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Humour in a Cantonese family: an analysis in an asymmetrical small group setting

Sai Hui

Abstract
This paper investigates types of humour, functions of humour, and humour support strategy patterns in the conversation of a Cantonese family, an informal small group setting where the power relationships are asymmetrical. Two and a half hours of casual conversation provides the data for the analysis. A two-layer model to classify humour is proposed. The analysis reveals that the distribution of jocular abuse in this family conforms to superiority theory. Repressive humour is used by family superiors to assert their power over persons of lower status, while contestive humour is employed by subordinates to subversively challenge superiors. Self-deprecating humour, mainly in the form of role-play, is a strategy used to protect the positive face of the speaker. The patterns of humour support in this small group confirm the generalisation that women tend to be linguistically more supportive than men. Finally, the paper considers the value of using a range of theoretical frameworks to analyse the functions and types of humour identified in this family interaction.

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Wit is related to aggression, hostility, and sadism; humour is related to depression, narcissism, and masochism. Wit finds its psychomotor expression in laughter; humour, in smile. Laughter is loud because it calls for company; The smile is silent, sad, sublime, and may blossom forth unawares. A laugh wellheard embarrasses; a smile unseen is even more beautiful than one which is smiled to be seen.

(Grotjahn, 1957: 33)
Introduction

Humour has long attracted the attention of social scientists, but it is only in the last decade that it has become a serious focus of sociolinguistic study. Researchers have identified many different types of humour, and suggested a range of different functions, as well as examining a range of social contexts in which humour occurs.¹

Previous studies of humour in small groups have tended to draw on theoretical paradigms such as superiority theory (Duncan 1984), solidarity theory (Collinson 1988, Hay 1995) and power theory (Holdaway 1988, Hay 1995). Recently, Holmes (1998) used politeness theory (Brown and Levinson 1987), augmented by a more developed concept of power, in an investigation of humour in the workplace. This is the model which underlies the research in this paper.

Data collection techniques have also become more sophisticated over time, developing from the use of what could be regarded as less reliable methods, such as self-reporting and questionnaires, to the analysis of recordings of naturally occurring conversations. One recent study based on spontaneous talk is Norrick’s (1994) investigation of the role of joking in everyday interaction. He explored the relationship between involvement, rapport, aggression and politeness as expressed in conversational humour. However, there is little information about the social features of his participants. Hay (1995) also used natural conversation to investigate humour, focussing on the relationship between language and gender. Hay has also examined jocular abuse patterns in mixed-group interaction (1994) and humour support strategies (1996). Her studies analyse conversations between young New Zealand friends of roughly equal social status and education.

In general, there appears to be a lack of research on conversational humour in a context of asymmetrical power based on recordings of naturally occurring data. This study attempts to fill this gap in humour research by answering the following questions, using recordings of interaction in a small group where the power relationships are asymmetrical.

(i.) What types of humour are used?
(ii.) What functions does this humour serve?

¹ See Hay (1995) for an excellent review.

Humour in a Cantonese family

(iii.) What are the patterns of humour support?

Method

Subjects

Six persons participated in the study, including the author. The group consisted of a father and mother, their son and daughter, the mother’s younger brother (the uncle) and the son’s girlfriend. The group represents a typical Hong Kong Chinese extended family and all members are native Cantonese speakers.

The power hierarchy relationships in a Chinese family are generally determined by age. Confucian doctrine teaches that elderly people should be respected, particularly, but not exclusively, within a family (Williams et al., 1997: 371). Since it is rare for a woman to marry someone younger because of social stigma, the father is usually the most powerful member within a family, while the youngest member has the least powerful position. However, reflecting the reality of the patriarchal nature of Chinese society, gender sometimes plays a role in the power relationship among sons and daughters. For example, even if the son of a family is younger than the daughter, he may be higher on the ladder of power within the family, because sons are traditionnally perceived as more valued family members. This is particularly true when the sons and daughters have reached adulthood.

In the family which is the focus of this research, the father is older than the mother, and the son is older than the daughter, so the power ranking is fairly straightforward. Father is the highest on the ladder of power, followed by Mother, Uncle, Son, Daughter, and lastly, Girlfriend. Girlfriend was perceived as the least powerful because she is only a couple of years older than Daughter, and she is not “formally” a part of the family.

Data Collection

The recording was made at a family dinner held on 13th July 1998. The occasion was organised for three reasons: the return of Son and Girlfriend from a ten-day holiday trip to Japan, the return of Uncle from overseas, and the belated celebration of Son’s birthday.
Casual conversation among family members was recorded prior to, during and after dinner. All conversation was in Cantonese with occasional English code-mixing. Two and a half hours of audio recording was collected in total. The recording was carried out in as natural and unobtrusive a manner as possible. This resulted in some degree of compromise regarding the quality of the recording, as competing noises from the television, cooking, and dishwashing at times made it difficult, but not impossible, to subsequently transcribe conversation. Movement of persons between rooms also created difficulties with continuity, and led to an imbalance of member participation at times. In quantifying the data, these imbalances are taken into account in the calculations.

Analysis

Identification of humour

There are many clues to assist in identifying instances of humour. Responsive laughter is an obvious sign. Other indicators include a marked intonation contour or a sudden change of register of the speaker. Being a member of the group made it easier to identify examples of humour.

In natural conversation, instances of humour do not always occur in isolation; extended jointly constructed humour is relatively common (Davies 1984, Glenn 1989, Holmes 2000). Sometimes the theme remains the same, and sometimes it changes direction, which makes counting instances of humour more difficult. Following Hay (1995: 159), the method adopted in this analysis was to count a sequence as one instance of humour if the central theme remained the same, regardless of the number of sentences or exchanges. A separate instance of humour was identified only if another theme or character was presented in a jointly constructed episode.

Categorising types of humour

Categorising different types of humour has regularly proved to be problematic. Almost every study of humour seems to have developed a new taxonomy (Hay, 1995: 64). It is not surprising, therefore, that there are almost as many taxonomies of types of humour as there are humour studies. For instance, Raskin (1985) offers four general categories of humour: ridicule, self-disparaging, riddle and suppression/repression. Hay (1995) reviews a very wide range of different categorisation systems, which were all considered as a possible basis for use in this study.

Attempts to use such categorisation systems, however, identified a number of problems. There were many overlaps between categories, for instance, so that it was often difficult to isolate different types of humour. Moreover, many taxonomies confused categorisation by type and by function, so that functional criteria were invoked in distinguishing different types of humour.

In analysing the family conversational data, it became clear that a two-layer model was required. The humour could be broadly divided into humour which involved laughing at someone's expense (either in-group or out-group) or humour which was just generally funny
or amusing. Layer 1 of the model is thus a broad categorisation of humour into three types: In-Group Humour, Out-Group Humour and Other Humour.

(i) In-Group Humour includes humour which targets one or more of the group members who are present, including the speaker (a form of self-deprecation or humour at the speaker’s expense), as well as jocular abuse where participants tease and make fun of each other but without malice.

(ii) Out-Group Humour is targeted at someone or some social group other than those present at the interaction.

(iii) Other Humour covers humour that does not fit either of the above categories.

These types of humour are realised in the ten forms listed in layer 2 of the model, which is developed from Hay’s taxonomy of twelve types of humour (1995: 65). Self-deprecation and jocular abuse constitute higher level, more general categories in this model than in Hay’s, hence the reduction to ten categories. This proved the most useful system because it focused on conversational humour in a relaxed social setting. See Appendix for Hay’s definitions of different types of humour.

The two layer model adopted for this research is represented in Table 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of conversational humour</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. In-Group Humour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1a. Jocular abuse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1b. Self-deprecation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Out-Group Humour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Other Humour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Anecdote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Fantasy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Irony</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Joke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Observation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Quote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Role-play</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Vulgarity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Wordplay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Any of the Layer 1 classifications may be realised as any of the Layer 2 classifications. This is where the model differs from Hay’s, which treats jocular abuse and self-deprecation at the same level as anecdote, irony etc. The data collected in this study suggested that the types of humour identified in layer 2 could be used for self-deprecation or jocular abuse, hence the modification to Hay’s categorisation system.

Two examples will illustrate how this model can be used to analyse the data.

**Example 1**

Uncle: we were in the same bus, he did not see me.

[laughter ...]

In example 1, the humour is directed at Father, and is told as an anecdote. Therefore the classification is In-Group Humour, jocular abuse, and it is realised in the form of *Anecdote*.

**Example 2**

Uncle: I read it somewhere, that a new apartment is quite affordable, in Fanling

Mother: Is it Hin Chang Gan? (meaning ‘a place for true love’)  

Father: Gan Chang Hin (meaning ‘a place for adultery’, also mixing informal and poetic registers)  

[laughter ...]

In example 2, the humour is not directed at any particular person or group and is realised in the form of wordplay by reversing the word order of an apartment name. In so doing, the new meaning and the mixing of registers creates a comical effect. Therefore, this example is classified as Other Humour realised in a form of *Wordplay*.

**Proportional Reporting**

Since the participants did not sit around a table for the whole recording session, but moved in and out of the “recording zone” on their own errands, an imbalance of recording time among the participants resulted. To address this problem, the number of contributions of humour by each member was calculated with respect to the proportion of time they spent in the “recording zone”. A weighting factor was then assigned in order to express the figures as instances per hour. Table 2 shows the weighting factor value for all members.
Table 2
Weighting factors based on proportion of time present

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family Members</th>
<th>Time (minutes)</th>
<th>Proportional time</th>
<th>Weighting factor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Father</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>0.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncle</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Son</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughter</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girlfriend</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0.40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Results

Types of Humour
There were fifty-three instances of humour identified in the data. Analysing these according to the categories described above, the percentage for each type of humour at Level 1 was very similar.

Table 3
Distribution of types of humour: level 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Humour Category</th>
<th>Occurrence</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In-Group Humour</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jocular abuse</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Out-Group Humour</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Humour</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4 provides a further breakdown of humour into the ten Level 2 categories.

Table 4
Distribution of types of humour: level 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Humour Category</th>
<th>Anecdote</th>
<th>Fantasy</th>
<th>Irony</th>
<th>Observation</th>
<th>Role-play</th>
<th>Word play</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In-group Humour</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jocular abuse</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outgroup Humour</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Humour</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3 indicates that the distribution of the three level 1 categories of humour is relatively even, although some interesting trends emerge when the categories are analysed further by form, as Table 4 reveals. There was a strong tendency for in-group humour to be realised as observation (43%), while 50% of out-group humour took the form of anecdote. Role-play was the form in which self-depreciating humour was most often realised.

Initiator of Humour
An analysis of the humour according to who initiated particular instances provided some interesting patterns. Uncle and Mother clearly initiated most of the humour, followed by Son. At the other end of the spectrum, Daughter initiated no instances of humour. The implications of this distribution will be discussed below.
Table 5
Humour according to family status of initiator

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family Member</th>
<th>Actual score</th>
<th>Instances per hour</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Father</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>8.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncle</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>8.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Son</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughter</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girlfriend</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Instances per hour = actual score * weighting factor

Distribution of in-group humour

Table 6 presents the results of the analysis of humour according to who produced it and who it was aimed at. The first column represents the initiator, and the top row represents the target of the abuse. The asterisk * indicates that the two instances of abuse directed at Girlfriend were instances of co-abuse, where Uncle teased Son and Girlfriend simultaneously. In-group humour took the form of jocular abuse and self-deprecating humour. The latter is represented by the shaded areas in table 6.

So, for example, Mother initiated 11 instances of in-group humour, 2 self-targeted, 5 targeted at Uncle and 4 at Son, while neither Daughter nor Girlfriend produced any examples of in-group humour.

The only family members who produced in-group humour were Mother, Uncle and Son. Because the duration of their conversational involvement was very similar, the numbers in table 6 represent the actual instances of in-group humour. Further manipulation of the data, using weightings according to the proportion of time they were present, was unnecessary.

**Jocular Abuse**

Except on 3 occasions, teasing realised as jocular abuse occurred between Mother, Uncle and Son. Mother initiated 9 teases but never was teased. Uncle teased Son twice as much as Son teased Uncle. Girlfriend was only teased in conjunction with Son. Daughter was never the target of jocular abuse in this conversation.

**Self-Deprecating Humour**

As indicated by the shaded cells, there were four instances of self-directed, self-deprecating humour. Mother accounted for two instances, and Uncle and Son one each.

**Audible Humour Support**

When using a tape recorder, the only support strategies which it is possible to note are those expressed audibly. Other humour support strategies, such as the use of body language, obviously cannot be recovered from audio cassette tapes. Table 7 provides a summary of the amount of audible support for others' humour provided by different family members. A discussion of the significance of these strategies is provided below.
Table 7
Audible humour support by different family members

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family Member</th>
<th>Actual score</th>
<th>Instances per hour</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Father</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>10.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncle</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>8.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Son</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>8.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughter</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girlfriend</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>17.20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The highest level of audible humour support was provided by Girlfriend; her score accounts for more than one third of the total, while Father and Daughter were the least supportive of others’ humour in this data.

Audible humour support data is further differentiated into laughter and verbal support which took the form of a further humorous contribution resulting in a sequence of jointly constructed humour. The results of this analysis are shown in tables 8 and 9.

Laughter

The amount of laughter produced by Girlfriend is considerably higher than the proportion produced by the rest of the group; it constitutes more than the combined total of the next two highest scores. Moreover, a comparison of tables 8 and 9 makes it clear that Girlfriend’s high level of audible support consists predominantly of laughter, rather than verbal support.

Table 8
Supportive laughter by family members

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family Member</th>
<th>Actual score</th>
<th>Instances per hour</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Father</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>8.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncle</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Son</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughter</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girlfriend</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>14.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Verbal supportive contribution

In contrast to the scores for laughter, the scores for the top three contributors to humour support in the form of a further verbal contribution (leading to a jointly constructed humour sequence) are very close, and all three contributors were male.

Table 9
Verbal humour support by family members

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family Member</th>
<th>Actual score</th>
<th>Instances per hour</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Father</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncle</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Son</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughter</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girlfriend</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gender Distribution of Humour Support

Due to the small sample size, comparing the mean scores for women and men for the amount of humour support may not provide a reliable comparison, because the means may be skewed by extreme scores. In Table 10, therefore, the proportion of laughter compared to verbally supportive contributions is shown as a percentage of the total number of audible support instances for each individual group member.

