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PRAGMATICS OF BRAINSTORMING

- DESIGNING A WORKSHOP TO OPTIMIZE BRAINSTORMING FOR L2 USERS OF ENGLISH THROUGH PRAGMATICS AND CONVERSATION ANALYTIC APPROACHES

Abstract

Though a multitude of research has been done on the efficacy of brainstorming (Osborn, 1953) with one side arguing its lack of effectiveness (Collaros & Anderson, 1969; Diehl & Stroebe, 1987; Harari & Graham, 1975) and the other insisting on its validity (Iseksen 1998; Sutton and Hargadon, 1996 ; Paulus & Brown, 2007), there is little or no research on it as a valid topic of teaching in the field of Second Language Acquisition (SLA), and specifically in the fields of English as a Second Language (ESL) and English as a Foreign Language (EFL). Brainstorming is used as a tool to enhance teaching of writing and critical thinking skills by SLA professionals but is not taught as a subject in its own right. This thesis proposes a workshop in which participants are asked to brainstorm a problem in English, after which they are presented with video samples of brainstorming from real life which has also been analyzed using Conversation Analysis in order to make the 'invisible' visible (Wang & Rendle-Short, 2013). Participants are asked to have a dialog regarding the differences between brainstorming in their first language and the target language, thus creating what is called the 'third' place (Kramsch, 2004), a dialogic encounter in which cultural considerations are kept 'liquid' (Dervin, 2011). As a result of the workshop, groups formed were able to create more ideas compared to before the treatment and individual pragmatic awareness (how to use language in order to fulfill a predetermined goal) showed some increases as well.

Key words: Brainstorming, Idea Generation, Second Language Acquisition, Pragmatics, Intercultural Language Teaching, 'Third Place', Conversation Analysis

Contents

I - Introduction

Past research on brainstorming is described in some detail here. This is necessary because in order to move forward with research on brainstorming from any point of view, it is necessary to keep in mind the long and somewhat controversial debate the practice has often caused. We also look at how brainstorming has been used in the language acquisition disciplines. The argument that is being made here is that pragmatic awareness, the notion that language has to be also seen in light of its context and how it is used, is necessary. Claire Kramsch's (2004) idea of the 'third' place which is an extension of pragmatics is introduced. As a tool for analyzing past examples, Conversation Analysis is described as well.

1.1 Brainstorming as an integral part of the creative process

Brainstorming is an integral part of the creative and idea-generation processes that have come into increasing vogue especially in this century. Originally espoused by Osborn (1953) it is a process in which a small group of people (up to 12 according to Osborn, 1953) converges in a room and generates ideas, often writing on a board. In some cases there is a designated writer and in other cases, all participants write their ideas, either directly on the board or on post-it notes. Sometimes there are designated facilitators and other times there are not. A problem which has already been defined is given and groups attempt to come up with as many ideas as possible regarding the solution to the problem. Sutton and Hargadon (1996) have extensively documented the design process involved in teams working for the firm, IDEO in which brainstorming is an important part of the processes.

There are four rules that can be divided into the following (Osborn, 1953).

1. Generate as many ideas as possible - to enhance the coming up with good ideas.
2. Don't criticize ideas as they are expressed - judgment be deferred until a later evaluation session.
3. Encourage freewheeling - the wilder the idea the better.
4. Build on the ideas of others

There have been several iterations to the original four 'rules'. The D-School or the Hasso Platner Institute of design at Stanford University (O'Connor, 2009) has improved upon the four rules and further expanded them into following:

1) Defer judgment
2) Go for volume
3) One conversation at a time
4) Be visual
5) Headline your idea
6) Build on the idea of others
7) Stay on topic
8) Encourage wild ideas

The above 'rules' are better defined as guidelines in which participants are strongly encouraged to adhere to in order to create the ideas that are as deviant and so-called 'wild' as possible. The main premise is that quantity is valued over quality and that the pursuit of quality ideas restricts creativity that actually inhibits the creation of new and innovative ideas. This basic premise allows people to act and speak out freely. It is also part of the assertion of this thesis that this particular act of speech and conversation is highly dictated by the above 'rules' and Conversation Analysis reveals that the talk is distinct from more natural kinds of talk and discussion that we encounter and exercise in daily life (more on that in 3.1 to 3.7).

On a different note, Fleming (2004) has espoused the importance of diversity and cross-disciplinary members in the creation of ideas (Figure 1). As teams become more diverse and less similar in their fields of expertise, the more the value of pertinent and valuable ideas decreases. Fleming points out that at the same time the instances of highly valuable ideas also become prevalent, though they are not as often. He cites the example of the MIT professor, Robert Langer whose lab has produced hundreds of papers, patents and firms and shows the pros of having a multi-disciplinary team with deep individual expertise (since many have PhDs from different disciplines.)

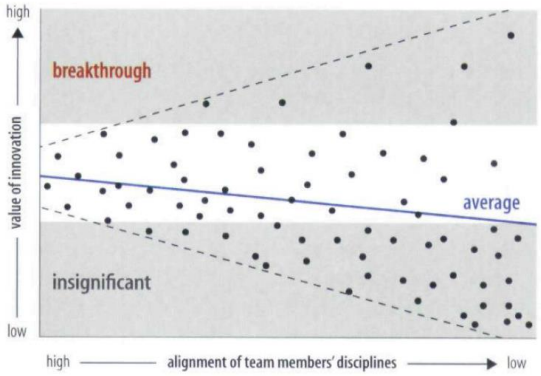


Figure 1

This is not in direct reference to brainstorming as a specific process yet the inclusion of diverse, multi-disciplinary teams is often encouraged when making idea-generating groups (e.g., Wang et al (2011) have studied the effect of cultural diversity in the formation of brainstorming groups.)

1.2 Past research on brainstorming: differing opinions on its effectiveness

Since the publication of the influential book, "Applied Imagination" (Osborn, 1953) much research has been done on the validity of his claims as to the effectiveness of his assertions. Researchers have found that when comparisons were conducted between nominal groups (groups in which individuals separately generate ideas) versus face-to-face groups, nominal groups tended to produce more ideas (Taylor, Berry and Block, 1958), so much so that Diehl and Stroebe (1991) have said "… group sessions should not be used to generate ideas." Isaksen (1998) conducted a literature review of 50 such research works and found that much research has come to the conclusion that group brainstorming is largely ineffective compared to nominal groups. Reasons for lack of productivity have been found to be evaluation apprehension (Collaros & Anderson, 1969; Diehl & Stroebe, 1987; Harari & Graham, 1975) and free riding (Diehl & Stroebe, 1987). They have been proven to have a negative influence on production among interactive groups. Other than that, production blocking (Diehl & Stroebe, 1987, 1991) has been mentioned as a detrimental factor in the lack of productivity among groups.

In its defense Stein (1975) has said that brainstorming is the "most researched and least understood" creative thinking technique. According to Iseksen (1998) the bulk of the research tended to not focus attention on the conditions that Osborn espoused but rather focused attention on individual vs. group idea generation processes. In much of the work that concludes that brainstorming is ineffectual, some of the factors and conditions that are considered essential for brainstorming are either misinterpreted or are not included as a factor. Even Taylor, Berry and Block (1958) that pioneered the ensuing bulk of literature that has dedicated itself to disproving the effectiveness of brainstorming had added that, "… the present experiment includes no evaluation of the basic rules of brainstorming – only an examination of the effects of group participation when using brainstorming". Much of the work has failed to include elements that are considered key by supporters of brainstorming (such as presence of trained facilitation, conducting of prior orientation for participants and ownership of tasks).
It also includes brainstorming as a phenomenon of group interaction. Osborn was clear in that he wanted brainstorming as a tool rather than an end in itself. It is meant to improve group dynamics and discussion skills that would maximize productivity in terms of the process of ideation. Hoffman (1979)

and Watson, Michaelson and Sharp (1991) state that much of the experimentation on group work is contrived and artificial, and do not reflect work that goes on in idea generation groups in real life.

Hoffman (1979) states:

"The most striking neglect in experimental research [on group decision making) is the contrived nature of the groups. Because experimenters bring a number of people together, call them a group, and ask them to solve a problem, they interpret the results as if the group as a whole solved the problem. (p. 386)

Though this observation can be applied to this very thesis in the sense that groups were contrived and made to do tasks, there is one aspect that separates it from the description above. It is the artificial nature of the experiments and the attempt in the experimentation as part of this research that avoids as much as possible the usage of contrived conditions. The emphasis in this research has been on natural and uncontrived talk which free and unconstrained (except the element of time.) This has been done in order to make clear pointers that would make it easier for L2 learners of English when they aim to master idea-generating process such as brainstorming.

The issue of the "contrived vs. natural" nature of brainstorming is examined in the following example in which Diehl and Stroebe (1991) reviewed brainstorming from the point of view of production blocking. They focused on the fact that only one person can talk at the same time and derived the conclusion that this may inhibit others from speaking. The supposition was that others might lose motivation or perhaps forget what they had wanted to contribute to the process. In order to measure different factors, they manipulated time of sessions for nominal and real groups by having individuals in groups of four brainstorm for 20 minutes. They made sure that participants either talked for the whole or for $1/4^{th}$ of the time. It was found that there was no direct correlation in terms of productivity. In another part of the research, reduction of waiting time for recipients of the turn was induced, by making sure that no one could talk when one person was talking. The result was that it did not increase productivity. They assumed that short-term memory was one reason for such a result but there was no conclusive proof. With regards to the issue of one person talking at a time, a point of view from a completely different discipline of conversation analysis is called upon. Analysts such Sacks et al. (1974) have noted that it is the case with most conversation in that "overwhelmingly" one person talks at a time and that turn-taking occurs in a surprisingly orderly fashion due to the way participants orient themselves to the

artificial nature of brainstorming rules. (Though at first glance it may seem that dominant people speak and others are silent, sections 3.1 to 3.6 will show that things are not so simple.)

