, we can say that dominance in discourse has to do with powerful participants like Gary controlling and constraining the contributions of non-powerful participants.

Types of IRF and Interactional Patterns of Dominance

Although the speaker who has a large number of initiations tends to control the topic and demonstrates an overall pattern of dominance, as shown in the previous section, in this section, initiations, responses and follow-ups were further subdivided into different types in order to further analyze discourse types. IRFs were subdivided in order to examine sequential dominance and controlling actions in more depth. Sequential dominance refers to an overall pattern where one speaker controls the direction of conversation, measured by the way in which the speakers share initiating and responding moves when creating sequences of utterances. While IRF moves can be treated as a basic unit of topic development, different types of initiations and responses could create different follow-up moves. For example, according to Tsui's (1994) system, initiations can be different types such as elicitations, informatives, requests and directives. She notes that "a speaker making an initiation restricts the other speaker to a response which is related to the type of initiation" (p. 122). Tsui (1994) explains how different types of initiations restrict the other speaker's response as follows:

> Elicitations prospect specific types of information, informatives prospect acknowledgements, and requests and directives prospect compliance. An initiation followed by a prospected response can therefore be considered to be a case of one speaker's controlling action and the other's complying action along the dimension of sequential dominance. (p.122)

As Tsui explains, a speaker who makes a specific initiating move in effect limits the other speaker to a response, which is related to the specific type of initiation. For example, elicitation is characterized as a type of initiation which requests a specific type of obligatory response (e.g. some specific information).

Adapted from Tsui's coding system, coding was created for this analysis. As explained above, in the analysis, elicitation is treated as a type of initiation which requests a specific type of obligatory response. An initiation followed by a prospected or expected response can therefore be considered a case of one speaker's controlling action. When an initiator receives an expected response from the other speaker, it is considered as an instance of successful controlling action. Furthermore, advice is characterized as a type of initiation which requests a leads a course of action to benefit the initiator. For example, when a speaker uses advice as an initiating move, the consequence of compliance is desirable to the initiator. In other words, the initiation of advice aims to obtain the prospected response of compliance. When the initiator obtains the compliance, it can therefore be considered as a controlling action for the initiator.

Based on the coding, I identified which speaker used what type of initiations in meeting 1 and meeting

2 combined. Figure 4 shows types of Initiations taken by each speaker.
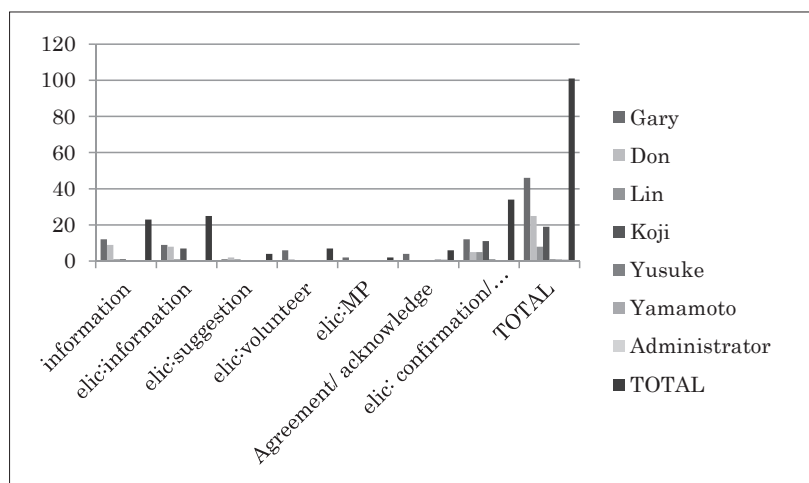

FIGURE 4. Types of Initiations Shown by Each Speaker in Meeting 1 and Meeting 2

Elic:z= eliciting

Throughout the interactions in the meeting, as shown in Figure 1.4, Gary and Don demonstrated more 'eliciting information' initiating moves, expecting specific types of information from other speakers. Interestingly, Koji had as many 'eliciting confirmation' initiating moves as Gary. This may indicate Koji's willingness to participate in the meeting when he can expect confirmation. While this would seem to be in accordance with the subordinate relation of senior and junior scientists, Yamamoto, who is the most senior member of the department, is not controlling the junior scientists by demonstrating a large number of eliciting information initiating moves in the same manner. In this respect, the constraints seem rather to be derived from the power of language and cultural dominance than simply from the hierarchy. Thus, in an indirect sense, the American scientists are in control of interaction since they are powerful participants in the department who determine which discourse type should be used in the meeting. Therefore, it can be stated that in addition to directly constraining contributions, powerful participants can indirectly constrain them by selecting the discourse type.

CONCLUSION

In this paper, the notion of power relations and interactional dominance among scientists from different cultural backgrounds in department meetings was explored. the results revealed that interactional dominance by some participants manifested itself culturally and linguistically in the meetings. Findings showed that American senior scientists demonstrated power by showing a large number of turns taken, initiating moves and successful controlling actions. Further, the results indicated that in addition to directly constraining contributions of other speakers, powerful participants indirectly constrained other speakers by selecting certain discourse types.

Important areas that have not been considered in this paper are intercultural competence and intercultural

communication strategies. These will be considered in a subsequent article to assess whether participants employ ideology, and if so, how this affects interaction between the participants in the study.

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ABSTRACT

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Fuyuko TAKITA

Institute for Foreign Language Research and Education

Hiroshima University

This paper aims to explore the notion of power relations and interactional dominance among scientists from different cultural backgrounds in department meetings. The concept of dominance is of a particular interest in this paper since this study seeks to explain how interactional dominance manifests itself linguistically in the meetings. According to Itakura, "spoken interaction is seen as being inherently asymmetrical since interlocutors are bound to differ in their control of the content, quality and quantity of their dialogical contributions" (2001, p.42). Similar to Itakura's discussion, the results of the analysis reported in this study revealed that interactional dominance was actually manifested among communicators from different backgrounds through spoken interactions in the meetings.

要　約

異文化背景を持つ雇用者たちの会議に見られる力関係と相互作用における優位性

田　北　冬　子

広島大学外国語教育研究センター

　本稿の目的は，文化的背景が異なる科学者たちの職場の会議での力関係と相互作用における優位性について探求することである。本論文では優位性という概念がとりわけ重要である。なぜなら本研究は，職場の会議の場において，相互作用における優位性が言語的にどのような形で現れるかを明らかにしようとしているからである。板倉（2001，42）によれば，「対話者たちは，対話内容の制御の度合いと，対話への質的かつ量的な貢献度においてそれぞれ異なるのが常なので，発話による相互作用は，本来的に不平等なものと見なされる。」本研究で報告された分析結果から，板倉の議論と同じく，異なる文化的背景を持つ対話者たちの間の会議の場における発話による相互作用を通じて，相互作用における優位性が実際に現れることが明らかとなった。