Table 10
Relative proportions of laughter and verbal support by family member

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family Member</th>
<th>Score on laughter</th>
<th>Score on verbal support</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Father</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>8 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>17 (81%)</td>
<td>4 (19%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncle</td>
<td>10 (48%)</td>
<td>11 (52%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Son</td>
<td>9 (43%)</td>
<td>12 (57%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughter</td>
<td>3 (75%)</td>
<td>1 (25%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girlfriend</td>
<td>37 (80%)</td>
<td>6 (14%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The results suggest that the females used laughter as a support strategy more often than verbal support, whereas the males scored higher on further verbal contributions of humour as a support strategy (cf Easton 1994).

Discussion

In-group humour and power

Jocular abuse

According to Duncan (1984: 897), several studies have shown that patterns of humour are related to the hierarchical structure or relative statuses of participants in small groups. This is consistent with superiority theory (Keith-Spiegel 1972; cited in Duncan 1984), which suggests that higher status individuals initiate more humour, but are rarely the focus or target of humour. The pattern of jocular abuse found in this study is at least partly consistent with this claim. Jocular abuse was exclusively confined to three relatively high status members of the group, Mother, Uncle, and Son. Mother, the highest status of the three, initiated the most abuse, but received none. On the other hand, Son, the lowest status of the three, was the most frequent target of jocular abuse.

The other three family members, Father, Daughter and Girlfriend, were not involved in much jocular abuse. One possible explanation is that jocular abuse serves as a strategy to express solidarity (Hay, 1994: 51). The participants in Hay’s study of a friendship group, which featured a large amount of jocular abuse, were all of roughly equal status or power. Jocular abuse was directed most often at the most highly integrated or core group members. It is possible that the power differences in the Chinese family used in this study are unequally distributed, resulting in sub-groups of family members. Perhaps the power differentials between Mother, Uncle and Son, for instance, are smaller than those between this group and the other group members and thus they form a sub-group, or core group, within the larger family group. In addition, it is possible that Mother, Uncle and Son have a particularly close or highly integrated relationship. Their greater use of jocular abuse may thus be an expression and construction of this greater solidarity. This possibility highlights some of the problems with an approach which ranks power or solidarity relationships linearly, in that it gives the false impression of equal intervals between the power ranking of members, a situation which is rarely the case.

Another plausible explanation for the situation is to view power status as a dynamic variable. This approach provides for the possibility that a more powerful or higher status person has the freedom to move ‘down’ the scale in order to build rapport or gain trust. On this interpretation, Mother and Uncle could be regarded as effectively moving ‘down’ by engaging in jocular abuse. This is consistent with Duncan’s (1984: 905) observation that managers are not often joked about until they are accepted as friends. The strategy of manoeuvring oneself up and down the power continuum is a very powerful one. This allows high status individuals to mediate conflicts within a family where a harmonious atmosphere is of the utmost importance.

Repressive humour

In situations where power is asymmetrical, humour often functions as an attenuation strategy, used by superiors to disguise or soften attempts to control or direct the behaviour of subordinates (Holmes 1998). In example 3, Mother sweetens her power assertion over Son with humour, by claiming that Son had not been able to go to Singapore with the rest of the family because he had to stay home to feed the dogs.

Example 3

(Capitals indicate strong stress)
Son: Singapore I didn’t go
Mother: he didn’t go
Girlfriend: [incomprehensible]
Son: things to do, work, study, etc.
Mother: need to FEED the DOGS
[laughter ... ]

Contestive humour

Subordinates often use humour to mask a subversive challenge to someone of higher status (Holdaway 1988: 117). Holmes has called this “contestive humour” (1998: 18). In example 4, Son provides a humorous challenge to Uncle’s proposed imposition.

Example 4

Uncle: if too much luggage, I’ll send email so you guys can come and help
Son: I’ll charge you three hundred dollars
[laughter ... ]
In view of the fact that the airport bus stop is only a few hundred meters from their apartment, the proposal to charge three hundred dollars for assistance is patently absurd. However, Son's contribution in the form of a humorous fantasy serves as an effective and acceptable means of contesting the assumption that Uncle can order him to provide assistance.

Examples 3 and 4 are just two of many humour instances that were used to defuse tension within the family. Both repressive and contestive humour played a major role in maintaining harmony within the group.

**Out-group humour and solidarity**

When a hearer laughs in response to a speaker's humorous utterance, they signify that they understand and appreciate it, and suggest they share the speaker's attitude on the relevant issue. The speaker and the hearer acknowledge each other's sense of humour, and the humour contributes to a sense of solidarity, reinforcing the notion that they belong to the same group. Another means of building in-group solidarity is to attack the face of another person or group (Austin 1990: 280). Humour can be used for this purpose too. When humour is targeted at an out-group, it further creates a division between 'us' and 'them', strengthening the sense of in-group solidarity.

In example 5, Uncle recalls his queuing experience at the airport with some of his ex-colleagues. Here the out-group is Mainlanders, Chinese from mainland China, and the in-group is Hong Kong Chinese.

**Example 5**

Uncle: go overseas business trip, if I were travelling with mainland business section colleagues -
Son: mainlanders
[laughter ... ]
Uncle: they queued separately, I guess they wanted to save time but at the end of the day, we took the same aeroplane.
[laughter ... ]

Not all out-group abuse functions purely to emphasise the distance between the initiator and the target of the tease; it can also work inclusively at times, as in the following example. In example 6, Son and Girlfriend describe Girlfriend's mother's apparently embarrassing ways of getting a bargain in the market.

**Example 6**

Son: her mother dared to ask - compelled the hawker to agree on the price
[laughter ... ]

This is a good illustration of the complexities of the way humour functions in such situations. Son and Girlfriend are making fun of her mother, who represents the older generation, defining her as an out-group member. Their humour at her expense is a means of distancing themselves from these old practices. On the other hand, at another level of analysis, the very fact that the future mother-in-law is brought into the conversation several times suggests that Son and Girlfriend are attempting to reduce the social distance between the two families.

**Self-deprecating humour**

Self-deprecating humour is often employed by speakers to extract themselves from potentially embarrassing situations. Applying politeness theory, Holmes (1998) has suggested that turning the source of embarrassment into a subject of humour serves as a strategy for protecting the positive face of the speaker. The instances of self-deprecating humour identified in the Chinese family conversations support such a hypothesis. In example 7, Son refers to the fact that he has bought a Minidisc player for Tokyo for less than it would have cost in Hong Kong. However, the power adapter has proved unsuitable, and so he has had to spend extra money to have it altered. Hence, embarrassingly, instead of saving money, the whole thing has probably cost him more overall.

**Example 7**

Uncle: but the transformer will not work
Son: yeah, have to take it to Electric Street and FIX it
Uncle: FIX FIX it
[laughter ... ]

Son's humorous tone, together with his adoption of an unusual and playful phrase "fix fix it", functions to reduce his embarrassment in recounting his lack of success in getting a bargain.
Humour Support
At first glance, laughter seems the most appropriate support for humour. However, there are many other strategies of humour support, and research that relies solely on laughter counts may be misleading (Hay 1996: 19). This study examined other forms of humour support, such as echoing, contributing more humour or commenting further on the topic. Instances of such audible moves to support the humour of others were tabulated under the 'verbal support' category (see table 10). While a wink or a smile may also serve as forms of humour support (Hay 1996: 19), it can be argued that audible responses, including laughter and verbal responses to a person's humorous comment, may be perceived by the interlocutors as the most explicit and obvious means of indicating support for another's humour.

In general, the female participants in this study provided significantly more audible support than their male counterparts, apparently confirming the claim that women tend to be more linguistically supportive in interaction (Holmes 1995: 29).

There was also some evidence of a gender difference in the type of support strategies adopted. As indicated in the results section, the female participants tended to use more laughter, while the male participants more often provided a verbally supportive comment. While this analysis provides an interesting gender contrast, the small sample size and the asymmetric power relationships mean that it would be unwise to generalise these results to other populations or settings.

Conclusion
Humour is a complex subject. This study indicates that there is no universal theoretical framework which can satisfactorily account for all types of humour and the functions that they serve. However, the two-layer model proposed in this paper serves to highlight the importance of humour in maintaining in-group vs out-group relationships. Humour serves not only to construct and reinforce in-group/out-group boundaries, it also serves to strengthen and nurture relationships within a group. Humour serves to express in-group solidarity and to emphasise social distance between groups. It also serves to defuse tensions and maintain harmony within a group such as the family where unequal status relationships and power differentials can sometimes cause friction. Differentiating between in-group and out-group humour thus reveals some interesting linkages—not only between types, forms and functions of humour, but also between humour and various theoretical paradigms.

When there is a power differential between interlocutors, the repressive and contestive humour that can be observed is best accounted for by a theory such as superiority theory which focuses on the relationship between humour and power. Thus the jocular abuse pattern identified within the family was most usefully analysed using superiority theory. Self-deprecating humour, on the other hand, serves to protect the positive face of the speaker, and is best explained by reference to politeness theory. Out-group humour mainly serves as a social group boundary marker and is best explained by solidarity theory. Finally, the analysis of support strategy patterns provided further evidence for claims that women tend to be more linguistically supportive than men, claims that have been variously interpreted as supporting dominance vs difference approaches in language and gender research (Holmes 1995).

Because of the small size of the sample used in this analysis, these reflections on the functions and distributional patterns of humour must be tentative. However, the analysis has perhaps suggested the usefulness of integrating different theoretical approaches in exploring the way humour is used in family interaction. And, while the results of this small study can only be indicative, they nevertheless further demonstrate the richness and complexity of the ways in which humour is used in conversational discourse.

References


Appendix

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Chartwell School: sixteen years of a Japanese-English bilingual venture

Jinnie Potter

Abstract

The Japan - New Zealand Joint Educational Venture began at Chartwell Primary School in 1981. This study examines the purpose of the joint venture and describes changes in the programme over the sixteen years from 1981 to 1997. Questionnaires, interviews and observations in the school were used to determine the caregivers' expectations and their attitudes to the joint venture.

Introduction

This paper describes a case study of the Japan-New Zealand Joint Education Venture (JNZJEV) at Chartwell Primary School in Wellington. The JNZJEV includes within Chartwell School the Japanese Unit, which is administered by Monbusho (the Ministry of Education of Japan), as well as the New Zealand-side unit, as it is called in the school, which is administered by the NZ Ministry of Education. The JNZJEV was established in 1981, and in 1997 was in a transitional period with a new school principal. It thus seemed an appropriate point at which to evaluate the scheme and its evolving purposes, and to describe the changes during the sixteen years of its development.

The study thus investigated the following research questions:
(i) What are the reasons for and benefits of bilingual-bicultural education from Japanese and non-Japanese perspectives within Chartwell School?
(ii) What are the expectations and attitudes of caregivers at Chartwell towards the JNZJEV, JSOL or ESOL programmes, and what are the implications of these for future JNZJEV policy and practice?

This paper first provides a brief historical overview of the JNZJEV, and then examines changes in the way the joint venture has developed. The research methodology is described and the data gathered from the questionnaires and interviews is summarised. Finally, the implications of all this material are discussed.

Historical overview and background

Rationale

Chartwell School was established in 1970. The JNZJEV opened on July 6, 1981 with full media coverage. The Japanese Businessmen's Association had previously hired one of the school's rooms for Japanese lessons to children of temporary residents. This proved insufficient to meet the perceived need, however, and in response to a suggestion from the then Department of Education a joint venture school was established (Petro 1995:33).

Chartwell was the logical geographical placement for the JNZJEV as many Japanese lived in the northern suburbs of Wellington, the supplementary school already existed there, and it had potential for expansion.

The Japanese rationale for the joint venture included giving the Japanese children a Japanese academic education to equip them for a return to Japan, broadening the children's minds, ensuring that they reached levels of written and verbal English that would enable them to cope in New Zealand classrooms, and integrating the Japanese children with local children in English medium classes and in the playground. After the relative isolation of the post-World War II period, a priority for Japan has been "internationalisation": acceptance by, and integration into, the rest of the Western world. This stance on internationalisation is reflected in a change in the situation of Japanese children returning to Japan. When the joint venture was established in 1981 the aim was to have students assimilate back into the Japanese education system and culture. By the 1990s, however, caregivers also saw advantages in their children attaining a high level of proficiency in English to enable them to meet special entrance criteria to good Japanese universities and jobs.

This section draws upon Chartwell School files, and NZ Ministry of Education statements, as well as relevant material from interviews with school personnel.
The New Zealand rationale for setting up the joint venture included giving New Zealand-side children the opportunity to learn Japanese from a young age, creating a school where children and staff from two countries could grow together, and fostering multicultural values through the teaching of Japanese culture and language.

The programme in the 1980s

The development of the initial programme was largely the responsibility of the first principal associated with the JNZJEV, Lester Finch. In the mornings the Japanese children were taught the Monbusho curriculum by Japanese teachers, except for a period of communicative English teaching (ESOL) by the New Zealand principal. New Zealand children studied the normal curriculum with opportunities to learn Japanese language and culture from Japanese teachers. The Japanese children joined the New Zealand classes in the afternoons for arts, music, science, etc. In addition, three twenty minute blocks of options (cultural and language electives) operated and changed every six weeks (see Collinge 1981 for a more detailed account of the programme at its inception).

Effects of the programme in the 1980s

The initial effects of the JNZJEV were an immediate improvement in the school's staffing together with increased socio-cultural interaction. The staff to pupil ratio improved because the additional Japanese students made the school eligible for a fifth full-time teacher, two Japanese teachers, and a non-teaching principal. A Japanese representative was elected onto the School Council (Petrie 1995: 39, 127). Caregivers met for evening language classes, and 10-15 caregivers held regular cultural exchanges.

There was also some improvement in the English language proficiency of the Japanese pupils. Research on the effects of the JNZJEV concluded that participation “by English-only speaking children in Japanese language options may have a beneficial effect on the [Japanese] children’s command and understanding of the English language” (Harker and Cameron 1982:44). None of their results were statistically significant, but the vocabulary scores of pupils involved in the programme were better than those of pupils who had continued with straight English classes (Finch 1997: p.o. interview).