Though such experimentation is highly insightful for brainstorming research, it misses the point in the sense that it does not take into account the conditions that Osborne (1953) took into account and lays the foundation of its research questions on the premise that nominal groups are more productive than interactive groups. Iseksen (1998) states that "future research should focus more on the kinds of challenges and opportunities upon which brainstorming was designed, rather than utilizing contrived and presented problems in which ownership is lacking." Paulus & Dzindolet (1993) also suggests that not much work has been done on how participants influence each other's performance, and this cannot be measured in nominal groups since individuals work in separate rooms and cannot be influenced by each other.

Lastly, it should be pointed out that brainstorming is a social, educational and business reality that cannot be brushed aside as useless. Sutton and Hargadon (1996) make the case of the need for doing research on "how and why brainstorming is used in organizations." They extensively document the work that is conducted at the design firm, IDEO and have said that past research that focus on effectiveness of brainstorming sessions into a single number will see that in light of organizational context, that number seems to "wither" (Sutton and Hargadon, 1996).

1.2.1 The justification for brainstorming training in light of L2 education

Paulus & Brown (2007) takes a cognitive-social-motivational approach in his paper on brainstorming, while this paper will take a linguistic approach and specifically a pragmatic as well as a conversation-analytic approach to brainstorming. This has been done especially because the exact mechanics of the linguistic features of brainstorming has not been a focus of researchers. Though this thesis barely scratches the surface, it is hoped that this will generate more interest in this particular area of research.

The reasons for the above statement are two-fold: a) that analysis of brainstorming as a conversational act has not been done and is one potential avenue for insightful discoveries in the area and b) with respect to teaching of brainstorming skills in the realm of second language acquisition (or SLA), brainstorming as a piece of conversation is a useful tool in terms of increasing productivity where nominally such students would do better in L1 brainstorming.

Not much work has been done in terms of teaching of brainstorming as a social communication tool in its own right by SLA professionals, scholars and teachers. Most literature available focuses on brainstorming as a useful tool in teaching aspects of English. Rao (2007) extensively discusses applying brainstorming techniques in teaching writing to students of English as a Second Language (ESL) in China and shows that explicit instruction regarding brainstorming improved students' writing skills. Rashtchi and Beiki (2015) talk about the relevance of brainstorming in the pre-writing stage of essay composition classes to encourage "termination of old beliefs, expanding the limits of knowledge and creating wonderful ideas." Ghabanchi and Behrooznia (2014) state that brainstorming has a net positive effect on improving critical thinking as well as reading comprehension abilities of students before they embark upon a reading task.

As is evident, the focus of the above research is on utilizing brainstorming as a tool for activation of prior knowledge, removing bias, clarifying of complexity through dialog and to some extent the generation of ideas for the sake of optimization of individual writing, reading and critical thinking skills within the realm of ESL and SLA. The purpose at hand is to help teachers in solving issues that are related to teaching of a second language and is not for the sake of idea generation *per se*. Brainstorming is not an end in its own right and neither is it explored as an avenue for communication for leaners. At this moment, there is very little in terms of what is being offered in terms of teaching and training of brainstorming within the fields of ESL and SLA.

1.3 Aspects of English Teaching: current practices

The problem at hand is primarily of teaching brainstorming as a topic in its own right to learners whose first language or L1 is not English. It has been stated in 1.2.1 that brainstorming is a tool among many tools in teaching writing, critical thinking and reading. Before we try to further define the locus of this workshop, it becomes necessary to look at different ways English is taught to speakers of another language. There are obviously many approaches to teaching and different teachers, schools and educational institutions have different preferences as to which methods are the best. All this lies on the assumptions that people have on how they think people acquire a second language. Some of the approaches are defined below by Spratt, Pulverness and Williams (2011):

Presentation, Practice and Production or PPP:

View of language: grammatical structures and functions are the most important aspects of language.

View of language learning: language is learnt by first seeing new language in a context which shows its meaning, practicing it in controlled and guided conditions, then using it in freer conditions which give the learner less language support.

Lexical approach:

View of language: vocabulary is the most important aspect of language. Vocabulary consists of individual words and different kinds of chunks such as collocations and, idioms and fixed expressions.

View of language learning: language is learnt by learning chunks as whole and complete units.

Functional approach:

View of language learning: functions are the most important aspect of language.

View of language learning: as for PPP.

Communicative approach:

View of language: Communication is the most important aspect of language. Meaning is communicated through functions, grammar, vocabulary, discourse and skills.

View of language learning: the best way to learn language is to use it in interaction, rather than to learn about it.

Grammar-translation:

View of language: language is made up of grammar rules.

View of language learning: language is learnt by analyzing and applying grammar rules.

Total Physical Response (TPR):

View of language: grammatical structures and vocabulary are the most important aspect of language.

Views of language learning: Exposure to language is prioritized and language is learnt best when accompanied by doing things physically.

The above described approaches represent the most popular or widely used ways to teach English as a second language. As is often the case, no one methodology is dominant in the classroom as teachers tend to mix different kinds of styles to match the needs and situational demands of the classroom at hand.

A cursory look would reveal that not one of the above mention the aspect of context. Contextual understanding of language and its influence on how and why it affects language as well as its ramifications on teachers and learners alike are not often discussed in many classroom practices. Such focus or the pragmatics of language learning is often skipped.

The discussion of brainstorming must include the aspect of its context, since the very act of brainstorming is influenced by rules that prescribe as well as proscribe certain practices. It immediately sets up a condition from which language cannot be divorced from its immediate surrounding context. Agreeing to someone's idea in a brainstorming context is different from agreeing to someone's suggestions in choosing food in a restaurant or a movie at the movie theater.

This reinforces the notion that a comprehensive training for brainstorming to speakers of English as L2 would most probably need aspects of English teaching such as grammar translation and communicative approaches. The assertion being made here is that it will not be complete without a discourse on the contextual aspects of the endeavor since the context of brainstorming initially defined by Osborne (1953) and namely the rules, strongly influence the participants. In other words, there is a need to give consideration to the pragmatics of brainstorming.

1.4 Pragmatics and Kramsch's 'Third' Place

Pragmatics according to Mey (2006), "studies the use of language in human communication as determined by the conditions of society." There are several aspects to pragmatics such as Speech Act theory, Discourse analysis, Conversation Analysis and Dialogism and it is often times difficult to distinguish which aspects of language come under the realm of pragmatics since it has been duly influenced by sociology, philosophy and anthropology as well as of course, linguistics. It is often compared with semantics in order to explain what it is not. Koyama (2006) describes the relationship (including distinctive and extensional distinctions) between the two disciplines by assuming three different perspectives:

The Componential View:

Semantics sees language as something that could be decomposed into further smaller objects such as phonology, syntax, morphology whereas pragmatics will look at "social and historical processes of epistemic authorization".

The Perspectival View:

Semantics studies language from the windows of decontextualizing perspective whereas pragmatics is a "critical science of, by, and for ordinary language users." It must be noted here that pragmaticists refer to it as taking on a 'perspectival' view as opposed to semanticists who would still prefer the term 'componential' for this project.

Critical Sociological View:

Pragmatics tries to bridge the gap between theoretical perspectives (conceptual, analytic and linguistic-structural) and the pragmatic (empirical, social and contextual). Within this view, the view is not comparative and oppositional but actually complementary as pragmatics attempts to bridge divisions that exist (or existed) after the influence of Kant. Post-Kantian influence of modern semantics "carries out a metalinguistic … critique of scientific and nonscientific languages, concepts, and (correct and literal) referential acts (Koyama, 2006: p. 770).

Finally, Mey (2006) offers a workable definition of pragmatics as a forming "a triad with syntax and semantics." Syntax studies the relationship between signs and semantics studies the relationship between signs and objects in the outside world. Pragmatics is thought of as the study of "the relation of signs to those who interpret the signs, the users of language (Mey, 2006: p.786)." It is also of note that pragmatics has been known to deal with the "wastebasket" of linguistics and semantics (Mey, 2006; Bar-Hillel, 1971). It deals with issues and topics that syntax and semantics could not deal with such as second language acquisition, questions regarding power and ghettoization and talk in different institutional settings. Mey (2006) advises that it not be seen as an "independent component" due to its diverse influences but something akin to a "perspective" on the way language is studied.

And now the 'third' place. Kramsch (2004) coined the term 'third' place in the context of language teaching, especially in inter-cultural contexts. She addresses the problem of addressing cultural aspects when engaging in the act of teaching a foreign language. For example, if cultural components (such as the 'American' meeting room, 'French' food mannerisms etc.) are part of the language class and is part

of the target language that is being taught, does the target culture have any basis in reality or is it just a caricature? Do teachers have an awareness of this and if they do, more importantly are they making the learners aware of this? Is it possible to teach a second culture through language, especially when the teacher and the learners are not able to come to a consensus as to how to define the culture that they belong to?

One instance of the need for such a discourse can be seen in the following example. It is taken from a textbook for first grade students of Junior high school English course (grade 7) (Sunshine English Course 3, Approved by Monkasho on H27). In this reading section, an Indian boy and a two Japanese boys are depicted. The Indian boy shows a family photo which is on his personal computer and the following dialog takes place:

Takeshi: *Is this a picture of your family?*

Amit: *Yes. This is my father. He's a computer programmer.*

Another picture appears in which a woman is shown on the computer screen. The Indian boy is now showing what appears to be a DVD box to his friends.