Under Jim McDonald, the second principal associated with the programme (1985-91), the JNZJEV profile continued to develop and the first permanent residents were enrolled. McDonald considered the Japanese Unit to be integral to the whole of Chartwell School, rather than regarding the New Zealand side and Japanese Unit as separate entities. He erected a bilingual school sign and a second flag-pole, and introduced a bilingual letterhead. There were regular special assemblies and a home-stay exchange programme was established. Caregiver cultural exchanges met 4-5 times a year, and in 1985 and 1991 school trips went to Japan.

Chartwell in the 1990s

In the 1990s, the catchment area of Chartwell School continued to encompass Wellington’s northern suburbs, but Japanese families also came from districts further away, such as Lower Hutt, Kowhai Park and Roseneath. At the end of 1996, the school roll stood at 187 pupils from 132 families. The main ethnic groups represented were New Zealand-born Pakeha and recent immigrants of European descent (77%) and Japanese (13%). Maori made up 3% with other ethnicities totalling 7%. There was a balanced gender composition of girls (51%) and boys (49%) (Information provided orally by ERO, May 1996).

Between 1991 and 1997, the Japanese Unit day roll averaged about a dozen students aged 6-11, with another 8-10 students aged 11-16 attending the supplementary programme. Between 12 and 14 pupils attended the ESOL programme. There were 12 permanent teaching staff, including four staff for the Japanese Unit, and one part-time teacher for ESOL and children with special needs.

Changes in the goals of the JNZJEV

As the programme developed between 1981 and 1997, there were gradual changes of emphasis, especially for the New Zealand-side students. The focus of the JNZJEV for the New Zealand children shifted from language and culture towards cultural awareness. The first JNZJEV graduates were required to proceed to secondary school took School Certificate Japanese in the third form. In 1993, however, third form Japanese teachers at Onslow College reported that the only advantage Chartwell School students had over students from other schools was in their confidence with the language, and this advantage weakened throughout the year (Vine, 1993: 20). In 1997, Chartwell School’s emphasis was clearly on developing cross-cultural understanding and tolerance, rather than linguistic proficiency, especially for the
New Zealand-side pupils. Great importance was placed on the empathy children develop by the close proximity of different cultures, and this was considered more important than detailed knowledge of Japanese language.

In the 1990s, the Japanese Unit dayrol gradually declined for a number of external reasons, such as the fact that many Japanese companies shifted to Auckland. In 1997 there were only 66 children aged from 0 to 15 registered with the Embassy as living in Wellington City. The differing needs of the children of Japanese temporary and permanent residents, and the different expectations of their caregivers are major issues currently facing Chartwell School.

Methodology

I began this study in 1996 by consulting the principal of Chartwell School. From this emerged the decision to undertake a survey focusing on caregivers’ expectations and views of the JNZEJV.

Both qualitative and quantitative data were gathered in December 1996. Collection techniques included a content analysis of school files and publications relevant to the JNZEJV, school observations (including informal talks with staff and children), and questionnaires administered to caregivers. Transcripts were made from tape-recordings of semi-structured interviews with previous principals and school council members, and several families participated in follow-up telephone or face-to-face interviews.

Documents were gathered from NZ Centre for Educational Research, Victoria University of Wellington, the NZ Ministry of Education, the Japanese Embassy, Monbusho, and the Japan Cultural and Information Centre. Chartwell School supplied relevant data in the form of reports, policy statements, publications, media releases, previous studies and surveys, minutes of meetings, and syllabus statements.

A questionnaire was developed, based on Furukashi (1985), to elicit caregivers’ responses to a wide range of issues including the way the JNZEJV programmes were developing, and attitudes to language(s), culture, and second language learning. The questionnaire had a fixed-response format, requiring a mixture of yes/no responses, ranking statements, and multi-choice questions. There was space for additional comments. Caregivers were also invited to comment further in interviews, and seven semi-formal phone or face-to-face interviews were conducted.

In consultation with the principal, a sample of respondents was selected to fulfil a number of criteria, including the following:
- all Japanese caregivers of children in the Japanese Unit or New Zealand-side Unit
- all caregivers in mixed Japanese-Pakeha marriages
- all caregivers of non-Japanese ethnicity from non-English speaking background (NESB) families
- all caregivers of children in their final year at Chartwell School
- a selection of New Zealand-side Pakeha caregivers

These criteria were chosen to ensure that within the relatively small school population, a representative cross-section of the school community was sampled.

Questionnaires were distributed by the principal to fifty families. A covering letter of introduction requesting caregivers’ participation was attached. The overall response rate was 52%. Response rates were 47.5% from the New Zealand side and 70% from the Japanese Unit. The questionnaire was translated into Japanese, but there was insufficient funding and time to translate it into other minority group languages. This may offer a partial explanation for the low return rate from non-Japanese ESOL caregivers.

Interviews were semi-formal: there was a general structure guided by questionnaire responses. They were usually conducted by telephone, and lasted from 20 to 50 minutes.

Results and discussion

In this section, responses to the questionnaire and interviews with New Zealand Pakeha caregivers, Japanese temporary resident caregivers, and Japanese permanent resident caregivers are summarised under three broad headings: factors affecting caregivers’ choice of school, caregivers’ expectations of the programme, and caregivers’ attitudes to second language learning.
Factors affecting choice of school

Figure 1 identifies the factors influencing New Zealand caregivers compared to temporary and permanent Japanese residents in their choice of school. Chartwell School’s atmosphere, measured as “school environment” in the questionnaire, is one factor that is important for all three groups. As Figure 1 indicates, environment is the one factor to which all three groups give a rating of 4 or higher on a 5-point scale. The most significant factor for non-Japanese is the school’s small size. For Japanese respondents, the JNZJEV, i.e. Chartwell’s Japanese connection, is more important than location and school size, while the JNZJEV and its associated programmes are noticeably less important factors for NZ respondents. Cultural opportunities are rated as marginally more important than language learning for New Zealanders, while the opposite is the case for Japanese.

**Figure 1**
Factors influencing caregivers’ choice of school

![Bar chart showing factors influencing caregivers' choice of school](image)

NZ: New Zealand caregivers
PR: Japanese permanent resident caregivers
TR: Japanese temporary resident caregivers

Two New Zealand respondents specifically commented on the value of Japanese in making their choice of school, while two others were “unaware of [the] Japanese connection” or were “put off by the enforced Japanese”. This suggests that at least some New Zealand respondents may look to Chartwell for a good education in a “nice” school, but may not recognise the distinctiveness of what Chartwell offers in the JNZJEV programme.

The New Zealand, non-Japanese caregivers interviewed stated they were not offered a choice of entering the Japanese Unit, and seemed to think the unit had no role for English speakers. As one respondent explained:

> The Japanese Unit is not available until age 6. Also since the children had no Japanese, it would not be feasible to enter the Japanese Unit – we therefore had no expectation of this choice.

By contrast, the Japanese respondents, and especially the permanent residents, were very positive about the JNZJEV, and indicated that the opportunity for their children to remain bilingual, with an equal focus on both languages, was important to them. For temporary residents, the opportunity for their children to learn English was the most significant factor. This reflects the prestige that the English language holds in business and diplomatic circles in Japan. Respondents with shorter sojourns in New Zealand commented that the Japanese Unit and JNZJEV were very important for Japanese language maintenance.

Japanese caregivers reported that their decisions on whether to place their children in New Zealand-side classes or the Japanese Unit were generally based on linguistic considerations. Interestingly, one temporarily resident family chose to place one child in the Japanese Unit because of the Japanese education, and the other in the New Zealand side in order to develop English in an environment where Japanese is accepted. Permanent residents were concerned about children losing “Japaneseeness”, and they chose the Japanese Unit as “a rare opportunity in an English-speaking country”.

One permanent Japanese resident, pseudonymized Keiko, provided a particularly interesting story, which illustrates what the Chartwell programme made possible for some Japanese children. Keiko’s oldest daughter, pseudonymized Yukiko, had 1½ years in the New Zealand-side programme before transferring to the Japanese Unit. Yukiko continued with supplementary Japanese Unit classes while attending intermediate and secondary school. She
graduated with a totally bilingual leaving certificate, the first to do so through Chartwell School. She achieved high marks in both languages. Such success stories obviously encouraged the school in its efforts to maintain the programme.

Caregivers’ expectations of the programme
What did caregivers expect their children to gain from the JPNZEV?
Non-Japanese caregivers saw its main functions as cultural. They reported that they considered developing an understanding of different cultures as marginally more important than developing an interest in languages. When asked specifically about their expectations with respect to Japanese language development, these caregivers regarded conversation and basic listening and speaking skills as being more important than academic knowledge or reading and writing in Japanese (see Figure 2).

![Caregivers' expectation of JSOL and ESOL programmes](chartwell_school_bilingual_programme_81-97_31)

An analysis of Japanese caregivers’ expectations of the ESOL and New Zealand-side programmes revealed differences between temporary and permanent residents. Temporary residents considered oral skills in English, including conversational skills, as well as familiarity with New Zealand culture to be of prime importance. They were less interested in academic knowledge. The opposite was the case for permanent residents, who placed more weight on academic progress and literacy skills.

This difference of attitude may reflect the fact that English communicative ability is currently the focus of attention in Japan. Temporary residents in New Zealand see an opportunity for their children to get ahead and gain real proficiency in conversational English, learning to use English in daily conversations and friendly social-cultural interactions. This will be an advantage to them on their return to Japan.

Permanent Japanese residents on the other hand are concerned about their children’s long-term cognitive and academic development. They noted that their children’s spoken English was “equal to native speakers of their age”. From ESOL classes, however, they considered that the children needed academic subject support, increased academic vocabulary, and a concentration on the formal features of written style. Their comments demonstrated an awareness of the difference between what Cummins (1979) calls basic interpersonal communicative skills (BICS) and cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP). BICS-level competence can give a false impression of how children are coping, when their proficiency is insufficient to meet more demanding linguistic and cognitive tasks at the CALP level. In other words, the skills needed for social interaction are not the same as those required for academic success and cognitive development. The comments of Japanese permanent residents indicated their awareness of the importance of the latter for their children’s long-term development in the New Zealand school context.

Caregivers’ attitudes to language learning
Teaching and learning styles
Caregivers were not encouraged to assist in JSOL classes at Chartwell, so their comments on the programme did not reflect first-hand experience. There were some criticisms of the style of teaching Japanese language, although it was agreed that teachers demonstrated dedication and professionalism in the way they prepared materials. One caregiver commented on variable standards and “uninspiring teaching methods” (repetitive drills and writing kana). This hints at a recurring issue, namely, the problem of cultural differences in learning and teaching style preferences.
Learning styles are defined as “cognitive, affective, physiological and behavioural traits that serve as relatively stable indicators of how learners perceive, interact with and respond to the learning environment” (Boyle 1997). Teaching and learning styles differ significantly across cultural groups, and teachers tend to teach in accordance with their own learning style (Oxford and Anderson 1995: 203, Oxford and Burry-Stock 1995).

Three NZ interviewees commented that learning Japanese should be fun, and the language should be incorporated into the curriculum in a way that maintained the children’s interest. However, it could be argued that by using the teaching style they are familiar with, the Japanese teachers are exposing the children to an aspect of Japanese culture. In this way, the New Zealand side gain insight into alternative ways of learning not predominantly used by New Zealand teachers.

Different attitudes to teaching styles were also apparent from a Japanese perspective. The communicative interactive ESOL teaching style adopted by Chartwell teachers was not always appreciated. The principal commented:

Some Japanese wanted the more formal grammatical approach with which they were familiar. Similarly, Japanese teachers are used to children who learn through memorisation, listen and copy quietly. Faced with New Zealand children who are used to participating actively, Japanese teachers have control or discipline problems. When Japanese children joined the New Zealand side they, too, would not respond to the New Zealand teacher in the expected way and would sometimes misbehave (Finch 1997: p.c. interview).

With respect to language learning, New Zealand-side respondents preferred foreign language learning to be treated as a separate subject. This preference was extended to any third language that might be introduced. One respondent argued that “it is important for primary age children to gain a solid foundation in all basic subjects ... in one’s native language”. Another stated,

if the second language is taught through other subjects you might miss out on certain things. Teachers would find it easier as a separate subject for planning and teaching because they can concentrate on the specialist language and don’t need to know all the curriculum.

In other words, these caregivers were not aware of international research which demonstrates that “bilingual education for English monolinguals is a very valuable form for acquiring a second language and for continuing their general education” (Clyne 1986: 2).

Again Japanese respondents differed in opinion depending on whether they were temporary or permanent residents. Permanent residents valued dual-language immersion instruction, and one wanted additional ESOL that emphasised English grammar and written composition. Temporary residents suggested additional English electives to foster friendship and oral language.

Optional or compulsory second-language learning?

Eighty-five percent of NZ respondents and all Japanese permanent residents thought that Japanese should be optional or strongly encouraged at Chartwell School rather than compulsory. Three quotes summarise respondents’ views.

- “Schools should give children opportunities, not make them study any particular language”;
- “Japanese is suitable because of New Zealand’s location in the Asia-Pacific basin”;
- “Japanese should be one of many languages available since exposure to different languages is important”.

Japanese caregivers generally argued that New Zealanders should be encouraged to learn other languages. One temporary resident commented, “it is important for everyone (not only New Zealanders) to learn other languages”. Twenty-one per cent of New Zealand respondents and 28.5% of Japanese agreed with compulsory second language learning. Two respondents thought Maori should be compulsory.

Reasons for second-language learning

The reasons caregivers provided for second language learning included “exposure to other cultures” and “broadening children’s horizons”, rather than attaining a useful degree of fluency or proficiency.

Some of the reasons caregivers gave for second language learning reflected an “integrative” orientation and some an “instrumental” motivation (Gardner and Lambert 1972). People with
an integrative orientation learn a language in order to learn more about and integrate with the “other” linguistic-cultural group. The 50% of the respondents who supported teaching Maori language gave reasons such as improving race relations and cultural identity, reflecting an integrative orientation. Because Maori is an indigenous language and the Maori population is increasing, these respondents thought Maori language learning should take priority. However, many caregivers gave more instrumental reasons for learning a second language, arguing on the basis of the future usefulness to children of speaking a language other than English.