Amit: *This is my sister.*

Yuki: *Is she a student?*

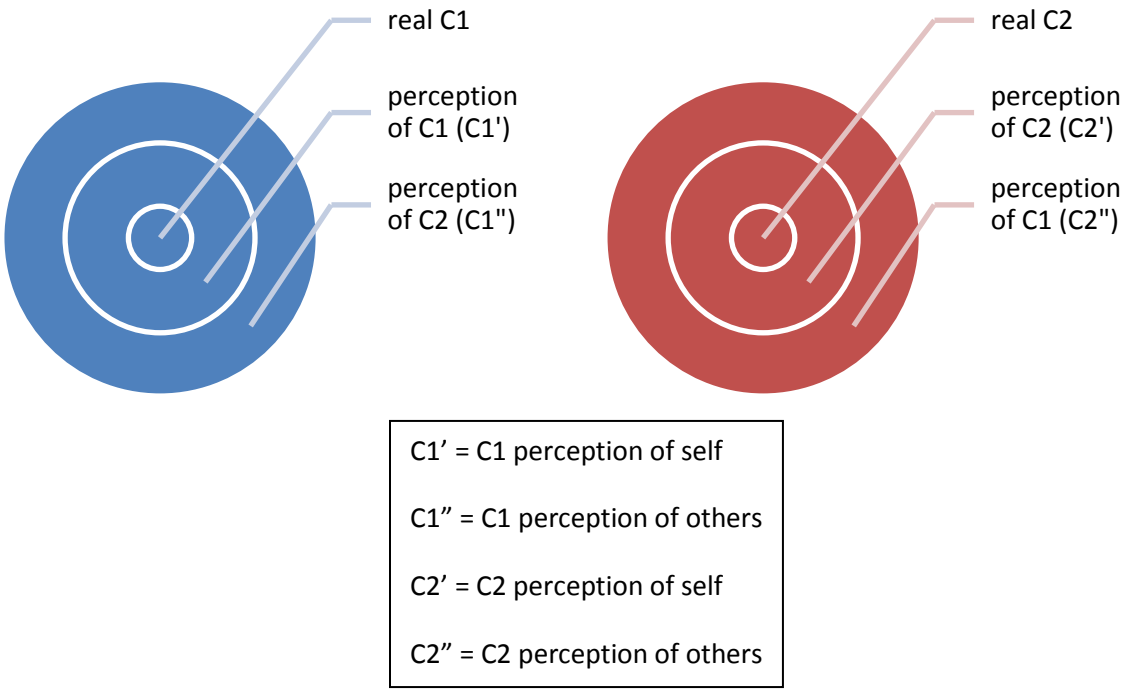
Amit: *No. She's not a student now. She's a movie star in India.*

Yuki: *Cool!*

The purpose here is not to suggest that the textbook is making cultural stereotypes; rather it is to frame the relationship of the learner and teacher with the first culture (C1) and the target culture (C2) using Kramsch's paradigm. As can be seen from above, the target language (L2) tries to show how a person from another country might try to explain some aspect or dimension of his culture (C2). If we look at the choice of subject matter it becomes plausible to say that most students in India are not siblings of movie stars and most Indians are not IT experts. It is also quite possible to take on a linguistic-pedagogical perspective and say that the purpose of this text is to show how the language is used to introduce one's native culture to an outsider. At the same time it is almost impossible to divorce the 'how' from the question of 'what' (i.e. what the content or subject matter is) and 'why' (why choose programmers and Bollywood stars) it is being portrayed to the audience. Is the second or target culture

'real' or is it a 'perception'? If the tables were turned and the Japanese student had to explain his or her culture to the Indian student, would that be an 'authentic' understanding or a 'perception' of the native or first culture? How do we know, who decides and what are the deciding factors? In order to clarify the relationship between C1 and C2, the following was proposed by Kramsch (2004).

Figure 2 (Kramsch, 2004)



If we look at the above text through the prism of Kramsch's model (figure 2), it is possible to say that the character of the Indian boy is a perception of C2 (C1"). The writers of this literature have decided to select what they think best represents India (Bollywood and the IT sector) and present it to 13-year old Japanese students as a cultural component to the "introducing oneself" function of L2 teaching. Yet it is also possible to say that this has very little to do with how life actually is for a 13-year old Indian child. The choice of subject matter with regards to the way the character is introduced is gotten by looking at the 'Other' through the lens of C1' or the Self (that Japanese people are humble, shy, hard-working etc.) to get to C1" (perception of C2, that Indians like musicals so they are gregarious; they are good at math hence the IT skills etc.) And how would an Indian 13 - year old student see a Japanese student? She would do so through her filter of her C2' and how she would define what 'Indian' identity is for her. Both are problematic in that it becomes difficult to separate the language from culture which might or might

not be real or what is practiced in reality. It would be expedient to say that both the 'self' and the 'other' (C1' and C1") are fluid and dynamic concepts as opposed to maintaining a 'static' understanding of culture (Dervin, 2011).

Henceforth, if we are to approach the problem of teaching language and culture to students who have had no prior exposure to that target culture, then the possible solution is to create a space where it becomes possible to make comparisons and contrasts. Kramsch (1998) says, "If students have been encouraged to identify, through contrast with others, the social and cultural voices in their own texts, they are better able to evaluate the choices … by speculating on the choices that were *not* made, and by extension those they would have made themselves … (italic mine)" Not only do teachers and students focus on the differences, they also look at what is not there. From there, participants of the discourse decide whether or not to 'do' the cultural act. This is the key to teaching from the 'third' place.

Therefore the 'third' place is a mode of thinking for teachers and students alike in which there is a concerted effort, through interaction with one another in the classroom (or possibly outside of it), to look at the target culture and their own culture by stepping outside of them, comparing them, looking for missing items, making choices about how to use the language and understand the contextual implications of that choice. There is a conscious effort to make sure that assumptions about the target culture are treated as assumptions and nothing more; the attempt to not take anything for granted is part and parcel of occupying this place since otherwise this would lead to static understanding of culture. Current understanding of culture is that it is a dynamic and fluid set of protocols that change according to the context that participants of culture find themselves in (Dervin 2011). In addition, Liddicoat et al (1999) state the following:

"It also needs to be acknowledged that the third place is not a fixed point which will be common to all learners, rather the nature of the third place is negotiated by each user as an intersection of the cultural perspectives of self and other. The third place is a dialogic encounter (Bakhtin 1981) between the self and knowledge and between the self and the other."

A dialogic exploration (Liddicoat et al, 1999, Bakhtin, 1981) is needed where learners encounter and explore new language whilst keeping their first culture (C1') and language (L1) in view.

1.5 The need for a pragmatic awareness of brainstorming

In the process of designing of a brainstorming workshop for L2 learners of English, it would not be sufficient to take only a semantic or syntactic approach. There are two reasons for this:

a) A syntactic/semantic approach would work if the learners had two to three years (and possibly 5-7 years) of intensive language courses which would foresee an exponential or at least substantial growth in terms of the linguistic abilities of its participants (Thomas and Collier, 1997; Colliers, 1988). The lack of time forces the need to use pre-knowledge of language of participants. There is according to Kasper and Rose (2001) an added reason to make a pedagogical intervention, "not with the purpose of providing leaners with new information but to make them aware of what they know already and encourage them to use their universal or transferable L1 pragmatic knowledge in L2 contexts."
b) What the subject matter should be when teaching about brainstorming becomes the issue in the sense that it is not known what really happens during such a process. As indicated in 1.2, past research has focused on the effectiveness of real groups versus nominal groups. 1.2.1 Indicates that brainstorming is used as a tool for teaching other aspects of language but is not a topic of interest in its own right for EFL professionals. There are websites and videos available that more or less repeat Osborn's maxims related in 1.1 and are meant for people who are in management sciences, human resources management as well as those who are interested in psychology and sources of creativity, yet if we are to look at this from a linguistic perspective, there is a lack of information and research.

The questions that have to be embedded into the hypothetical questions that are being asked in this thesis is the following: would it be possible to increase the outcome of brainstorming sessions aka number of ideas in a short span of time? Can individual students increase their conversational skills in such a way that they not only learn about syntax and semantics (as well as lexis, phonology and so on) but also apply their skills in such a way that social aspects of the brainstorming session are being maximized in a short term, since brainstorming is a social activity performed in groups? By short term, one means the span of one semester or less where students in a university setting have to deal with the reality of not only brainstorming in their L1 but possibly L2. We say this because it is a daunting task for people who not only have to learn a new technique of conversation and discussion skills but also have to apply it immediately to inter-linguistic and also inter-cultural contexts. They have to work with people

not only from the English speaking world but also students from non-English speaking countries for whom English is also in the realm of L2 (though what the language means to them would be different depending on different factors such as history, economic background, sense of national identity and so on.) A comprehensive language program that focuses on improving the brainstorming skills of participants should doubtless include work on the pragmatic aspects of this particular type of interaction as well since learning the hard mechanics (i.e. syntax and semantics) will not be enough in achieving maximum performance. Learning how native brainstorming participants interact, that is, how they employ strategy, turn-taking, manipulate overlaps, deal with onset of a conflict and express support in a way that maximizes their output as a socially collective unit so that as many ideas are formed as possible in a short amount of time should be included as well. This is a project that a syntactic/semantic or in other words, a grammar translation and/or PPP methodologies of teaching explained in 1.4 would not do complete justice to as social context (e.g. context of individual vs. individual interaction, institutional talk, talk which has rules such courtroom talk or in this case brainstorming in a university setting) are not inherently embedded into the discourse. The point here is that there is a need for a pragmatic discourse on brainstorming when teaching it to L2 users of English.

1.6 Thesis statement

The thesis statement is as follows:

Effective performance in a brainstorming session in a group setting requires that the participants constantly orient themselves to rules (or guidelines) that Osborn (1953) spelled out. In the context of a brainstorming session that is being conducted by native speakers of English, and who are trained or at least aware of its conventions and expectations, the rules are clearly stated and agreed upon by participants that propel them to generate ideas that are as unique, new and original as possible. In a project where L2 speakers of English who are not only yet to be trained in the conventions of brainstorming but are also not proficient at using English ((proficiency defined as C1/C2 levels in terms of Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR; p.33)), it becomes necessary to show not only the lexical and semantic aspects of the process which is entailed but also the contextual aspects of it which might include linguistic elements that are also embedded in the culture of which the target language is part of, since the act of brainstorming is context-sensitive, much in the way courtroom and classroom language is (Drew and Heritage, 1992). In other words, a pragmatic approach which is partly linguistic as

well as partly social becomes necessary. Within the context of a pragmatic approach to the exploration of brainstorming, it also becomes necessary for the facilitator and the participants of the workshop to work from an inter-cultural, 'third' place (Kramsch, 2004) in which both the native language/culture or L1/C1, and the second or target culture, L2/C2 are placed side by side so as to make comparisons in order to decide if the conversational strategy being applied by the performers of the target language and culture is a caricature or stereotype or whether it has validity and resonance to the user as questions of authenticity have no immediate answer and have to be decided upon at that particular time. Based on the decisions that are made as to what actions to take, participants will be able to create a strategy that is both individual (such as how to overcome deficiencies in lexical knowledge) as well as group based (deciding together that they will reply in the affirmative every time a single member volunteers an idea) and conduct the brainstorming discussion in English. This process will ensure that participants will be able to perform more productively and produce more ideas when compared to the instance when they have not been given the treatment. The workshop will also show that individual awareness of their conversational actions which could also be referred to as "pragmatic" awareness will also see an increase and will possibly help them when having to take part in other kinds of discourse.

II - Hypothesis and Research Design

The hypothesis is the following in short: ‘raised individual pragmatic awareness will give rise to more idea generation when those individuals are put in groups.’ This is described in detail in the following with the background behind it and other necessary details. The research design that encapsulates Conversation Analysis of past examples of brainstorming by students of a university in the United States as well as the way the current workshop was conducted is described. The results in terms of the number of ideas generated, as well as statistical results of questionnaire results that measured pragmatic awareness after exposure to the ‘third’ place are also described.

2.1 Background to the Hypothesis

Certain factors have to be kept in mind which will define the boundary of the hypothesis.

- Participants of the workshop may or may not have had prior exposure to brainstorming.
- The participants' first language is not English and that English, as their L2 (second language) are of varying levels of proficiency.
- Age levels as well as the institutional backdrop are also varied in the sense that this study is being conducted in educational situations where brainstorming is part of their curriculum. In this study they are undergraduate and graduate level students and not, for example high school students and under.

2.1.1 Research Questions:

Within those boundaries in mind, the following research questions are asked:

- Would the treatment lead to changes in pragmatic awareness of workshop participants?
- When individuals with raised pragmatic awareness are put in a group setting and asked to brainstorm, would they be able to generate more ideas?

Having defined the boundaries and questions, I will now define the hypothesis.

2.1.2 Pragmatic awareness leads to better understanding of mechanism of group brainstorming

Pragmatic awareness leads to how language is used in an actual setting, in this case exposure to how actually language is used by native speakers of English in a university abroad. By looking at how exactly language is used in a real setting, participants of the workshop will be able to make a comparison between how they would do it in their own language in their own speech community and compare it to how it is done by them in a different speech community. In this sense, the 'third' place (Kramsch, 2004) gives way to a 'liquid' approach (Dervin, 2011) in which the 'solid' cultural images become more fluid.

2.1.3 Pragmatic awareness leads to a larger number of ideas

After a discernible level of pragmatic awareness is achieved, it becomes easier for participants to achieve some level of understanding by practicing meta-talk (Kramsch, 2004) [1] or meta- language (Mey, 1993) as to how the other speech community practices its communicative acts and achieve its objectives. This enables them to make decisions as to how to go ahead with the talk when the opportunity is provided again, and what they would do and importantly how they would do it differently. This renewed approach to brainstorming in English would allow them to produce more ideas.

2.1.4 Summary of Hypothesis

By raising the pragmatic awareness of brainstorming, participants would be able to see their practices (be it individual or cultural) outside of themselves as well as take an objective look at the target culture, thus assume the "third place" (Kramsch, 2004) and apply that knowledge to make active comparisons between how they do the work in their first language as opposed to how the English speakers do the work. The participants will make decisions as to what they should do (voice more agreements than usual; make more visual representations to make up for lack of lexical resources etc.) This would enable them to approach the brainstorming in English more strategically and with more foreknowledge, thus enabling them to create more ideas.

2.2 Overall Research Design

The research design involves two main parts.

Part 1: The finding out or "noticing" of conversational practices, habits or behavior of trained individuals who join a group preordained to generate ideas for a predefined set of problem or problems. This is done through Conversation Analysis of recordings of such sessions. The data is then shared with the participants of the workshop in question.

[1] Kramsch (2004) mentions 'talk about talk' as an untapped source of knowledge that even communicative language classes have underutilized.

Part 2: The utilization of this data:

This data is shared in a systemic way in a workshop setting with people who have never studied brainstorming in English, though they may have studied it in their own language. A before-after comparison is done in which participants do brainstorming without exposure to data, have a "dialogic" encounter (Liddicoat et al, 1999, Bakhtin, 1981) and do the brainstorming again albeit with a different topic. The number of ideas is counted and the any differences in individual pragmatic awareness of the process are also measured.

The two parts are further explained.

2.2.1 Using conversation analysis as tool for analyzing brainstorming

Brainstorming processes have been extensively studied under laboratory condition for several decades as described in 1.2. The main research question has been the effectiveness of nominal vs. real groups and not on the question of what do people do during brainstorming sessions (though research done by Sutton and Hargadon, 1996 serves as a detailed reportage as to how and why the design firm IDEO focuses on the practice). The available research is not helpful in terms of creating a curriculum in an ESL or SLA context where learners' first language is not English. Osborn's rules (1953) are not very helpful by themselves since they do not have any meaning unless they are put in practice under prescribed conditions. Gathering of data should be a priority for this purpose and there is no obvious precedent in terms of finding a way to go about this project. Conversation Analysis can act as a tool for this purpose.

2.2.2 What is Conversation Analysis?

Conversation Analysis is the result of pioneering work by Harvey Sacks, Emanuel Schegloff and Gail Jefferson. Its primary methodology is also its defining quality that sets it apart from other forms of linguistic research i.e. its heavy reliance on audio and video recordings. Recordings are listened to repeatedly and written down for the tiniest possible findings and is by nature different from normal ways of transcribing (see Appendix on page 70). 'A simplest systematics for the organization of turn-taking for conversation (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson, 1974) is the seminal paper that put CA on the map in terms of analyzing talk –in – interaction and the 'sociology' of talk.

Conversation analysis employs an analytic method which relies on 'unmotivated' looking (Sidnell, 2006). That approach is applied because it is not possible to deliberately look for things that the analyst does not know of, before she or he starts looking. According to Sacks, the theory ought to be data driven, rather than data being used to support theory (Hutchby and Woofit, 1998). In many ways it is closer in its approach to the natural sciences than the social sciences (Sidnell, 2010). The data is taken as is, and analysis is made. Hutchby and Woofit (1998) make the following methodological distinctions when it comes to conducting Conversation Analysis:

i. Identify an interesting phenomenon
ii. Describe one particular occurrence, focusing on sequential context
iii. Return to the data to see if other instances of the phenomenon can be described in this account

Sidnell (2010, p. 29) make the following suggestions when making a conversation analysis:

- Stick as closely as possible to the data itself.
- Avoid motivational and other psychologically framed descriptions such as "she wants to get off the phone", "He's trying to make himself sound important", "He's not very confident", and so on.
- Describe what a thing is rather than what it is like. Avoid descriptions such as "he is doing something like a request".

In the above it is clear that there is conscious effort to avoid any motivational or psychological inferences due to the nature of the data; though there might be psychological motivations for someone's utterance, it is not possible to make definitive statements about it since the data is primarily driven from past recordings and is different from psychology-driven experiments. The focus is on what really happened, how the participants took part in the conversation, if there were any interesting phenomenon in terms of turn-taking and how participants design their subsequent turns, and whether or not there any similarities to other data and so on.

Conversation analysis research in the past has identified several components to conversation in daily life. A brief illustration is offered below. Consider the following excerpt presented by Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1973, p.702):

1. Desk: What is your last name [Loraine.
2. Caller: [Dinnis.
3. Desk: What?
4. Caller: Dinnis.

In the above extract, it is plausible to say that the caller picked up on the word 'last' in "what is your last name, Loraine" and proceeded to answer the question before the Desk was able to finish her/his Turn Compositional Unit or TCU. It is possible to say that the whole sentence does not need to be a TCU but only a part of it might be sufficient for the recipient of the turn to develop the understanding that there is an opportunity to create a recipient turn. A TCU can be a one word unit, such 'ok, alright, wow' and so on. In other words, single words, phrases, clauses and sentences will suffice to create a TCU.