Many caregivers, particularly New Zealand caregivers, reported that they considered bilingual education in the Japanese Unit predominantly benefited Japanese children. Temporary residents tended to see the JNZJEV as of minimal benefit to either New Zealanders or Japanese, perhaps reflecting some frustration with the Japanese Unit. Responses from permanent residents were not consistent, but tended to be generally positive in their assessment of the benefit of the JNZJEV, particularly in terms of fostering internationalisation.

While temporary residents had a more mixed response to the school, all the New Zealand respondents and the permanent residents reported that they would recommend Chartwell School to others. Some New Zealanders mentioned the Japanese connection while other reasons included the school size, the staff and teaching standards, high morale and the positive learning environment.

**General findings and implications**

I initially hypothesised that caregivers choosing Chartwell School would be positively oriented towards Asian languages, and that the Japanese presence would raise awareness of opportunities for learning second languages. The results suggest, however, a more neutral or at best a mildly positive reaction to the JNZJEV. A degree of ambivalence is perhaps to be expected in a country where monolingualism is the norm. The pervasive monolingualism and monoculturalism of New Zealanders no doubt contributes to a lack of familiarity with the benefits of bilingualism in general and bilingual education in particular.

Biculturalism at Chartwell School is emphasised at the expense of bilingual enrichment, though these could be complementary. Children are presented with a unique opportunity to learn another culture through language at Chartwell, yet this opportunity is clearly not being fully utilised.

I also hypothesised that New Zealand’s increased contacts with Asia might have increased awareness of the benefits of bilingualism in Japanese and English. Immersion is, however, apparently still considered too radical a departure from New Zealand norms. Caregivers and staff at Chartwell (even some of those who supported bilingual education) seem to harbour doubts about the effects of dual language education on children’s first language and academic development. These persist despite much evidence to the contrary. Immersion programmes could be trialled at Chartwell School, but they require considerable long-term commitment and active participation by the school community, in addition to training and resources. Yet immersion education would a very efficient way of realising governmental goals of second language fluency through the curriculum.

There is a positive atmosphere and a high level of caregiver involvement at Chartwell School, but less cross-cultural interaction between caregivers, staff and children. Integration of the Japanese and New Zealand children has always been a JNZJEV priority, but it requires constant effort and commitment from caregivers and teachers need to demonstrate successful integration to children by their own example. Caregivers know about the existence of the JNZJEV, but little about the actual programmes. This is not an area in which Chartwell School has requested caregiver-helps or involvement, but Japanese caregivers particularly could be a useful resource in JSOL classes. Some caregivers expressed keen interest in helping their children and even want to learn alongside them as they reinforce second language learning at home, but they need more guidance.

The differing needs and expectations of the Japanese Unit, JSOL and ESOL place pressures on the school’s teachers. They work diligently under difficult circumstances. Both New Zealand and Japanese teachers mentioned that they felt unprepared for the challenges of their position at Chartwell School. They reported that they would appreciate regular time to observe each other’s management and teaching styles. All Chartwell School teachers would benefit from in-service training in bilingual teaching strategies and TESOL/TJSOL support.
The children of temporary and permanent residents have different needs and their caregivers have different expectations of the school. Both groups want to maintain Japanese and to add English to their children's verbal repertoire, but their specific goals and emphases are not the same. During the 1990s, the socio-political situation and drive for internationalisation in Japan encouraged temporary residents to gain (oral) proficiency in English. But there is always a risk that the children of temporary residents will have difficulties readjusting to Japan if their academic Japanese, Kanji development, and Japanese cultural identity are not supported and maintained. Permanent residents, on the other hand, want their children to learn Japanese language and culture in order to develop a bicultural-bilingual identity in New Zealand. Chartwell School could usefully take account of these different goals.

Conclusion

This paper has reported on developments in the bilingual-bicultural programme offered at Chartwell School, and the attitudes and expectations of three groups of caregivers involved in the programme, non-Japanese New Zealanders, Japanese temporary residents and Japanese permanent residents in New Zealand. Each group had differing views of the role and status of the Chartwell Japanese Unit and of the place of second language learning within the school. Over the sixteen years from its inception in 1981 to 1997, the emphasis of the JNZJEV shifted from bilingual enrichment to bicultural tolerance. The main benefit of the JNZJEV in 1997 was seen to be the rich exposure it provided to another culture.

There were high levels of caregiver involvement in Chartwell School, but less cross-cultural interaction or involvement in JSOL/ESOL programmes. Caregivers were keen to help their children, but indicated that they required guidance. There was tension between temporary and permanent Japanese residents' changing needs, and between the Japanese teaching styles and New Zealand children's learning styles. Temporary residents perceived advantages in attaining oral fluency in English, while permanent residents desired Japanese language maintenance within its cultural context for children to develop their dual identities.

Overall, however, despite the ambivalence of some caregivers, and the conflicting expectations of different groups, there can be little doubt that the overall effects of the Chartwell JNZJEV during the period 1981 to 1997 were very positive. Many students benefited enormously from the opportunity to learn about another culture and language in a secure and positive school environment.

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Multiple Discourse Analyses of a Workplace Interaction

Maria Stubbe, Chris Lane, Jo Hilder, Elaine Vine, Bernadette Vine, Janet Holmes, Meredith Marra and Ann Weatherall

Abstract
This paper explores the contributions that five different approaches to discourse analysis can make to interpreting and understanding the same piece of data. Conversation analysis, interactional sociolinguistics, pragmatics/politeness theory, critical discourse analysis, and discursive psychology are the approaches chosen for comparison. The data is a nine minute audio recording of a spontaneous workplace interaction. The analyses are compared, and the theoretical and methodological implications of the different approaches are discussed.

Introduction

Any newcomer to the study of conversation or language in use will be bewildered by the array of analytic approaches that exists. Even more seasoned researchers might be challenged to provide comprehensive descriptions of the range of discourse analytic approaches available in disciplines across the humanities and social sciences. The problem of selecting the "best" approach for understanding any piece of talk motivated us to discuss the boundaries and tensions between some of the different available approaches to spoken discourse analysis.

At the time of writing, our group members shared interests in sociolinguistic, social psychological and critical perspectives on language in use. Approaches in the forefront for group members in their own research were one or more of conversation analysis (CA),

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1 An earlier version of this paper was presented at the Linguistic Society of New Zealand Conference in November 1999. We record our thanks here for the constructive feedback we received from the audience present at that session.

interactional sociolinguistics (IS), pragmatics/politeness theory, critical discourse analysis (CDA) and discursive psychology. Most group members described taking an eclectic approach to their analyses, applying elements of one or more models as relevant to their research objectives. In this paper, our aim is to identify the core elements of each of these five approaches, to highlight the key insights into the data provided by each analysis, and to identify in which respects these overlap or offer distinctive perspectives on the data. The analyses are presented in an order approximately reflecting their position along a continuum from micro- to macro-analysis of the sample interaction. It should be noted that the individuals applying each sample analysis are not necessarily experts in that approach, nor do they necessarily subscribe fully or solely to it themselves.

The data

The interaction analysed below comes from tape-recorded data collected as part of the Language in the Workplace project at Victoria University\(^2\). It is a nine-minute excerpt relating to a single issue, taken from the beginning of a longer conversation between two people in a New Zealand workplace. (Further contextual and ethnographic information will be provided as it becomes relevant to each analysis). A full transcript of the interaction appears in the appendix, along with the transcription conventions used in this paper.

It is pertinent to make some brief comments on the issue of transcription at this point. Our starting point was an existing fairly broad orthographic transcription of the extract based on the conventions used in the Wellington Corpus of Spoken New Zealand English (see appendix), with utterance numbers added for ease of reference. This provided the group with a convenient baseline version of the transcript to use in conjunction with the audio recording when analysing and discussing the excerpt, and also one which was reasonably neutral in that it was not linked to any particular analytic approach. This is the version reproduced in this paper.

However, this solution to the question of which system(s) of transcription the group should use immediately raised a number of interesting theoretical and methodological issues. Any transcription can of course only ever be an approximate and partial rendition of the recording on which it is based, and different approaches to discourse analysis have developed their own transcription systems precisely because they wish to address specific research questions which require varying degrees and types of detail in the way the data is represented on paper. For example, some approaches, such as CA and IS, involve a micro-analytic investigation of interaction sequences, which is typically reflected in a more fine-grained and detailed transcription system than is found in other forms of discourse analysis. These transcripts typically provide a precise marking of prosodic features such as pause length, changes in pitch contour and a range of vocalisations, as well as an accurate rendition of aspects of the turn-taking system such as overlapping speech, feedback and latching. While such a transcription is complex and time-consuming to prepare, because the analysis is similarly intensive it is usually restricted to relatively short sequences of interaction. Conversely, other approaches such as CDA and discursive psychology generally require the analyst to range over far more extensive samples of text to identify macro-discoursal patterns. Although this does not exclude some detailed analysis of short excerpts, on the whole these approaches require a far less detailed transcription of the data.

Exploring these differences highlighted for us the extent to which no transcription can ever be a neutral or complete rendition of a spoken text. The process of transcription is inevitably selective, and therefore involves a certain amount of interpretation and analysis. Moreover, the aspects of a piece of data which are represented in a given transcript, and even the way it is set out on the page (cf. Edelsky 1981), will affect what we notice about it, how we interpret it, and what aspects we are most readily able to take account of in our analysis. Although an in-depth discussion of the complex relationship between a particular transcription and the spoken data on which it is based is beyond the scope of the present paper, the group did take explicit account of this issue. In preparing the CA and interactional sociolinguistics analyses, for example, relevant parts of the extract were re-transcribed using a finer-grained CA-style transcription, and each analysis made use of the actual recording, not a transcript alone. However, for ease of reference and consistency, we have opted to reproduce the extract and any examples cited throughout this paper in a generic format.

\(^2\) We would like to acknowledge the contribution of the two people who recorded this interaction and gave their permission for it to be reproduced and analysed for this paper, and also that of the research assistants who transcribed it. This recording was collected as part of the Language in the Workplace Project, which is funded by the New Zealand Foundation for Science, Research and Technology.
Sample Analyses

(1) Conversation Analysis (Chris Lane and Jo Hildre)

Conversation analysis (CA) is a sociological approach to the analysis of interaction. Harvey Sacks, the founder of CA (Sacks 1992), saw it as a basis for an observational science of society. Useful introductions to CA are provided by Levinson (1983), Heritage (1984), Psathas (1995), Poematers and Fehr (1997) and Hutchby and Wooffit (1998). CA focuses on analysis of recordings of spontaneous spoken interaction (formal as well as informal, institutional as well as private/personal).

CA is based fundamentally on a model of communication as joint activity (Sacks 1984. Like dancing or joint musical performance, it rejects the typical linguistic model of communication as sending and receiving messages. In other words, it says that dialogue is not a succession of monologues. So, CA is concerned with how the jointly organised activity of talk-in-interaction is carried out, and how participants produce joint achievements such as conversational closings, storytelling, disputes, medical diagnosis, the mutually dependent roles of interviewer and interviewee, and so on.

Sequences are an important focus of an analysis and each utterance (or gesture) is understood as a step (action) in a joint activity. Thus one of the main focuses of CA is on how interaction unfolds across sequences of actions by different participants. The significance of an utterance or gesture is highly dependent on its position in a sequence, as well as being jointly negotiated, and this is one reason for conversation analysts' reluctance to aggregate instances of utterance types for quantitative analysis (Schegloff 1993, Wier 1993). CA thus differs from approaches which (typically) analyse one utterance at a time, such as speech act theory and politeness theory.

The unfolding of interaction depends on the interpretation of a current speaker's utterance by the next or a subsequent speaker, and to show that they are engaged in a joint activity they need to display that interpretation in some way. Even if the next speaker's interpretation is "wrong" from the original speaker's point of view, it is open to the original speaker to offer a correction. In general, any utterance can be interpreted in numerous ways by analysts; for CA it is important to find evidence in the interaction of which of these possible interpretations have been taken by the participants. The following is an example from the extract of how the unfolding of action depends on the participants' displayed orientation to the interaction:

<#62:TR> absolutely nothing + sinister or any other agenda other than that
<#64:CT> no, I'm not looking for that

At line 62 there is a spontaneous denial of bias by Tom, which displays his understanding that Claire's complaint may be one of discrimination on some grounds; Claire appears to deny this in #64.

Participants' actions in interaction are (in general) done as locally occasioned, for example, as responsive to a prior utterance, or as relevant to a current non-linguistic activity, so that they can be seen to fit into a current sequence of actions (again a problem for quantifying across contexts). Spontaneous interaction thus has an improvised character.

Functional categories of utterances are not based on analyses attempting to read speakers' intentions, but rather on their responsiveness to earlier actions and on the actual or potential following actions: in speech act theory terms, CA is more concerned with permutations than with illocutions. Possible functions of utterances are not specified in advance (as in speech act theory); rather, new functional categories are found as different aspects of interaction are studied.

The notion of normative rules is another feature of this analytic approach. In CA, "rules" (e.g. for turn-taking, for how sequences can unfold) are not invariant descriptive rules in the linguistic sense, or statistical generalisations, but rather normative and interpretative—they provide a reference point for participants to treat actions as unremarkable or deviant; participants justify actions as following shared rules or as accountably violating such rules, complain about other's violations, apologise for their own violations, etc. Such references to rules are not necessarily consistent across different individuals or across different interactions because they are locally occasioned. These rules generally operate below the level of consciousness or awareness, as we see in this example:

<#7:TR> can I just grab that phone
<#8:TR> sorry about that
<#9:CT> that's okay

On the basis of their wordings these look like a request, apology and an acceptance, and the sequence is indicative that Tom's answering the phone violates some rule. On the basis of
this one example we can hypothesise a rule that an interaction once started should be continued (through to a negotiated close) rather than abruptly stopped to start another interaction: whether this is a general rule could be tested not experimentally but by examining other recorded data for evidence of such a rule in operation.

CA also takes an approach to understanding context that differentiates it from many other approaches. Context is not seen as given prior to interaction. Social and contextual factors such as participants' identities are not analysed as independently specifiable causes of behaviour, but rather as resources that can be invoked as relevant in a normative/interpretative way, or in fact contextual factors can be constituted by the interaction itself, as the following example illustrates.

<#1:CT>:yeah um yeah i want to talk to you about um oh it's a personal issue um + well i-
  the decision to make um jared acting manager while joseph is away

In #1, Claire's formulation it's a personal issue paradoxically indicates that this is an institutional interaction of some kind because it implicates that it is relevant to make a distinction between personal and non-personal issues.