It is also possible to say that in line 2, Caller starts the turn when s/he senses that there is an onset of the end of the TCU from the Desk. A transition to the (or a) next speaker may, but need not, occur (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974). The transition to a next speaker becomes 'relevant' (Sidnell, 2010, p. 42). This was defined by Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974) as a Transition Relevance Place or (TRP). We can also see the above example as that of an adjacency pair. Such a pair has a definite order to it in the sense that there is a first part and a second part such as 'invitation – response' pair and 'question-answer' pair (Hutchby & Woofit, R., 1998). Again this is not a rule but a tendency that exists in human interaction. We can see that because the caller was calling the information desk, most probably the other person will ask a question. When s/he heard the lexis 'last', she assumed that this was a TRP in an adjacency pair of a 'question – answer' pair and produced her TCU without waiting for the Desk to finish her/his turn.

It is possible to see in the excerpt above that the caller's turn at line 2 is simply a case of interruption and a case of not paying attention to the other caller. One might say that it is disorderly and not possible to put under the microscope of formalized study. Yet the work of Conversational Analysts has shown that there is order to the apparent chaos and that it precisely within the overlaps that we see action happening, even at a beat-by-beat level (Schegloff E. A., Overlapping talk and the organization of turn-taking for conversation., 2000).

The above point has a consequential implication to the analysis of brainstorming which will be further explored in the third chapter, but suffice to say, a robust and energized brainstorming session invariably has an interruptive or in CA terms, 'overlapping' quality to it. Participants talk and sometimes talk over

one another. Since the rule indicates that they are to not reject any ideas, they naturally overlap to give commendations and voicing of approval. And within this 'social' background, they have to insert their own ideas that may or may not be related to the prior persons' utterance without having to seem as if they are in any way impinging, contradicting or criticizing the prior person or people's utterances. The knowledge set that conversational analysts have prepared are an invaluable asset in terms of finding out how exactly people arrange and design their talk during brainstorming and may give insights as to the origins of group creativity and cooperative thinking.

Some further basic assumptions about how conversation is conducted have to be laid down. It is necessary because in order to identify the defining characteristics of brainstorming, the normalized aspects of talk-in-interaction have to be identified in order to realize the deviations as well as similarities from naturally occurring talk. Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974) made the following observations:

1) Speaker-change recurs, or at least occurs.
2) Overwhelmingly, one party talks at a time.
3) Occurrences of more than one speaker at a time are common, but brief.
4) Transitions (from one turn to a next) with no gap and no overlap are common. Together with transitions characterized by slight gap or slight overlap, they make up the vast majority of transitions.
5) Turn order is not fixed, but varies.
6) Turn size is not fixed, but varies.
7) Length of conversation is not specified in advance.
8) What parties say is not specified in advance.
9) Relative distribution of turns is not specified in advance.
10) Number of parties can vary.
11) Talk can be continuous or discontinuous.
12) Turn-allocation techniques are obviously used. A current speaker may select a next speaker (as when he addresses a question to another party); or parties may self-select in starting to talk
13) Various 'turn-construction' units are employed; e.g., turns can be projectedly 'one word long', or they can be sentential in length.
14) Repair mechanisms exist for dealing with turn-taking errors and violations; e.g. if two parties find themselves talking at the same time, one of them will stop prematurely, thus repairing the trouble.

In addition, Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974) defined the three rules of turn-taking as follows. At the initial transition-relevance place of a turn (a place in a conversation which is deemed possible for a transition),

Rule 1 (a) If the current speaker has identified, or selected, a particular next speaker, then that speaker should take a turn at that place.

(b) If no such selection has been made, then any next speaker may (but need not) self-select at that point. If self-selection occurs, then first speaker has the right to the turn.

(c) If no next speaker has been selected, then alternatively the current speaker may, but need not, continue talking with another turn-constructional unit, unless another speaker has self-selected, in which case that speaker gains the right to the turn.

Rule 2 Whichever option has operated, then rules 1a-c come into play again for the next transition-relevance place.

The above rules and conditions have to be taken into account when conducting analysis of conversation analysis of brainstorming sessions. The data gathered from the process can be shared with workshop participants to aid them in better understanding how experienced brainstorming participants working in English as their native language conduct their business.

2.2.3 Background to workshop design

The workshop is designed in a quasi-experimental way in terms of Second Language Acquisition (SLA) research. It is defined as a kind of research for those "interested in studying human behavior in naturally occurring settings in which complete experimental control is difficult, if not impossible (Larsen-Freeman & Long, 1991)." This choice was made because of two reasons,

A) Participants of the research were students of Keio University and not research subjects who had not explicitly volunteered for experimental conditions. They were explicitly told beforehand that this was to be an experimental –style lesson in learning how to brainstorm in English in order to maintain ethical standards (their names and identity have been protected and any recordings that were used were done so after written permission.) Nevertheless, it was an educational

endeavor in which the recipients expected to learn from it – meaning that they were expected to act naturally as they would under any normal academic circumstances.

B) Participants were exposed to English recordings of brainstorming sessions that were created by Stanford university students and researchers, and released on YouTube for public consumption. The recordings were created under real conditions in 'documentary' style conditions, and in which no or little dramatization were involved. The workshop participants were to be influenced by the recordings and act as normally as possible. Though the instructor facilitated the discussion, participants were asked to make their own choices as to courses of action and utilize the language they already knew or picked up from the data that they liked or preferred. Natural behavior of workshop participants was sought.

2.2.4 Detailed design

The workshop design is based on guidelines for intercultural education as created by Liddicoat et al (Liddicoat, Papademetre, Kohler, & Scarino, 2003). The guidelines are given below in table 1; it is important to bear in mind that they are not necessarily sequential.

1.	Active Construction	Learning involves the purposeful and active construction of knowledge within a sociocultural context of use.
2.	Making connections	Learning is based on previous knowledge and requires challenges to initial conceptions that learners bring. The challenges lead to new insights through which learners make connections, to reorganize and extend their existing framework of knowledge.
3.	Social interaction	Learning is social and interactive.
4.	Reflections	Learning involves becoming aware of the processes underlying thinking, knowing, and learning through conscious awareness and reflection.
5.	Responsibility	Learning depends on learners' attitudes and disposition towards learning.

Table 1 (Liddicoat, Papademetre, Kohler, & Scarino, 2003)

Liddicoat et al (2003) introduce Barraja-Rohan' s concept (Barraja-Rohan, 2000) in which unscripted samples of natural talk-in-interaction though Conversation Analytic approaches are introduced so that ESL learners not only grasp the correct language but also the culturally appropriate language.

A thing of note is that two phases are introduced which are referred to as 'introspective' and 'cultural evaluation' phases. They are designed in such a way within the lesson flow in such a way that students focus on the pragmatic transfer of whatever conversational element they are studying in the classroom. These are the stages where students reflect on their practices, express successes and failures as well as difficulties, in essence they have a 'talk about talk' (Kramsch, 2004). This according to Liddcoat et al (2003) is a place of 'comfort' between their first language and culture and their second or the 'third' place (Kramsch, 2004; Crozet, Lo Bianco, & Liddicoat, 1999).

Wang and Rendle-Short (2013), undoubtedly influenced by Barraja-Rohan (2000) discuss a way of teaching the usage of 'ni hao ma' to be used by students of Chinese as a second language. They also propose a conversation analytic approach in which participants are exposed to real instances of native speakers of Chinese language using the 'ni hao ma' phrase and then try to apply that knowledge to their understanding of the phrase. It is a way to unlock 'the hidden cultural assumptions' that lie beneath the surface of the learners and compare it with what is actually practiced by natives (Wang & Rendle-Short, 2013). The work relies closely on the five principles that are described in Figure 4.

The workshop design as described in this thesis and inspired by Liddicoat, Papademetre, Kohler, & Scarino (2003), Barraja-Rohan (2000) and Wang & Rendle-Short (2013) can be described in table 2:

Table 2

Priciples	**Lesson Activity**	**Teaching focus**	**Outcomes**
Preparation for validation device	▪ Pre-test and survey ▪ forming of groups	▪ Recording of 'before' condition ▪ Ascertain whether the workshop served their individual needs;	▪ Gathering of individual pre-treatment data (first half of validation device) ▪ formation of groups
1) Active construction	▪ Group brainstorming. ▪ Watch video	▪ Using pre-existing knowledge of English, students brainstorm a	▪ Students are made aware of the task at hand which is brainstorming in English.

	and read conversation analysis of transcript.	problem after being reminded of Osborn's rules (Osborn, 1953). ▪ Students are exposed to real examples of brainstoming and also see how turn-taking is constructed in conversation.	▪ Exposure to language used by native speakers and also to the conventions of Conversation Analysis. ▪ Students count number of ideas (first half of verfication device).
2) Making connections	▪ Discussion in L1 on events so far. ▪ Brainstorming in L1.	▪ Students have a discussion in L1 on what the differences are between their first brainstorming and what was observed in video and CA. ▪ Students brainstorm the same topic in Japanese.	▪ Students make connections between home language/culture and target language/culture ▪ they start strategizing how they would do things differently ▪ Brainstorming in L1 would allow them to make more definite comparisons
3) Social Interaction	▪ Discussion in L1.	▪ Discourse on differences and similarities in BS between L1 and L2.	▪ Students are asked to make comparisons ▪ They think about what can be done; what they do not want to do is also expressed in terms of linguistic/cultural acts ▪ This is where the 'third' place is especially heightened as discussion is conducted in L1, there is

			no pressure to perform extraordinary acts and students 'talk about the talk' (Kramsch, 2004).
4) Reflection	▪ Group brainstorming in L2.	▪ In English, a different topic is brainstormed about.	▪ Students try out what they have decided, under full awareness of linguistic and cultural barriers that they feel they face. ▪ They count the number of ideas and compare it against first BS done in L2 (second half of verification device).
5) Responsibility	▪ Post-test and survey (second half of validation device).	▪ In Japanese, students discuss how they feel ▪ Filling out of 'after' survey as well as qualitative self-assessment.	▪ Students voice their opinions on process. ▪ An 'after' survey is conducted to measure pragmatic awareness due to treatment.