<#5:CT>:well i've been overlooked quite a few time but i wanted to find out specifically how
  what i could do to help myself be considered next time

In #5, Claire's apparent request for advice implicates an advising or mentoring role for Tom and an advisee role for Claire. In <#81, because he's your immediate controlling officer is an instance of invoking a particular contextual factor, namely the workplace hierarchy, in order to accomplish a particular situated action, i.e. redirecting Claire's request for advice to Joseph.

Thus, there is a strong CA position on context—the interaction is the context. Analysts do not need to look outside the interaction unless some “external” factor is invoked in the interaction. However, there can be a weaker and more flexible position. Participants need to display to each other their (degree of) mutual understanding, and what context is relevant for them; but what is enough for participants may not be enough for analysts, and we may need additional help to interpret what the participants are saying/doing.

Aside from context, CA also has quite a unique position on model-building. CA is very circumspect about “premature” theorising and formalisation, and has concentrated on rather microscopic empirical studies of specific aspects of interaction. CA has accumulated a large number of detailed studies of interactional activities, sequences, and the uses of particular devices such as code-switching, particles like OK and oh, and various intonation contours (Couper-Kuhlen and Selting 1996), mainly in English, but increasingly now in other languages. The accumulated set of studies is beginning to form a fairly integrated model of how talk-in-interaction is conducted as a joint activity.

Illustrative analysis (1) of focus extract

Many CA analyses are possible of this material, depending on what phenomena you pay attention to, just as there would be many possible phonological analyses. So we can only explore some of what CA has to offer. We concentrate here on Claire's presentation of the topic/problem and Tom's response to that.

<#1:CT>:yeah um yeah i want to talk to you about um oh it's a personal issue um + well i-
  the decision to make um jared acting manager while joseph is away

We do not know what comes before this but the utterance itself has the character of a topic
initial (i want to talk to you about) which indicates that this will be an extended turn, together
with a formulation of the topic (it's a personal issue) and an initial characterisation of the
topic (the decision ... away).

The continuers <#2:TR>=mm and <#3:TR>=mm by Tom are evidence (though not definitive)
that Tom hears Claire's presentation of the topic as incomplete, and is returning the floor to
her to complete it. At #3 he could have treated #1 as a complaint or some such and responded
to it in those terms, but the fact that he does not allows #1 to stand as a preface to Claire's
presentation of her concerns:

<#4:CT>:and i wanted to get some

<#5:CT>:well i've been overlooked quite a few times but i wanted to find out specifically how
  what i could do to help myself be considered next time

These put forward issues or concerns which can be heard (in a "taken-for-granted" way) as
related to the topic initiated in #1, on the basis that Claire is following the normative rules of
turn-taking and topic initiation. Utterance #5 looks initially, from an analyst's point of view,
like a generalised complaint (from which a specific complaint about the decision referred to
in #1 could be inferred) and a request for advice or guidance. But it remains to be seen if
these analyst interpretations are actually oriented to by the participants themselves.

<#16:CT>(well) i just want to talk to you about it and and i suppose [swallows] [ut]}
the more general problem of dealing with a sensitive topic.

Tom's justification extends from #17 through to #43. Through this passage, Claire provides verbal continuers and response tokens: yeah, right, mm, oh, okay. On reading the transcript these responses look like acceptances of Tom's justification. But on listening to the tape these tokens are noticeably low pitched and in most cases drawled with a level tone and at a low volume. This prosody could be described as sounding "neutral", "unenthusiastic" or "reserved", but whatever the description, it strongly marks these responses as not being positive acceptances. This withholding of acceptance may account for the way Tom keeps extending his justification and in fact repeating components of his justification in paraphrased form. These response tokens can be contrasted with those at the end of the excerpt, which sound distinctly positive and enthusiastic.

In summary, CA provides a method for analysing in detail the way participants jointly construct the interaction and at the same time constitute the context, including participants' identities. With interactional sociolinguistics it shares an interest in the process of contextualisation, and with discursive psychology an interest in accounting and justifying practices.

(2) Interactional Sociolinguistics (Elaine Vine and Maria Stubbe)

Interactional sociolinguistics (IS) has its roots in the ethnography of communication, and analysts using this approach typically focus on linguistic and cultural diversity in communication, and how this impacts on the relationships between different groups in society. IS also represents an approach to discourse analysis which attempts to "bridge the gap" between "top-down" theoretical approaches which privilege "macro-societal conditions" in accounting for communicative practices, and those, such as CA which provide a "bottom-up" social constructivist account (Gumperz 1999: 453-4). IS draws heavily on CA techniques in its microanalytic approach to interactions, but unlike CA, an IS analysis explicitly recognises the wider sociocultural context impacting on interactions. John Gumperz, generally regarded as the founder of interactional sociolinguistics, characterises the approach as building from a conversation analysis approach in the following way: 

...we must turn to a speaker-oriented perspective and ask what it is speakers and listeners must know or do in order to be able to take part in a conversation
or to create and sustain conversational involvement. By formulating the basic issues in this way, the focus shifts from the analysis of conversational forms or sequential patterns as such to the necessarily goal-oriented interpretive processes that underlie their production (Gumperz, 1992: 306).

Interactional sociolinguistics taps into those “goal-oriented interpretive processes” through what Gumperz calls “contextualisation cues”. These are “constellations of surface features of message form … by which speakers signal and listeners interpret what the activity is, how semantic content is to be understood and how each sentence relates to what precedes or follows” (Gumperz 1982: 131). Contextualisation cues relate to contextual presuppositions (tacit awareness of meaningfulness) which in turn allow participants to make situated inferences about the most likely interpretation of an utterance. Speakers can make choices between features at any of a number of levels including: (i) code, dialect or style; (ii) prosodic features; (iii) lexical and syntactic options; formularic expressions; and (iv) conversational openings, closings, and sequencing strategies (Gumperz 1982: 131). Non-verbal behaviours also provide very important contextualisation cues (e.g. Schiffrin 1996), although obviously these are not available for analysis in the case of audiotaped data.

Roberts, Davies & Jupp (1992) suggest that IS provides a useful tool for the critical analysis of discourse in certain typical “strategic” research sites. These are situations of “public negotiation” such as interviews, meetings, and encounters at work, which are characterised by status and power differentials between the participants. There is often tension between different (and sometimes conflicting) goals, which is played out through the discourse processes we can observe. Information about the sociocultural context can throw further light on why certain linguistic features are chosen and how these are interpreted by participants in such contexts.

Based on the background information we have available about the sample interaction, this is an excellent example of a strategic research site for an IS analysis. The discussion takes place between a senior public service manager, Tom, and an analyst, Claire, who is two ranks below him in the organisational hierarchy. From the ethnographic fieldwork that was done at the time of the data collection, we know that Claire is annoyed that she was overlooked for the shared acting manager position she believes she was promised by her own manager, and that she and some of her female colleagues interpret this as another example of gender discrimination within the organisation. We also know that she has expressed her intention to raise the issue with Tom, because regardless of whether or not he was ultimately responsible for changing the earlier decision, he has the power to influence what will happen in future.

Illustrative analysis (2) of focus extract
We only have space here to focus on selected aspects of the sample interaction, but this should be sufficient to provide an indication of what an IS analysis has to offer. We begin with an analysis of the contextualisation cues provided by Claire in her opening utterances and how these are responded to by Tom.

In #1, Claire’s first yeah has a falling tone and sounds like a response to a previous turn. The second yeah has a rising tone and sounds like the beginning of something new. The phrase which follows, … i want to talk to you about um oh it’s a personal issue, has high pitch and there is a very high rise on personal issue and a noticeable stress on personal, all of which contributes to making the speaker sound nervous and/or tense. There is also a hesitation before um oh which the original transcriber has not judged to be a pause, but which contributes to the sense that the speaker sounds nervous. The speaker then continues with um and a pause, and a false start well i- before stating the issue the decision to make um jared acting manager while joseph is away. The hesitations and false start contribute again to an impression that the speaker is nervous.

We can infer that this speaker’s nervousness and/or tension may arise from several aspects of the sociocultural context. First, the speaker is lower in the workplace hierarchy than the person she is bringing her issue to, and by doing so she is, at least potentially, being critical of her superior’s judgement. Second, by asserting a claim for her own personal advancement in competition with a male colleague, she is behaving in a direct, competitive way which is not stereotypically associated with women. This may help to explain some of her apparent tension in itself, as well as the likelihood that, given that her addressee is a more senior male, her utterance may be heard as an implicit accusation of gender bias, something which was a “hot issue” in the organisation at the time of recording.

Utterances #2 and #3 are both very short and very quiet backchannels from Tom, the first overlapping and the second at a transition relevance point. Claire continues straight on to #4. Had there been a noticeable pause here, we might have inferred that she wanted Tom to take a turn but was forced to continue, but that is not the case.
At this point, the phone rings and Claire continues speaking. In this turn, #5, she introduces two possible purposes for the interaction. One is to make a complaint, I've been overlooked quite a few times, and the other is to seek advice, I wanted to find out specifically how what I could do to help myself be considered next time. The second utterance can be seen as Claire putting some distance between herself and the implied criticism of the decision, and also symbolically lowering herself with respect to Tom by asking his advice for next time.

There is a falling tone on time, which signals a transition relevance point, and Tom ensures he takes up the turn by latching his request in #7 to grab that phone. He frames this as a request, implicitly acknowledging that the person present in his office should take precedence over the person “interrupting” on the phone.

After the phone interruption, Claire restates the seeking advice purpose by saying again what she said in #5, and in very similar terms. However, she chooses to introduce the words actually and favourably with respect to being considered next time. The choice of these two words also reintroduces the complaint purpose. Tom neatly sidesteps both the complaint and the advice purposes in #17-#19. By focusing on the word favourably he signals that he disagrees with Claire's perception of what happened. Notice his use of speaker-oriented pragmatic hedges I don't think and I mean to introduce #17 and #18. He may well be hedging both his avoidance of her purposes and his disagreement with her, while reframing the decision as a neutral one dictated by factors beyond his control.

Claire's response in #20 is yeah. She says it quite softly, but slowly and as two clear syllables with a slight rising tone on the second syllable. These prosodic features make her sound unconvinced, and also, the rising tone suggests she may be going to continue. Tom ensures that she does not have time to go on by latching what he says next in #21 to Claire’s turn. He now continues with a very long turn which takes us right through to #43 with Claire contributing little more than prosodically neutral backchannels. Tom is dominating the floor here, as he tends to do throughout the whole interaction, a pattern which also happens to be consistent with the findings of research studies on amount of talk which show men dominating turns at talk in public settings.

Notice Tom’s use of hedging in this extended turn: there is a veritable rash of it. We have already noted that his choice to follow up the complaint purpose may have led to hedging, but he now has two more reasons to hedge—Claire is sounding unconvinced, and Tom has grabbed the floor through his use of latching. We do not have space to analyse Tom’s use of hedging in detail, but we would like to note one aspect of it. He begins #21 with another speaker-oriented pragmatic hedge i mean, then uses an addressee-oriented hedge you know here and again in #23. The addressee-oriented hedges imply a shared perspective and indeed they connect with backchannels from Claire which are not just a bare mmm: #24 right and #27 oh okay, which may give Tom encouragement that they are finally moving towards a shared perspective.

As we say above, in addition to prosodic and pragmatic choices, speakers also make lexicogrammatical choices which can function as contextualisation cues. We will demonstrate this in more detail by tracing how this type of cue is used by Tom and Claire at different points in the interaction to negotiate where the responsibility lies for the decision to make Jared acting manager.

When Claire first introduces the issue she wishes to discuss in #1, she refers to the decision. She has chosen a nominalised form, rather than a verb form where she would have to specify a subject, e.g. you decided, and she has chosen not to specify the decider by using the definite article the decision, rather than a pronominal form your decision. In this use of neutral agency, she is distancing herself from implied criticism of Tom. In #5, she goes further by implying through her request for advice that she had done something wrong herself, and so could do better. Taken in isolation, Claire’s utterances clearly do not allow us to draw the inference that she is holding Tom in some way responsible for the decision. However, this does become a reasonable inference once we take into account the difference in status, our knowledge that Claire was angry about the situation, and the evidence we have from later in the interaction (#123-4) where she makes it clear that she had indeed been promised the position by Joseph. This interpretation is supported by the way in which Tom clearly orients to the implied criticism of his actions in lines #17-43, as already discussed above.

Tom appears to go along with distancing himself from the decision in #17 and #18, also referring to the decision neutrally as it. Then in #19, he begins using the personal pronoun I, but with respect to his reasons (I was in urgent need of someone), not the decision itself. It is not until #28 that Tom explicitly takes ownership of it as my decision, and this is after he has
(5) Politeness Theory (Bernadette Vine)

Politeness theory, as developed by Brown & Levinson (1978, 1987), has been a major preoccupation of research in pragmatics for the last 25 years (Thomas 1995: 149). In Brown & Levinson’s framework, linguistic politeness revolves around the concept of face (c.f. Goffman 1967). In particular, they identify a Model Person as someone who has “two particular wants ... the want to be unimpeded and the want to be approved of in certain respects” (1987: 38). Brown & Levinson (1987) refer to these two wants as negative and positive face respectively.

Certain kinds of speech acts, however, intrinsically threaten the face of the speaker, hearer or both interactants (1987: 65-68), for example, requests, compliments and apologies. Brown & Levinson group these “face threatening acts” according to whether they threaten the negative or positive face of the hearer or the speaker. There is some overlap in their classification, as some face threatening acts (FTAs) threaten both positive and negative face and may threaten both the speaker and the hearer.

A complaint or challenge is an FTA which threatens the positive face of the hearer by indicating that the speaker has a negative evaluation of some aspect of the hearer’s positive face. In making a complaint, the speaker indicates that they do not like or want one or more of the hearer’s wants, acts, etc. In line #1 of the focus extract, for example, Claire indicates that she does not like Tom’s decision to make Jared acting manager instead of Claire: "#1 i want to talk to you about... the decision to make jared acting manager while joseph is away. This challenge to his actions is a threat to Tom’s positive face—he wants to be approved of or to have his actions approved of.

As noted above, some FTAs threaten both positive and negative face. One such speech act is a complaint (Brown & Levinson 1987: 67). Claire’s complaint that she has been denied opportunity overlook quite a few times implicitly challenges Tom’s right to make the decision he did, especially since as a senior manager his status in the organisation is superior to Claire’s. It therefore threatens Tom’s negative face (his want not to be impeded).

When contemplating the performance of a FTA, speakers may select from five general strategies, called superstrategies, which are actually realised in the discourse by a wide range of output strategies (see below). Brown & Levinson order these superstrategies according to
their relative politeness.

1. On record baldly
The least polite way of performing the FTA is “on record baldly”. This approach involves no attempt by the speaker to acknowledge the hearer’s face wants by means of “redressive action – an action that gives face to the addressee” (1987: 69). For instance, the speaker might express explicit disagreement with the hearer’s previous utterance, or make a direct criticism of the hearer, without hedging these utterances in any way.

2. On record with redressive action—positive politeness
The second superstrategy involves performing the FTA while at the same time attending to the hearer’s positive face wants. In this case, the speaker might use a positive politeness output strategy, such as giving approval, showing sympathy, or using a more intimate or friendly form of address. Use of positive politeness shows the speaker’s assertion that the hearer’s needs and wants are desirable, and that the speaker likes the hearer; it is a way of reducing social distance.

3. On record with redressive action—negative politeness
The third and final “on record” superstrategy involves acknowledging the hearer’s negative face wants with the use of negative politeness. Brown & Levinson note that using negative politeness is more polite than using positive politeness because negative politeness strategies are useful for “social distancing”, while positive politeness strategies are forms for minimising social distance (1987: 130). I will return to superstrategies two and three below.

4. Off record
Superstrategy four involves the speaker going “off record” in performing the FTA. In the focus extract, if we take Claire as making a complaint or a challenge, then she is performing this using superstrategy four and is going off record. Her complaint is not directly stated; rather she tells Tom that she wants to talk to him about “a personal issue” and asks for advice in relation to her being overlooked for the acting manager position. In using an off-record approach such as this, Brown & Levinson argue that the speaker is being as polite as they can be, apart from avoiding the FTA altogether. The use of this superstrategy “affords the speaker the opportunity of evading responsibility for the FTA (by claiming if challenged that the interpretation of x as an FTA is wrong)” and “…simultaneously allows S to avoid actually imposing the FTA x on H, since H himself [sic] must choose to interpret x as an FTA rather than as some more trivial remark” (1987: 73). We can see this happening in Claire’s response to Tom’s summing up in line #64 of the focus extract, towards the end of

his lengthy justification of the decision to appoint Jared instead of Claire:

<#61: TR> "I’ve given you my reasons why I did it
<#62: TR> /absolutely nothing + sinister or any other agenda other than that
<#63: CT> (right)
<#64: CT> no I’m not looking for that

5. Avoidance of FTA
The last superstrategy described by Brown & Levinson (1987) is not to do the FTA at all. This, of course, is the most polite superstrategy.

Illustrative analysis (3) of focus extract
The second and third superstrategies above, use of positive and negative politeness, are realised in discourse by a variety of output strategies. These output strategies represent attempts by the speaker to address the face needs of the hearer. Brown & Levinson claim that a person’s face concerns can only be sustained by the actions of others (1987: 60), and that it is therefore in the interest of individuals to maintain each other’s face. For this reason, while they briefly discuss and illustrate FTAs which damage the speaker’s own face needs (1987: 67-68), Brown & Levinson do not include strategies which address these needs in their catalogue of negative and positive politeness output strategies. A number of commentators have, with some justification, criticised this aspect of Brown and Levinson’s model of politeness. However, their framework remains the foundation of politeness theory, and the list of output strategies they provide is the only one to date which is sufficiently detailed to allow for a fine-grained analysis of interaction data which takes adequate account of the local discourse context. In this instance, I have therefore chosen to follow their model in analysing the focus extract from the perspective of the speaker’s maintenance of the hearer’s face needs. My analysis focuses on the negative and positive politeness output strategies used in the extract. A small selection of these is discussed and illustrated next.

Negative Politeness Output Strategies
Brown & Levinson list ten possible negative politeness output strategies, which are designed to address the hearer’s negative face needs. Claire makes extensive use of output strategies from this category throughout the extract, especially in contexts where she is engaged in FTAs such as complaining, and disagreeing with or criticizing Tom’s statements or actions (see for example lines #1-#15, #16, #44-#49, #69-#76, #86-#89, #105-#106, #123-#133). We can see how Claire uses two of these strategies, minimise imposition and give deference.
the following utterances near the beginning of the extract:

&<5:CT> well the decision to make Jared acting manager...

&<5:CT> well I’ve been overlooked quite a few times but I wanted to find out specifically how what I could do to help myself be considered next time....

&<16:CT> (well) I just want to talk to you about it and I suppose I just want to get some ideas on what I could do to actually be considered favourably next time .......

Brown & Levinson’s negative politeness output strategy minimise imposition is evident here in Claire’s repeated use of hedging phrases: *well, I suppose and I just want to* (which she repeats twice). Her use of the first person pronoun in #5 and #16: *what I could do*..... functions similarly by implying that Claire is simply seeking advice, not asking Tom to do anything about the situation himself. This indirectness is also evident in #1 in her reference to the *decision* rather than describing it as Tom’s decision (as he in fact does himself in #33 so I took a unilateral decision) which would have immediately increased the degree of imposition on Tom’s negative face.

The negative politeness output strategy give deference is also present here. In wording this as a request for advice Claire is acknowledging Tom as her superior, and positioning herself as a supplicant. She uses this strategy again in #106 you didn’t think I had enough experience to act as manager I suppose, and in #133 so next time.... you would consider me as the same as Jared.

Brown & Levinson note the following possible motivations for use of these two output strategies: (i) to give redress to the hearer’s want to be unimpinged upon; (ii) to avoid coercing the hearer; (iii) to minimize threat; and (iv) to make explicit power, distance and rank of imposition values. A politeness approach to analysing the utterances above focuses on what Claire as the speaker is doing to maintain her hearer’s face needs in this situation. This contrasts with the CDA analysis by Marra & Holmes below where utterances such as #16 are seen as a reflection of Tom reinforcing “the status difference and Claire’s role as supplicant”, because he has made her repeat her reason for coming to see him, thus emphasising the strategies used by the most powerful participant to maintain his own face.

Positive Politeness Output Strategies
Brown & Levinson (1987) identify fifteen output strategies for positive politeness. They note that these output strategies involve redress to the hearer’s wants (speaker wants hearer’s wants) (1987: 102), and therefore help to maintain the hearer’s positive face. In the focus extract, in contrast to Claire, Tom makes extensive use of positive politeness output strategies. One example is the way in which he gives reasons for what has taken place throughout the transcript. The following utterances illustrate his use of this strategy:

&<17:TR> yeah I don’t think it’s a question of or favourability I mean it was a question more practicalities more than anything else um I was in urgent need of someone to fill in and Jared had done that in the past already

&<40:TR> so it wasn’t a judgement call on were you better or he.....better- it was simply I saw precedents and that was the safest course of action in the short time I had.....

By saying that he took the actions he did, not because he did not want to see her in the job, but for a range of other reasons, he conveys that he wants Claire’s wants (c.f. the CDA and discursive psychology analyses of this strategy by Marra & Holmes and Weatherall & Lane below, which place a rather different interpretation on Tom’s use of this strategy).

In the utterances listed below, Tom also expresses approval of Claire, thus reinforcing her positive face—another positive politeness strategy.

&<93:TR> and I’ve got the report here yeah..... looks very good

&<120:TR> I would’ve had no difficulties in in um er acting you into the position .......

&<139:TR> you know um had I probably thought about it or um had this conversation with you before I would’ve been quite happy

&<151:TR> I mean next time it happens and if it does happen again then yeah sure no difficulties

Tom can also be seen to be using the positive politeness output strategy give gifts to the hearer (goods, sympathy, understanding, cooperation). His advice that Claire should take the matter up with Joseph is also a particularly good example of how he uses this strategy:

&<78:83:TR> I think that’s a fair comment er I ..... personally would suggest that you know you might like to raise that as a development issue with Joseph...because he’s your immediate controlling officer and um you know I think he should give you an opportunity um you know and and or certainly talk you through it

In this utterance Tom indicates explicitly that he is sympathetic to and understands Claire’s situation, and that he would like to find a way to help her — i.e. that he wants Claire’s wants. His repeated use of the addressee-oriented discourse marker *you know* also helps to imply a sense of solidarity and shared understanding.
Conclusion

As noted earlier, some FTAs threaten both positive and negative face. Brown & Levinson note that “redressive action may be addressed to any potential aspect of the face threat” (1987: 286). They also argue that negative politeness is more polite than positive politeness. We have already seen how at the beginning of the extract, Claire is being as polite as she can be by using superstrategy four and going off-record in making a complaint (if we regard her as making a complaint). We can also see how she looks after Tom’s face needs throughout the extract by consistently making much greater use of negative than positive politeness output strategies. Thus, according to Brown & Levinson’s ordering, Claire is being maximally polite, both in her choice of superstrategy and in her choice of specific output strategies, short of not making a complaint at all. This is consistent with the status relationship between Tom and Claire. As Tom is Claire’s superior, we would expect her to be particularly concerned to show deference and minimise the imposition of an FTA if she cannot, or does not wish to, avoid enacting it altogether.

On the other hand, as illustrated above, Tom uses many more positive politeness output strategies throughout this interaction, both in comparison with Claire and relative to the number of negative politeness output strategies he uses. This pattern can also be interpreted to reflect the differences between the two in power and status. As a senior manager talking to a subordinate, Tom can afford to reduce the degree of social distance by means of a range of positive politeness output strategies, i.e. to be “less polite”. He also has a need to do so in the interests of adequately defending or refuting Claire’s initial complaint, and in the interests of maintaining good relations with her.

Clearly the hierarchical relationship between Tom and Claire is an important factor in accounting for which politeness strategies each selects throughout this interaction, along with the nature of the FTAs being performed and the context of the utterance. Although a politeness theory model does not explicitly account for or focus on the construction of status and power relationships, like the other approaches discussed here, it does assume intentionality on the part of the speaker, and it also allows for the ranking of imposition on the hearer’s face of a given FTA. As this analysis has shown, it is therefore possible to address the issue of organisational power relations indirectly within this framework (see also Morand 1996), especially if sufficient weight is given the interactional and social context in which an utterance occurs.

(4) Critical Discourse Analysis (Meredith Marra and Janet Holmes)

Nikander (1995: 6) describes discourse analysis as an “umbrella for various approaches with different theoretical origins and therefore different analytic punctuations and levels of analysis”. Within this range, critical discourse analysis (CDA) is distinguished by its critical focus, its broad scope, and its “overtly political agenda” (Kress 1990: 84-85). CDA aims to reveal connections between language, power and ideology, and critical discourse analysts aim to describe the way power and dominance are produced and reproduced in the discourse structures of generally unremarkable interactions.

CDA has its theoretical roots in the work of Marx, Hall, Habermas and Foucault. At its core one finds investigations of the enactment, exploitation, and abuse of social power in everyday interactions. It is therefore particularly useful in analysing interactions in settings involving a power asymmetry. CDA analysts typically take a “top-down” approach, examining the ways in which the superior controls or manages the discourse, using strategies based on taken-for-granted assumptions about rights and obligations.

Illustrative analysis (4) of focus extract

Adopting a CDA approach to the focus interaction entails examining the strategies used by Tom to maintain control of the discourse in his interaction with Claire. A detailed example of how to apply CDA to spoken data is provided by van Dijk (1998). Here space restrictions mean we have limited discussion to just three of the many potential dimensions of analysis. These are: (i) the influence of the setting on one specific communicative act (interruption); (ii) consideration of one particular argument structure; (iii) consideration of one specific speech act (summary).

Tom and Claire work in an organisation characterised by hierarchical relationships. There are large differences in the degree of power and authority wielded by different members of the organisation. In this particular interaction, Tom’s role as a senior manager compared to Claire’s less influential role as policy analyst is evident in a number of features of the discourse, including the three selected for analysis. (See the analysis using politeness theory by Vine above for a complementary consideration of Claire’s discourse strategies.)

Setting

The meeting takes place in Tom’s office, a space he “owns”. This has a number of
consequences for the structure of the discourse. We here discuss just one of these, namely, the way that Tom deals with an interruption. First, Tom can choose whether to accept or to ignore an interruption to the interaction. By comparison, if the focus interaction had taken place in Claire’s office, one would not expect her to accept any interruption to her interaction with Tom. Instead of leaving the phone to ring, Tom interrupts Claire’s utterance with a (rhetorical?) request for permission to answer the phone, as he lifts the receiver:

*<#7:TR>* can i just grab th- just grab that phone

Accepting an interruption from someone outside the interaction places one’s addressee in a one-down position. In this interaction, then, Tom has the power to halt the conversation in which he is engaged with Claire in order to attend to another addressee, while she has no right to act in this way, nor to object to his temporary demotion of her status as his addressee. Claire does not object to the interruption, nor refuse Tom’s request. Rather, she explicitly accepts Tom’s apology (which is an indication that he recognises the negative function of the interruption in the interaction), with the response *#9: that’s okay*, thus colluding with his marginalisation of their interaction, and his clear relegation of it to a place of lesser importance than the interaction with his phone addressee. (See also CA analysis by Lane and Hilder above.)

One consequence of the interruption is that Claire is forced to repeat her reason for requesting the interview. Claire’s initial statement provided a variety of linguistic indications that she was presenting herself as a subordinate seeking advice: e.g. hesitations, repetitions, hedges (indicated in bold):

*<#1:CT>* yeah um yeah i want to talk to you about um oh it’s a personal issue um + well + the decision to make um jared acting manager while joseph is away

Having to repeat a rather difficult and perhaps deliberately ambiguous speech act (i.e. presented as “seeking advice” but with a clear underlying potential for interpretation as “complaint”) puts Claire in a demeaning position. The repetition indicates a slight shift in emphasis towards “seeking advice”:

*<#16:CT>* (well i just want to talk to you about it and and i suppose [swallows] [sigh] i just want to get some ideas on what i could do to actually be considered favourably next time

By requiring her to repeat and elaborate her reason for seeking an interview, Tom reinforces the status difference and Claire’s role as supplicant.
Appealing to precedent is a very conservative response to Claire's concerns, one that assumes and emphasises the inherent 'rightness' of the status quo. As the argument is elaborated by Tom, the word precedent, and its derivatives and synonyms, are often closely collocated with the words safe and safest (e.g. #40, #55). By using such arguments, Tom reinforces the existing power structure and organisational hierarchy, rather than questioning and challenging them, an alternative that a CDA approach highlights. CDA exposes the underlying taken-for-granted assumptions that enable power structures to recreate themselves and remain unchanged and unchallenged. Tom's appeal to the 'safest' procedures, the sensible, tried and true methods of dealing with a situation, namely to precedent, is a paradigmatic example of the way power relationships are performed and repeatedly reconstructed. Claire's challenge is not welcomed as an opportunity to alter the status quo, or to question existing hierarchical relationships. Rather she is firmly re-placed in her subordinate position and told to follow the established rules if she wants to make progress in the organisation.