2.2.5 Design of verfication device

Verification is defined as actions that are taken to ensure whether the system 'has been built right' (Haskins, Forsberg, & Krueger, 2007). This should be done in light of the hypothesis and the research questions that were mentioned in 2.1.1. Specifically the question was, 'when individuals, with raised pragmatic awareness are put in a group setting and asked to brainstorm, be able to generate more ideas?' Provided that pragmatic awareness of individuals is raised, it is safe to assume that the number of ideas when they brainstormed before the treatment versus the number of ideas generated after the treatment would see a difference. Therefore whether or not the system is working depends on whether

there is a marked increase in the number of ideas that are generated before and after the treatment. If there is little or no discernible difference in the number of ideas before and after the treatment, it would mean that the system or workshop does not work or is not effective in achieving its aims. In practical terms, the number of ideas generated during first stage of 'Active Construction' phase should be compared against the fourth stage of 'Reflection' phase which is after the cross cultural, 'third place' discussions will have ended.

2.2.6 Design of validation device

Validation is defined as actions that are taken to ensure whether 'stakeholder requirements have been satisfied' (Haskins, Forsberg, & Krueger, 2007) or in other words, whether the 'right' system has been built. For this the question that was asked in 2.1.1 was, 'would the treatment lead to changes in pragmatic awareness of workshop participants?' is pertinent. How would individuals change as a result of this experience and how should they be measured? If the system worked properly and the number of ideas generated was increased but the individuals themselves felt dissatisfied or unsure of personal wellbeing after this process, it would mean that the correct system that takes into account the requirements of the individual has not been made. Hence validation is defined as the measure to which participants were able to feel a difference in their individual pragmatic awareness and abilities. In addition participants were given space to write their opinions regarding the workshop.

A set of questions have been prepared for this purpose. Cohen and Sykes identify a questionnaire system which measures growth in individual pragmatic awareness (Cohen & Sykes, 2013) and some of the questions have been adopted from their work. A six-point Likert type set of answers (Larsen-Freeman & Long, 1991) was adopted for this purpose that ranged between 'seldom' to 'almost always' and also included the option of 'don't know'. The same set of questions were asked at the beginning of the workshop (before 'number 1 - Active Construction' phase) and at the end of the workshop (after number – 4 'Reflection' phase and during number – 5 'Responsibility' phase).

1. *During brainstorming in English, I will identify the communicative acts (i.e. requests, compliments) that I need to focus on.*

2. *I will conduct my own cross-cultural analysis (e.g. identify norms and strategies specific to a given communicative act like "complementing," determine the similarities and differences between Japanese and English.)*

3. *I will pay attention to what foreigners do by noting what they say, how they say it, and their non-verbal behavior.*

4. *I will remain true to my cultural identity and personal values while still being aware of the cultural expectations of foreigners.*
5. *I use communication strategies to get the message across (e.g. "I don't know how to say it in English," repair when necessary; attempt to follow native speaker examples.)*

6. *I will monitor my performance of communicative acts (e.g. level of directness, timing, sociocultural factors.)*

The questions were composed in order to find out whether the pragmatic awareness of individual participant will have increased or not. The research questions asked in the beginning hinges on whether or not the participant, irrespective of the issue of brainstorming is able to increase self-awareness to such a level as to be able to apply the skills and carry forth the abilities to other contexts and situation. Increase in the levels will indicate that that faculty has been activated. If there is insignificant change than the opposite inference can be made, that there is no activation of that pragmatic faculty.

2.2.7 Summary of research design

To sum up the research design the following points can be mentioned:

- Conversation Analysis of unscripted examples of brainstorming was done to be provided as essential supporting material to participants of workshop. This was done to show not only the obvious linguistic aspects of the process but also to show the hidden mechanisms that were presumed to be contained (Barraja-Rohan, 2000; Wang & Rendle-Short, 2013).
- The workshop was designed with the intent to provide opportunities for participants to spend time in a space sometimes referred to as the 'third' place where first and target languages and

cultures are compared by participants in discussions that were allowed to be conducted in their first language (Crozet, Lo Bianco, & Liddicoat, 1999; Kramsch, 2004).

- The workshop was modeled after work that has been done by Liddicoat et al (2003) that identified an ideal intercultural educational curriculum as consisting of five components namely, Active Construction, Making Connections, Social Interaction, Reflection and Responsibility. They are processes that allow participants to apply strategies that they would employ after having being exposed to an unfamiliar cultural and linguistic practice from which they may or may not extract strategies, linguistic components and cultural mores and would most certainly use skills both linguistic and cultural, that they already will have had before the start of the workshop.
- Verfication process entails counting of ideas that would see whether the workshop was effective enough to cause any noticeable increase or decrease in the production of ideas. Validation process entails filling of questionnaire questions before and after the workshop to see if individual pragmatic awareness based on willingness to apply pragmatic strategies (Cohen & Sykes, 2013) saw any noticeable change.

III – The Research

The research is divided into two main parts. As described in Chapter II, little is known about the linguistic mechanics behind brainstorming as practiced by trained individuals who use English as their first language or are at least proficient in its use. In order to provide the bulk of the material it was deemed necessary to do a Conversation Analysis of sample recordings of brainstorming taken off of the internet. The second half of the chapter deals with how the knowledge was utilized and embedded into the structure of the intercultural, 'third' place – based workshop as described in the second half of chapter II and how it was deployed with current and active undergraduate and graduate students at Keio University in Japan. The results of the three workshops are included towards the conclusion of this chapter.

3. The conversational elements of successful brainstorming

Talk in brainstorming is different from talk in naturally occurring circumstances. That is due to the fact that brainstorming is influenced by distinguishing factors that separate it from other kinds of talk. As a semi-formalized process with clear rules of engagement (Osborn, 1953), brainstorming is conducted by more than one person in a group setting (notwithstanding the solo vs. group brainstorming studies mentioned by Isaksen, 1998). The following points will cover those features before moving onto the actual aspects of brainstorming.

3.1 The influence of Osborn on the conversational aspects of brainstorming

As a reminder, the four rules of brainstorming are the following (Osborn, 1953):

1. Generate as many ideas as possible - to enhance the coming up with good ideas.
2. Don't criticize ideas as they are expressed - judgment be deferred until a later evaluation session.
3. Encourage freewheeling - the wilder the idea the better.
4. Build on the ideas of others

The following will show that the above rules influence the way people construct their talk-in-sequence, the way they orient to each other and the way they agree and show (or try not to show) discontent and disagreement.

Upon close observation of recordings of successful brainstorming, it becomes evident that brainstorming is unlike natural or everyday conversation in that participants produce speech that is projected as seemingly devoid of criticism. Yet upon closer look at how exactly brainstorming is conducted from a conversation analytic point of view and more specifically by focusing on how the actual talk is conducted as turn-in-sequence, new insights is garnered which shows that conversation conducted during brainstorming is carefully constructed so as not to give the impression of opposition and disagreement. Participants circumvent the rules of talk and orient themselves to the task at hand of foregoing expression of judgment and argument in order to allow for unimpeded talk that would bring about maximum production of ideas.

According to Hutchby and Woofit (1998), the following two questions are to be asked when we look at the data set that is to follow below: what interactional business is being mediated or accomplished through the use of a sequential pattern? The second question is: how do participants demonstrate their active orientation to this business?

3.2 Some basic assumptions on natural conversation

Keeping in mind the above points, it is now possible to look at conversation in brainstorming. As can be seen in the above, some or all of the above can be applied to brainstorming and it is difficult to tell just by looking at the above whether they support the claim that brainstorming is unlike other kinds of conversation. The points described in 2.2.2 (the 14 observations and 4 rules of turn-taking) (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974) by their nature do not by define anything; rather they act as signposts or tools through which it is possible to show how participants orient their talk to achieve their goals. It is not the rules but the way they use the rules that show how participants distinguish their talk from other kinds of talk.

An analysis of brainstorming done by students at a university in the United States show that there seem to four major features in the way talk is conducted in the process. They are:

- *The voicing of encouragement by recipients of turn*
- *Supplementing the current speaker's talk*
- *The avoidance of conflict by next speakers*
- *The short- term tendency to follow the leader (whoever that may be at the moment)*

3.3 The voicing of encouragement by recipients of turn

We will first consider the following conversation that happened between students at the D-School at Stanford [2]. The topic of brainstorming is "how to preserve gum".

Excerpt 1 [D-school-1]

[2] D.school brainstorming rules. (n.d.). Retrieved March 18, 2016, from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W1h5L_0rFz8

1. Jaki: ↓Okay. Gum. Ready, go::. (.25)
2. John: Okay you have a notebook with gum wrappers in it =
3. Jaki: note book with gum wrappers] ((writes))
4. John: = and () gum wrappers
5. Jaki: Awesome ((writes))
6. Adam: Let's build off of that let's build off of our ideas =
7. Jaki: I love that.]
8. Adam: =so the wrappers they can add flavor to it so every time you put your gum in it =
9. John: (gestures) YE::AH.]
10. Adam: = a new type of flavor].
11. Melissa: ↑uuuhhh.]
12. John: like pouwer inn (.)
13. Jaki: Aw:: I love that

As can be seen in lines 3 and 7, overlap of talk happens when John makes a suggestion regarding how to preserve gum. It could be suggested that Jaki speaks here to compete for a turn-space or a "fight for the floor" (Schegloff 2000), yet a closer look would reveal that that is not the case. Jaki overlaps not to compete for a turn-space but since she is the note-taker or writer of the group, is simply saying aloud what John is saying. That being said it is also quite evident that unwittingly her talk has had more of an influence than a simple "echo" effect. In line 4, John repeats the prior term, "gum wrappers" which might have been produced because her overlap has hindered him from continuing his turn since he expected Jaki to compete or add to the turn but in fact she did not or failed to do so. Therefore this is a hitch or perturbation on John's part (Schegloff, 2000, more on that later) and a potential source of problem for the conversation at hand, the purpose of which is to produce as many ideas as possible.

This projected failure of further idea generation propels Adam (the facilitator of the group) to reiterate others to "Let's build off of that let's build off of our ideas =" and specifically to encourage others to add something to John's project. Here seemingly there is opportunity for others to produce a turn. Yet since the urging is not directed at anyone in particular and he sees that no one else is ready to speak therefore he takes the turn himself. Thus rule 1 (C) of turn-taking is invoked which is:

"If the turn-so-far is so constructed as not to involve the use of a 'current speaker selects next' technique, then current speaker may, but need not continue, unless another self- selects." (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson, 1973).

Though there are two occasions of overlap (lines 9 and 11 by John and Melissa respectively), he continues the utterance when saying, "=so the wrappers they can add flavor to it so every time you put your gum in it =". Furthermore, in line 9 John can be seen preparing his mouth and gesturing before saying an emphatic, "yeah" and latching onto John's end of talk by saying, "like pouwer inn (.)" therefore adding and contributing to the concept that he started in the first place.

As can be seen in the above single case study (Hutchby and Woofit, 1998), John starts a turn which, even when going through a hitch or perturbation (Schegloff, 2000), is rescued by Adam who adds more information to the prior utterance and ultimately John makes a turn which finishes off his idea. It is almost as if two people are talking, completing each other's thoughts instead of competing against each other and cutting each other off as would be evident in an argumentative situation.

[Crandall: 2-15-68:93] (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson, 1973)

A: Well if you knew my argument why did you bother to

a: [sk

B: [Because I'd like to defend my argument

B uses overlap to employ a confrontational device. Such type of usage is in marked contrast to a brainstorming context where participants use overlap to mostly make complementary utterances such as 'yes', 'that's right' and 'good'.

Another example of turn-taking practices that take on a cooperative form of production is seen in a video of medical researchers brainstorming at Stanford University.

Excerpt 2 [Biodesign: example 1:1]

1. Bronwyn: So something that goes through the ↑obstruction (.) and changes the: shape of the ↓bowel (.) [like untangles it
2. Todd: [ok
3. Andrew: ok
4. Viral: (.2) ok

5. Andrew: That's something it's like a ins::ide the peritoneum and agitates around and breaks up adhesions
6. Bronwyn: [Ok ok
7. Viral: [Ok cool
8. Bronwyn: ((while writing)) °Untangles bowels that could be from inside° (1.2) but I suppose it could↑ be:: =
9. Viral: =external also
10. Bronwyn: [ow yeah and so it jus (.) jus manipulating it
11. Viral: Yah

In the above example, when Bronwyn makes a turn-construction unit (TCU), "So something that goes through the ↑obstruction (.) and changes the: shape of the ↓bowel (.) like untangles it" the slight pause after "↓bowel" invites others to offer responses. As described in the third observation made by Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974), "Occurrences of more than one speaker at a time are common, but brief." Since the particular TCU is not directed at anyone in particular, the rule 1 (b) of turn-taking (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974) is invoked which is:

"if no such selection has been made, then any next speaker may (but need not) self-select at that point. If self-selection occurs, then first speaker has the right to the turn."

In addition, the end of the TCU, "like untangles it" does not cause others to cancel or abandon their responses, because this type of adjacency pair does not have what is known as "conditional relevance" (Schegloff, 1968). An example of an adjacency pair with conditional relevance is offered by Hutchby and Woofit (1998) in the following example:

[IH:FN]

(Two colleagues pass in the corridor)

1 A: Hello
2 B: ((almost inaudible)) Hi
3 ((Pause: B continues walking)
4 A: ((shouts)) HEllo!

Due to the fact that the response by B in line 2 is almost inaudible, A perceives it as failure of B to respond and repeats the greeting. A had clearly selected B for response with a specified outcome; the

failure of such an outcome led to A shouting at the end. Clearly B is liable to answer (and did answer though not audibly enough for A).

In excerpt 2, Bronwyn's venture is greeted with affirmative responses yet it is clear that the responses by Todd, Andrew and Viral are entirely voluntary. In other words, they are not liable to answer the way B is liable in the above extract (IH:FN) during the encounter in the corridor. The recipients of the turn in the Stanford example do decide to act and in an affirmative way. A similar pattern in observed in lines 5-7, where Andrew offers a TCU, "that's something it's like a ins::ide the peritoneum and agitates around and breaks up adhesion", to which Bronwyn and Viral offer overlapped and affirmative responses simultaneously. Clearly there is an orientation of participants towards answering even though there is no liability for not answering.

3.4 Supplementing the current speaker's utterance

Hutchby and Woofit (1998) state that, "utterances are both context shaped and context renewing; that is, an utterance will be understood in relation to the prior turn; similarly it will then constitute a context for the next turn." Keeping this in mind when we pay close attention to turn-taking sequence in brainstorming, we can notice that an element of cooperative or collaborative production can exist in group brainstorming situations. Brainstorming participants take into account Osborn's rules to such an extent that their very talk is oriented towards the task of propelling generation of ideas i.e. the context shapes the talk and dictates the way they make decisions as to how to take turns, overlap, even perform cooperative turn-taking actions. Though they do follow conventions that are common with more naturally occurring talk, the conventions (or in this case the turn-taking devices employed) are designed in such a way that cooperative behavior (or at the very least the appearance of one) is shown so that facilitation of others' talk is made easier. Here we will take a look at a particular phenomenon in brainstorming which is called the collaborative turn sequence.

According to Lerner (2004),

> "The production of 1) a TCU pre-emptive completion by 2) an addressed recipient of an ongoing turn and 3) addressed to that turn's original speaker selects that last speaker as next speaker, and sequentially implicates as a next action, the acceptability of the pre-empting utterance as a completion for the turn. This is the collaborative turn sequence."

An example is given below:

[Theodore] (Lerner, 2004)

A: if you start watering, it [will get gree-

B: [it will come back

A: y- yes uh huh

We return to extract 2 and look at a particular instance of interaction between Bronwyn and Viral in lines 8-10 which reveals an interesting example of an adjacency pair where a turn is so constructed that it enables the recipient to complete the action that was intended to be completed by the first speaker.

Excerpt 2 [Biodesign: example 1:1]

8. Bronwyn: ((while writing)) °Untangles bowels that could be from inside° (1.2) but I suppose it could↑ be:: =
9. Viral: =external a[lso
10. Bronwyn: [ow yeah and so it jus (.) jus manipulating it

In lines 8, Bronwyn offers a TCU, "but I suppose it could↑ be:: =". She designs it in a way in which she increases the pitch at 'be' and stretches the vowel to such an extent that it makes it easier for Viral (or for that matter anyone else in the room) to complete the turn. It is also important to bear in mind that just before, she said "°Untangles bowels that could be from inside°" in a quieter tone compared to the rest of the turn, she was simultaneously writing "from inside" on the whiteboard. By writing, speaking and raising the pitch at the last word, she projects an outcome in which the most likely turn response would be, "external, also". Therefore she sets up the turn in such a way that is by its nature akin to a collaborative turn sequence (Lerner, 2004) is formed.

It is here that a distinction needs to be maintained. In the extract with Bronwyn, though she produces a TCU with the intent of completion by a recipient, she does not specifically address it to Viral. Though Viral is standing relatively closer to her compared to others, her gaze is at the whiteboard and she is speaking loudly in such a way as to address everyone, i.e. the turn could have been taken up by either Andrew or Todd. This is a departure from Lerner's definition in which the current speaker "sequentially

implicates" the next person and actively selects the next person with the intent of creating a desired outcome. Bronwyn's turn is addressed to the group and she expects one (or two or possibly all three) to respond with the outcome that she has been setting up for.

The feature above is described to illustrate the fact that brainstorming is different from natural pair or group conversation in that i) TCUs are created in such a way that the whole group is allowed to respond meaning that rule 1 (b) (SSG, 1974) is often evoked, ii) the conversation seems to have a collective or 'ensemble' (Lerner, 1993) orientation in that other members in the group are treated as a singular units of a complete whole.

Looking at another group of medical researchers who are brainstorming, a similar example is seen.

Excerpt 3 [Biodesign: example 2:1:1]

1. Farzad: so then this may actually tie in with a chemical (.8) ((looks at William and Andrew))
2. William: > component or somphn like that<
3. Farzad: [right
4. Andrew: [yeah its true

Farzad looks at both William and Andrew as he makes a turn. The gaze at both of them is indicative of the fact that he expected one or both of them to pick up the turn that he created. How does he do so? Farzad makes his turn-construction unit in such a way that the pause of .8 seconds and the gaze constitutes the turn relevance place (TRP). Since he started his turn with the conjunction 'so' he is creating a turn in relationship to the context in which specifically a 'chemical' component had not been mentioned. Thus he adds that talk and further shapes the context in such a way that leads to enriching the process and possible production of more ideas by other participants.

3.5 The un/conscious subjugation of dissent

What happens when there is competition for a turn or a "fight for the floor" (Schegloff 2000) during brainstorming? How is business conducted under such a circumstance when external circumstances of brainstorming (the rules spelled out by Osborn, 1957) dictate that criticism is avoided at all costs and

that participants are to build off of each other's ideas? How do participants orient themselves to the task at hand then? How do they still manage to generate ideas as a socially cohesive unit and manage to quell the natural impulse to reduce the number of 'bad' ideas by criticizing others' contributions?