In a second, closely related argument Tom asserts the importance of Claire using the "proper" channels to make her request for consideration for promotion:

<#59:TR> ......the issue... ...is [drawls]: probably: one that um + you could address directly with Joseph

<#79:TR> ......you might like to raise that as a development issue with Joseph

He emphasises his point by explicitly referring to Joseph's status as Claire's controlling officer:

<#81:TR> ......because he's your immediate controlling officer......

At a later point, he clearly stresses the rights of those with superior status:

<#126:TR> ......i always have the overriding final say

Tom's advice further reinforces his argument for abiding by the status quo. He suggests Claire takes a conciliatory approach to her superior, emphasising her subordinate status and her need to learn and obtain more training (#91-#95). Moreover, at several points during the discussion, Tom refers to the way he himself follows proper procedures in dealing with those of different status in the organisation:

<#21:TR>......there would be very little chance of me crossing paths with the p m the policy manager......

<#129:TR> um but i'll never override my policy manager unless i thought it absolutely necessary to do that and that would be quite rare

Thus Tom takes a management perspective on the issue Claire presents. He consistently appeals to proper procedures and asserts the importance of using the correct channels, namely those which the organisation provides to deal with the situation under discussion. His arguments presume the legitimacy of the existing hierarchical relationships, and take it for granted that Claire should act in an appropriately deferential manner in her dealings with her superiors.

Summarising
As a final example of the way that Tom 'does power' in this interaction, we point to the way he provides a summary of the argument at various points, providing his definition or account of what has been discussed and decided. It is also interesting to note, in passing, a closely related speech act, namely, agenda setting: Tom sets Claire's agenda for future action. Summarising has been clearly identified as a strategy adopted by those in a position of authority in workplace contexts to assist them in asserting and maintaining control of an interaction (see Holmes, Stubbe & Vine 1999, Sollitt-Morris 1996). Managers in meetings, for example, regularly summarise progress and set the agenda for future action (Holmes 2000). There are a number of instances of Tom's use of this strategy in the interaction under examination.

At a relatively early point, Tom summarises the discussion, thus providing his gloss or version of what has been "agreed".

<#89:TR> and it was as simple as that

<#90:TR> so it wasn't a judgement call on were you better or he w- he better it was /

<#91:TR> i saw precedents [draws]: and: that was the safest course of action in the short time i had

<#91:CT> /(right)"

At the end of the discussion, Tom again summarises the interaction with <#145:TR>...that's really really what it boils down to..... and with a fuller summary of his defence in line #146. He concludes:<#151:TR> so (now-) i mean + next time it happens and if it does happen again then yeah sure no difficulties. This summary expresses a superior, patronising position in relation to Claire. Tom constructs his role as a reassuring adviser to an acolyte in need of advice. Correspondingly, at several points, Tom outlines future steps for Claire to take (e.g. #79, #81-2, #91, #95) in order to avoid a repetition of the situation.
Conclusion
Our analysis indicates three different ways in which power and dominance are “expressed, enacted and reproduced in discourse, both in its structure and its contents”, three different ways in which “discourse reproduces inequality” (van Dijk 1999: 460).
We have illustrated how:
- a superior’s management of one discourse feature (interruption) in one particular setting can reinforce the existing power relationship between interactants;
- particular argument structures may support the existing power relationships, and imply the “given” and incontestable nature of those relationships;
- specific speech acts such as summarising (and the related act of agenda setting) can be used to emphasise and reinforce the dominant person’s definition of the situation and the relationships.

(5) Discursive Psychology (Ann Weatherall and Chris Lane)

Discursive psychology has emerged since the late 1980s as part of what has been identified as a “turn to language” across the humanities and social sciences (Gill 1993). An important aspect of discursive psychology is that it has developed within its parent discipline in conjunction with critiques of conventional research practices, such as experimentation and quantification, and a questioning of the dominant epistemological assumptions of realism and positivism. Thus discursive psychology is not so much a method as a theoretically informed analytic approach for understanding social psychological phenomena such as identity, interpersonal and inter-group relationships, persuasion, discrimination and prejudice (see Potter & Wetherell 1987, Edwards & Potter 1992 for overviews).

It is possible to distinguish between different styles of discourse analysis within discursive psychology. At a general level, they are all more or less influenced by linguistic philosophy and pragmatics, ethnomethodology, conversation analysis and post-structuralism. The style varies depending on the theoretical emphasis; however, key concerns are the practices and resources available to justify, rationalise and guide social conduct. One of the analytic aims of discursive psychology is to examine the (linguistic and discursive) resources that get used to rationalise and justify social practices (for example gender inequality). A broader aim of some styles of discourse analysis may be to consider how patterns of language use, sometimes referred to as “interpretative repertoires”, “practical ideologies” or “discourses”, function to recreate and sustain wider patterns of social inequality.

It is simply not possible in a short amount of space to give a more comprehensive description of the development and nuances of what has become a broad and complex approach in social psychology. Hopefully, the general flavour and value of a discursive psychological approach to analysing talk-in-interaction is captured through the sample analysis.

Illustrative analysis (5) of focus extract

The focus extract is an excellent example of data for the discursive psychologist. It is a naturally occurring, spontaneous interaction concerning employment opportunities. Also, there is a “dilemma of stake” or “interest” in the interaction. Tom must account for the decision to make Jared manager at the same time as presenting himself and the decision as reasonable and rational. How does that dilemma get handled? One of the questions a discursive psychologist would ask is: how does Tom present himself as blameless in the decision to appoint Jared as manager? Also, what explanations for the decision does Tom use to justify it? However, the first stage of the analysis involves establishing that there is some kind of dilemma of stake being managed in the interaction.

Establishing the dilemma of stake
In #1 and #5 Claire raises the issue that she wishes to discuss with Tom. That issue is the decision to make Jared rather than her acting manager. Claire frames the issue as personal and her motivation for raising the issue as to find out “what I could do to help myself be considered next time”. In #16 she reiterates that she wants to get some ideas on what I could do to actually be considered favourably next time. There is some ambiguity associated with Claire’s utterances in #1, #5 and #16. They could be interpreted as a request for advice or (and perhaps as well as) a complaint about discrimination.

Tom’s first response in #17 I don’t think it’s a......question of favourability demonstrates he is orientating to Claire’s utterance as a complaint about discrimination rather than as a request for advice. The spontaneous denial in #62 absolutely nothing sinister or any other agenda provides further evidence that a relevant aspect of the interaction for Tom is the complaint about bias. Later in the interaction (around #74) the orientation shifts to addressing the request for advice. However, here the focus is on the aspects of the interaction that attend
to managing what Tom orientates to as a complaint. Previous discursive research has documented a widespread tendency for people to deny personal bias. The reluctance to articulate explicitly prejudicial attitudes has led to the suggestion that there are cultural norms against expressions of, for example, racism or sexism. Thus, as already mentioned, an aim of the analysis is to examine how inequality gets articulated, rationalised and justified. Given that the issue of bias is a relevant aspect of the interaction, then the next step of the analysis is to identify the resources and devices used to account for the decision.

Before proceeding, it is useful to highlight some features of the analytic process so far that characterise it as discursive psychology. First is the notion of truth. The analysis is not concerned with establishing whether or not the decision to make Jared manager was really an instance of discrimination. Rather, as in CA, the important point is that it is evident from the conversation itself that Tom is orientating to the issue of bias as relevant. Further, the analysis is not concerned with measuring Tom’s attitudes or beliefs that may have led him to a biased decision. Rather, the focus is to document how the topic of inequality gets managed in talk in ways that make it seem rational and fair.

Practices and Resources
Given that Tom is concerned with presenting himself as fair-minded, and the decision about appointing an acting manager as reasonable, what linguistic resources are used to that end? Previous research on the discussion of employment opportunities and equity issues has made impressive progress in documenting the discursive patterning of bias (see Wetherell et al 1987; Gill 1993, Gough 1998). One resource that has been identified and verified as functioning to naturalise and justify inequality is “practical considerations” talk. In the workplace example, reference to practical considerations was used to account for the decision at the following points of the interaction:

*<#18:TR> I mean it was a question more practicalities more than anything else*
*<#31:TR> it was simply logistics and what was practically easy that would create the least amount of hassles......*

Tom constructs tradition or precedents and time pressures, not as potentially perpetuating inequality, but as “practical considerations” that justified the decision. References to precedents and time pressures as part of the practical considerations were:

*<#19:TR> um i was urgent need of someone to fill in and jared had done that in the past already*
*<#40:TR> ..... i saw precedents and that was the safest course of action in the short time i had*
*<#55:TR> ..... it was simply going on what was the safest ground in respect of what the policy manager had done in the past*
*<#122:TR> ..... in lieu of a decision i’ll take probably the last decision that was made*
*<#146:TR> i— let me just say i’m more prone to take the least path of resistance or the path that’s more known to me which which which really was joseph had set a precedent before*
*<#149:TR> ..... i didn’t er qualify my decision other than look at the precedent*

The emphasis that Tom gives to practical consideration serves to construct himself as blameless and helps justify an arguably unfair decision as reasonable and rational.

A second resource that has been identified as accounting for inequality is the notion of difference (see Gill 1993; Gough 1998). In contrast to “practical considerations” talk which denies the influence of personal characteristics in the decision, “difference talk” justifies the outcome on the basis of comparisons between individuals. Differences in knowledge, experience or skills may be used to justify injustice. So despite Tom claiming in #29 and again in #37 that the decision was not based on any comparison between Claire’s and Jared’s capabilities, difference talk was used at the following points of the interaction to justify the decision:

*<#19:TR> ..... jared had done that in the past already*
*<#22:TR> ..... it had a little bit also to do with the fact that or a number of very current issues that i had been involved with jared on or like [name of organisation] + and like the [topic] er issue*
*<#23:TR> um i probably had more immediate contact with him you know*
*<#34:TR> um and it was just because + jared was more um current*
*<#37:TR> and also the fact that he had been put in there before*
*<#52:TR> jared’s got um [drawl]: er, you know obviously he’s been working in regional councils and things like that so he’s*
*<#53:TR> on the field side he’s probably got a fair bit of experience*

The notions of practical considerations and differences were two of the resources in Tom’s
talk that constructed the decision as fair rather than biased. A further strategy that Tom uses is to deny or downplay his personal role in a decision that could be construed as biased:

\[\#126:TR\] ...he (Joseph) didn't articulate that (a different decision) and um I always have the overriding final say.

\[\#129:TR\] ...but I'll never override my policy manager unless I thought it absolutely necessary.

The practical considerations and differences talk combined with Tom's downplaying of his role in the decision to forms a compelling account that justifies and rationalizes (what Tom orientates to as) a biased decision. Furthermore Tom constructs himself as having little agency in the Jared's promotion. Rather, precedents, time and Jared's unique skills are the reasons for the decision. Indeed Tom (in \#79-81) implies that it may be Claire's fault for not addressing the issue directly with her controlling officer, even though he concedes that what she is raising is quite valid (\#135) and that he would consider her favourably next time (\#133-134 and \#151). Thus Tom constructs both himself and the decision as reasonable and fair.

In summary, discursive psychology, unlike more linguistically informed approaches to discourse analysis, does not aim to give a better account of language structure. Rather discursive psychology documents the strategic variability, construction and functions of language. The focus is on the broader patterns of meaning making that are resources for social actions. The present analysis has explicated some important ways in which certain ideas can be used to reinforce and justify bias. In this way, discursive psychology can contribute to other forms of discourse analysis that aim to document the discursive (and material) reproduction of social inequality such as racism and sexism.

**Discussion**

The five approaches to analysing language in use outlined above all differ in their theoretical orientation and analytic approach to talk and text, and therefore present some rather different perspectives on the sample interaction. Despite this diversity, however, a number of common themes do emerge from each analysis, as indeed we would expect. For example, at the most basic level, each analysis deals in some way with how Claire presents her complaint/request and/or how Tom responds, and treats this as an example of problematic or conflictual discourse. However, the precise nature of the problem is unpacked from different angles, ranging from the more micro-analytic approaches such as conversation analysis, interactional sociolinguistics and politeness theory, through to discursive psychology and critical discourse analysis which focus more on the linguistic realisations of broader meaning systems or discourses.

With the possible exception of CA, all five approaches consider the interaction between language and social structures, but draw on the situational context and broader socio-cultural factors to inform the analysis more or less explicitly, and to different degrees. For example, the status/power asymmetry between Clare and Tom emerges from all the analyses, as do aspects of the talk that are seen as (re)producing dominant socio-cultural practices.

A further element common to all the analyses is that each identifies a range of linguistic and discoursal strategies or forms that participants select from, again at a number of different levels, in order to achieve particular goals. Each analysis also recognises that meaning resides in the interaction of linguistic form and social context, and that utterances are in themselves intrinsically indeterminate. It is therefore possible for the participants (or the analyst) to assign a number of different interpretations or readings to a given utterance or sequence. The complex interplay between different meanings and interpretations (both actual or possible), and the strategic use made of this by the participants is explored from a number of different angles in the various analyses presented here: e.g. maintaining the addressee's face in politeness theory, 'doing power' in CDA, the use of framing and contextualisation cues in IS, and the use of conversational resources by participants to invoke or orient to particular interpretations in CA and discursive psychology.

However, the sample analyses presented in this paper show that, although there are elements common to all the analyses, each perspective clearly has its own unique features, and highlights different aspects or dimensions of the interaction. These distinctive elements are summarised next.
Conversation Analysis

Conversation analysis provides a strict empirical framework for analysing in detail the way participants jointly construct the interaction and at the same time constitute the context, including participants' identities, utterance by utterance. It shares a focus on contextualisation processes with interactional sociolinguistics, and an interest in accounting and justifying practices with CDA and discursive psychology. However, CA more than any other approach insists on treating as relevant to the analysis only that which participants themselves display as relevant in the interaction itself. This is perhaps best exemplified by the ways in which an analyst working strictly within a CA framework would take issue with several aspects of the other analyses.

One example is the assumption in the other analyses that the decision to appoint Jared was Tom's. Tom certainly takes responsibility for it, but whose decision it was (and whose it should have been) is not entirely clear-cut from the interaction itself, as shown by Claire's contributions at #44:45 *i suppose it's because um joseph hadn't really talked to me beforehand why he'd chosen jared because he'd only been there a short while and if it 23-4 well actually joseph had decided (we both) would be ....* acting (as managers) *he came in on Friday and said that (both seniors) would be um acting.* Particularly at the beginning of the extract a CA analyst would hold that we cannot assume that Claire is holding Tom responsible for the decision. This position contrasts with that taken in the IS analysis, which admits contextual information gathered separately from the recording as relevant to the analysis, and is therefore able to come to a more definite conclusion.

For similar reasons, a conversation analyst would also take issue with the cognitivist approach taken by politeness theory, which assumes that we can attribute certain motivations and intentions to speakers simply because they use a particular strategy. An important question here is: what is the action that Claire is initially engaged in, and what can be discounted as being "merely" a realisation of a politeness strategy? And how do you decide? For example, it is tempting to regard Claire's initial request for advice/mentoring as a cover for a complaint, but looking later in the interaction Claire appears to resist Tom's responding to it as a complaint, while she repeats and pursues her request for advice. Perhaps that is a continuation of the same politeness strategy, but perhaps she really means it.

Another point of difference between CA and some of the other approaches lies in CA's focus on interaction as a joint activity. One can ask in relation to the discursive psychology analysis, for instance, why it is that Tom gives such an extensive justification of the decision and his position. From a CA point of view, this comes about through a joint process which includes Claire refining from offering positive acceptance of Tom's explanations and advice, and her persistence in raising the issue of what happens next time. If Claire had offered a positive acceptance of Tom's first explanation, that might have been as far as Tom's justification went.

CDA provides the strongest contrast to CA. There are at least three major criticisms of the CDA analysis which conversation analysts could make: (i) the CDA analysis is based on particular analyst readings of the interaction, without reference to the participants' own readings, and with no obvious justification for excluding other plausible readings; (ii) the analysis is largely based on the analysis of items isolated from their sequential context; and (iii) the analysis appears to be circular, in that it assumes the pervasive relevance of dominance and power, and then claims to show "how patterns of dominance and power pervade normal everyday talk".

Interactional Sociolinguistics

Interactional sociolinguistics focuses explicitly on the social and linguistic meanings created during interaction, and like CA, models interaction primarily as joint activity, although IS assumes somewhat more intentionality on the part of the speaker than would be the case in CA. Participants are assumed to make situated inferences about one another's communicative intentions and goals based on a wide array of verbal and non-verbal cues that form part of cultural repertoires for signalling meaning. From the analyst's point of view, this involves combining an analysis of the unfolding conversation as co-constructed joint activity with a knowledge of the wider sociocultural context to understand how the discourse indexes pre-existing socio-cultural meanings. Contextualisation cues are seen to index an intended meaning or activity, on the basis of shared knowledge of sociolinguistic or cultural norms. Like CDA and discursive psychology, interactional sociolinguistics is also often applied to a critical analysis of texts from the perspective of power differentials, especially in cross-cultural communication.

Politeness Theory

Politeness theory links a focus on speaker/hearer intention and interpretation to a sociological and anthropological concern with how interaction relates to social structures. It examines
how speakers protect and/or threaten the face of their interlocutor through the use of specific super-strategies and output strategies. In contrast with CA and IS, which model interaction as a joint construction, politeness theory is based on a transmission model of interaction, taken from the perspective of the speaker. In this approach, utterances are typically analysed one at a time, with the emphasis on identifying the specific output strategies. There is also a tendency to attribute particular intentions to the speaker, and in so doing, assigning only one possible interpretation of the utterance. Although the theory does allow in principle for the possibility of alternative interpretations, the way the framework is set out makes it more difficult to address this fact in any depth. Similarly, issues of power are addressed only indirectly in the Brown & Levinson framework, as an explanation for the selection of particular strategies.

**Critical Discourse Analysis**

Critical discourse analysts, like others working within a social constructionist framework, see discourse as a form of social practice. Critical discourse theory focuses explicitly on exploring how power and ideology are manifested in discourse, and on the linguistic aspects of social and cultural processes and structures. CA, IS and politeness theory all, at least in part, take a “bottom-up” approach which is grounded in a turn-by-turn analysis of the interaction from the perspective of each participant in turn. CDA, on the other hand, like discursive psychology, takes a much more “top-down” and extensive perspective in two ways: (i) it provides a more ‘global’ view of the types of linguistic forms/strategies used and (ii) it takes the perspective of the most powerful participant. Its aim is to reveal connections between language, power and ideology - how are power and dominance (re)produced by means of discourse structures?

Leading proponents of CDA and CA have debated the relative strengths and weaknesses of their respective approaches in recent issues of *Discourse and Society* (Volumes 8 (2), 9 (3), and 10 (4)). The editor, van Dijk, summarises Schegloff’s criticisms of CDA as follows: “CDA is often short on detailed, systematic analysis of text or talk, as carried out in CA” (van Dijk 1999: 459).

The CDA analysis above demonstrates, albeit briefly, that this is not a necessary consequence of adopting a CDA approach. CDA entails three stages of analysis: “description of text, interpretation of the relationship between text and interaction, and explanation of the relationship between interaction and social context” (Fairclough 1989: 109). The description of the text can be as detailed as the analyst judges appropriate and necessary to expose the underlying ideological assumptions and power relationships of the participants.

CD analysts explicitly adopt a particular political viewpoint, one which aims to expose and uncover taken-for-granted power relationships. By illustrating how patterns of dominance and power pervade normal everyday talk, the analyst draws attention to issues of inequality in society, with the potential for bringing about change. This is by no means a simple task, as van Dijk indicates:

> Critical discourse analysis is far from easy. In my opinion it is by far the toughest challenge in the discipline. ... It requires true multidisciplinarity, and an account of intricate relationships between, text, talk, social cognition, power, society and culture (van Dijk 1998: 370).

**Discursive Psychology**

Discursive psychology focuses on the discursive practices and resources available to justify, rationalise and guide social conduct. In this case it was used to highlight how patterns of language use (discourses, interpretative repertoires, practical ideologies) maintain and reproduce social inequality. This approach operates at more of a ‘macro-level’ than some of the other frameworks. In its emphasis on recurring themes and argument structures, it focuses more on discourse processes and linguistic forms as a vehicle for research into social psychological issues such as identity and interpersonal or intergroup relationships—language and communication are seen as “the site of the social”—rather than these being the target of the analysis in their own right. However, it shares with CA and IS an interest in how themes are contextualised and constructed through the discourse. On the other hand, although discursive psychology has much in common with CDA, most notably its relatively macro-level and more extensive approach to analysis and its critical focus, it nevertheless has a somewhat different if overlapping area of interest. For example, discursive psychologists often look at other sociopsychological phenomena, e.g. memory, as well as issues like the social construction of power and discrimination.
Conclusion

Although there are substantial areas of overlap, as we have seen there are also a number of significant differences in emphasis or perspective and some tensions between the five different approaches to discourse analysis presented here. First, each framework takes a slightly different approach to the place of extra-textual context in the analysis, ranging from the strong version of CA which claims not to make use of any information outside the local interactional context, through to weaker versions of CA, IS and politeness theory, which did admit contextual and socio-cultural information to a greater or lesser extent, and then to CDA and discursive psychology which also included a focus on the broader socio-political context and existing social discourses, particularly those relating to power.

Secondly, there are differences in the level of detail with which linguistic, paralinguistic and discourse features are analysed. CA works primarily within a micro-analytic framework. IS and politeness theory operate at this level too, but are also concerned with identifying more generalisable patterns (indexicality and socio-cultural norms in the case of IS, superstrategies in the case of politeness theory). CDA and discursive psychology both attend to the "big picture" in order to identify the constructs which provide the underlying logic for the specific discourse strategies that are used in an interaction, but CDA in particular can also, and often does, accommodate a much more fine-grained analysis of relevant excerpts.

A third difference concerns the degree to which an interaction is seen and/or analysed as a joint construction, as opposed to the more traditional view of communication as a simple "transmission" of information. Politeness theory fits most obviously into the latter category, while CA and IS take a strong and weak social constructionist approach respectively. The other approaches fall somewhere in the middle. The contrast along this dimension is also reflected in different sets of assumptions about intentionality and inferencing.

Each approach therefore provides a slightly different lens with which to examine the same interaction, highlighting different aspects or dimensions of its key features. These are not necessarily in conflict with one another (though in some cases the analyses and/or the theoretical assumptions underlying them are difficult to reconcile); rather, they are complementary in many ways, with each approach capable of generating its own useful insights into what is going on in the interaction, with the proviso that the framework adopted needs to be a good match for the research questions being asked.

References


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**Appendix 1: Transcription conventions**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YES</th>
<th>Capitals indicate emphatic stress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[laughs]: ...:</td>
<td>Paralinguistic features, descriptive comments, time codes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[name of section]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[10.0]</td>
<td>Pause of up to one second</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+</td>
<td>Simultaneous speech</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...1/......1...</td>
<td>Transcriber's best guess at an unclear utterance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...2/......2...</td>
<td>Indecipherable speech</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 2: Transcript\(^4\)

[8:06] [Transcript starts]

<#1:CT>yeh um yeah i want to talk to you about um oh it's a personal issue um + well i- the
decision to make um jared acting manager while /joseph/ is away

<#2:TR>/m/

<#3:TR>/m

<#4:CT>and i wanted to get some

<#5:CT>/phone rings/: well i've been overlooked quite a few times /but i wanted to find out

specifically how what i could do to help myself be considered next time< latch>

<#6:TR>/m/

<#7:TR>can i just grab th- just grab that phone

<#8:TR>sorry about that:

<#9:CT>that's okay:

<#10:TR>/it's part of the communication /(/

<#11:CT>/okay i'll turn this off\)

<#12:CT>he's on- [voc] tom's on the phone

<#13:CT>i'll just turn this off [tape recorder switched off]

<#14:CT>tom's just finished his phone conversation

<#15:TR>/yeah

<#16:CT>(well) i just want to talk to you about it and and i suppose [swallows] [tut] i just
want to get some ideas on what i could do to actually be considered favourably next
time

<#17:TR>yeh i don't think it's a it's a question of er favourability

<#18:TR>i mean it was a question more [9:00] practicalities more than anything else

<#19:TR>um i was urgent need of someone to fill in and jared had done that in the past
already

<#20:CT>yeh< latch>

<#21:TR>so i mean there would be very little chance of me crossing paths with the p m the
policy manager 1/you'll know having gone for someone that he's [voc] 2//for his\'
reasons um he's er had um sitting in a position

\(^4\) All names of individuals or organisations have been changed to pseudonyms.
Discourse analyses of a workplace interaction

plus the fact that I suppose it had a little bit also to do that with the fact that er a number of very current issues that I had been involved with. I think that's why it came down to [name of organisation] 3/10/3 and like the [topic] er issue

um I probably had more immediate contact with him 4/you know.4

it wasn't based on an assessment of your capabilities ( )

my point of view it was simply logistics and what was practically easy that would create the least amount of hassles at that point, in time

you know joseph hadn't declared who he wanted acting (up) or if indeed he wanted it.10:00 so I took a unilateral decision and said well this is it [voo]

and it was just because jared was more um current

right

right

the fact that he had been put in there before

right latch

and it was as simple as that

so it wasn't a judgement call on were you better or he was he beat me - it was simply i saw precedents [draws]: and: that was the safest course of action in the short time I had

(right)

min okay

you know um

I suppose it's because um Joseph hadn't + really talked to me beforehand why he'd chosen /+ jared/

because he'd only been there a short while

yeah ( )

that's probably um [draws]: er;

so it's no 1/reflection on jared's 2/abilities 3/really (but)
and if there was anything I could do just to- just to um [tut] develop my own
ability to be able to [i/( )] (like that)[latch]

yeah I think that's

I think that's a fair comment

er I [draws] um: um: [tut] um personally would suggest that you know [voe] you
might like to raise that as a development issue with Joseph

okay

um + because he's your immediate controlling officer //and\ I um
[tut] you know I think he sh- he should give you an an opportunity +

you know and and or certainly talk you through it

1/right\1

\2\right(1\2

\inhales\ well //what\ sort of things could I talk to him about (it) because (in i-) i
mean

\inhales\ you just //\( )\)

I have to realise that we've still got a tension between us //so\ I want to make it as
sort of productive as possible when I do talk to him and put some views in front of
him

(yeah)\1

well I think you should er + firstly obviously acknowledge the point that the you
know that [13:00] there has been some history of tension but you know you're trying
to work through those things and you're working on the [X] project

oh that's //([finished + yeah])

I've got the report here yeah

looks very good

also you know that um and second of all your desire you know
part of your development and part of your training you would like to see um at least
culminate at some point in um [draws]: in: + being able to act in the position

right

in his absence from time to time you know

is it a foregone conclusion for example that someone else is going to be doing the
position or is there an opportunity for you

I think you should front it breach it like that
all right then oh good
<#153:TR>okay?
<#154:CT>okay thanks</atch>
<#155:TR>1/okay</ATCH>
<#156:CT>1/conversation’s over now 2/[laughs]\2
<#157:TR>2/well okay [laughs]\2
<#158:TR>i’ve um</ATCH>
<#159:CT>is there a- anything oh well we can keep 1//going]\1
<#160:TR>1/you know\1 this report’s looking quite good i- i (need) um i’ve 2//had\2
<#161:CT>2/2/2/3/2 that the latest o- i haven’t actually seen it 3//but um/3
<#162:TR>3/yeah it’s\3 the latest one i had a look at your one as well and um you know it’s
got some good points in there some good stuff
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