To explore the above questions, we look again at the work done by Andrew, Bronwyn, Todd and Viral in excerpt 3.

Excerpt 3 [Biodesign: example 1:2]

1. Bronwyn: Ok::ay ((writes)) (3.3) okay so: °breaks adhesions insi:de° (.) in OTHER WAYS HOW DOES it break it ((gestures))
2. Andrew: this could be-
3. this could be outside of there too ((writes))
4. Bronwyn: and does it it cuts it¿ it can cut it? (writes))
5. Viral: Right
6. Andrew: it could like aa ((gestures))
7. Bronwyn: dissolve¿ ((writes))
8. Viral: dissolve yea ((writes))
9. Andrew: Vaporize heat ((writes))
10. Bronwyn: um let's go so (1.0)
11. Andrew: Cool (writes down verb)
12. Bronwyn: °I don't know if it that's ok to go back and forth° so untangling so magnets so you know can we do:: like have two magnetic ends so there's magnets involved=
13. Viral: Yeah
14. Andrew: sure
15. Brownyn: It is just - is it wire:d¿=
16. Viral: =yeah maybe like an automatic aah thing that is attached to the bed that shakes the – you know massage type of a thing
17. Bronwyn: oghe yea yea (4.0)

Bronwyn and Andrew go into a competition to complete their TCUs during lines 2 and 3. While Bronwyn is completing a turn in line 1, she makes a micro-pause which prompts Andrew to make an overlap ("this could be" in line 2) but abandons it , thus giving it the quality of a 'hitch' or a 'perturbation' (Schegloff,

2000) and the appearance of a problematic overlap (Liddicoat, 2007). Schegloff (2000b) describes hitches and perturbations as something that include talk that can

a) get suddenly louder in volume;
b) higher in pitch;
c) faster or slower in pace, depending on where in the overlapping talk the change in pace occurs.

The talk in progress may be

d) suddenly cut off;
e) some next sound may be stretched out;
f) or a just prior element may be repeated;

We see elements of a, d and f in lines 1 ("in OTHER WAYS HOW DOES it break it" where Bronwyn raises volume), 2 ("this could be-" where Andrew cuts off his own turn) and 3 ("this could be outside of there too" where he repeats his prior incomplete utterance). Andrew's turn faces such a problem, yet he returns with it and carries it into completion in line 3 and thus writes down his idea, seemingly able to give the impression to the group that his contribution is consequential.

Before we go any further, the issue of "situational implicativeness" must be mentioned. Schegloff and Sacks (1973) describe it in the following way:

"An utterance projects for the sequentially following turn(s) the relevance of a determinate range of occurrences (be they utterance types, activities, speaker selections, etc.). It thus has sequentially organized implications."

In the beginning half of Bronwyn's TCU in line 1, she had mentioned the term "breaks adhesions insi:de (.)". Andrew picks up on the term "insi:de" and possibly wants to produce a collaborative turn sequence, similar to the earlier exchange between Bronwyn and Viral and it is mentioned again here as a reminder.

Excerpt 2 [Biodesign: example 1:1]

8. Bronwyn: ((while writing)) °Untangles bowels that could be from inside° (1.2) but I suppose it could↑ be:: =
9. Viral: =external also
10. Bronwyn: ow yeah and so it jus (.) jus manipulating it

Yet, in the interaction at line 4 of Excerpt 3, Bronwyn wants to focus on a new topic i.e. on how adhesions are broken and not regarding the location of it. This leads to failure of Andrew's attempt to make a collaborative turn sequence and thus the ensuing exchange leads to hitches and perturbations. This again leads him to breaks off his turn only to return in line 3 to maintain his authorship of his utterance (or idea in brainstorming terminology). Immediately afterwards though in line 4, Bronwyn presses forward with her insistence on focusing attention on how to cut the adhesions by saying, "and does it it cuts it¿ it can cut it?" and effectively maintains her influence. This is what is known as sequential implicativeness (Schegloff, 2000). Instead of trying to complete the turn-construction unit, or to survive the turn, some participants try to overlap by remaining sequentially consequential or implicative. It means that participants forego a "fight for the floor" and adds a turn after the second speaker finishes insofar as being able to maintain relevance within the sequence.[3] This is exactly what Bronwyn does in line 4. As a consequence of this maneuver, Andrew drops his project of expanding upon the "inside vs. outside" pair production and starts to produce the turn in line 8, "it could like aa" with a gesture to which Bronwyn supplies a "dissolve¿" which is a certainly a form of collaborative turn sequence (Lerner, 2004) as mentioned earlier. It is important to note here that instead of producing a pair with Andrew's authorship, we end up with a pair production which is based upon Bronwyn's authorship.

Thus we see that a potential fight for the floor is won by Bronwyn through the use of sequential implicativeness. Without explicitly criticizing Andrew, she manages to make him drops his bid for the turn space (and ultimately his project). Andrew joins the others in doing what Bronwyn wanted which is to move forward with more ideas, instead of staying in the "internal-external" adjacency pair paradigm. It is not possible to ascertain why exactly she did such an elaborate maneuver, but one guess could be that she did not want to go down that route since it had already been successfully completed between Viral and her earlier. When Andrew attempted to start his own project using the "internal-external" (or outside-inside) pair production she sensed that this would not generate more ideas, and she pushed herself and the others to take a different direction. Not only that, she also strongly encouraged others to follow her prompts (she literally says "um lets go so" in line 21). After Andrew finishes writing "cool" in line 11, Bronwyn says in line 12 that, "I don't know if it that's ok to go back and forth" which is clearly an allusion to brainstorming rule no. 1: "Generate as many ideas as possible - to enhance the coming up

[3] See Schegloff (2000b) for the original explanation; Liddicoat (2007) for the abridged explanation of [KC-4, 16:36 – 17:18]. In this example, the interaction between Cathy, Dave and Rubin is mentioned in which Kathy exhibits sequential implicativeness and manages to altogether cancel Dave's turn.

with good ideas" (Osborn, 1953). Going back would be breaking the rule as brainstorming has a forward-moving inclination. She then launches off into her idea of using magnets (as part of line 12) to which other latch on and both Andrew and Viral refine the idea.

The point here is not to show how she won a battle for the floor; on the contrary the purpose here is to show how Andrew drops his project and pursues what Viral and Bronwyn are doing. As can be seen in Excerpt 3, the battle for the floor is won by Bronwyn by using sequential implicativeness, yet she does so without overtly criticizing Andrew. Andrew also does not insist upon pursuing of affirmation and development of his idea which in turn could have led to turn incursions that could have had an argumentative and confrontational tone. He avoids confrontation of the sort that would stop the flow of ideas.

It is also worth mentioning that within lines 12-20 (a timespan of approximately 18 seconds) Andrew, Bronwyn and Viral (but mainly the first two people) collectively produce 6 ideas. This tendency of dropping personal projects and avoiding personal confrontation for the express purpose of pursuing group projects seems to be a key ingredient in brainstorming.

This is how a 'fight for the floor' is consciously or unconsciously subjugated. Participants design the turns in such a way that, without using explicit terms of disagreement and by using situational implicativeness, are able to avoid direct confrontations and impress their influence on the turn of events. Whether or not the recipient accepts such turn of events is up to the recipient; in the above example clearly Bronwyn wins the fight without firing a single shot.

3.6 Short- term tendency to follow the leader (whoever that may be at the moment)

It would be tempting to say that in the last example all members of this team followed Bronwyn by default but that would be a misreading. It could be that she had been officially appointed as the facilitator as is its wont in many brainstorming groups. Even if that were the case, it is natural to think about assertive leadership and psycho-social aspects of brainstorming. Yet in this section, such an approach is set aside for the sake of focusing on how the talk-in-sequence is conducted.

We saw in the last excerpt original authorship seems to matter in conversation and that the first person who makes the idea seems to have priority over the others in terms of finishing of turns. That privilege is finished when she or he finds completion of the TCU and no further ideas are expected to be generated within that piece of talk. When that series of talk is over, anyone in the group can start a new sequence.

Another example is the following:

Excerpt 4 [Biodesign: example 2:1:2]

1. Christian: So we're going to start with mechanical (2.4) solutions to the problem ((writes)) (4.9)
2. Andrew: So right now it's aa through the ure- urethra (.) so it could be one approach is using the same approach through the urethra (1.5)
3. Farzad: So the broad category could then would just be (1.0) different different ah different approaches so either trans-urethral which is here ((points at whiteboard)) or supra-pubic (3.4) trans-vaginal=
4. William: =>°trans-rectal°<[( ) coz those are (.) alternate z that (.) ok? ((writes))
5. Farzad: [trans-rectal]
6. Christian: Do you (.) share off of this one? ((directed at William))
7. Farzad: So basically anyway to access the bladder yeah I guess we're thinking of every possible way you can do that (1.6) ((William cleans off what he wrote earlier)
8. Christian: You said trans what? (1.0)
9. Farzad: [>sot of< trans aa ur
10. ( ): [suprapubic]
11. Andrew: transrectal transvaginal and suprapubic
12. Christian: right (3.6) alright (4.0) ((writes))
13. Andrew: so maybe if we go through the urethra if we're trying to be more comfortable and more cost efficient then cystoscopy (.) aa one approach could be to develop a better cystoscope or cheaper cystoscope so
14. William: flexible
15. Christian: flexible change size cystoscope ((writes))
    Andrew: or maybe some type of coding for the cystoscope ((Christian writes)) (5.0)
16. Farzad: or to actually (.) line the urethra (1.6) with something that reduces the pain or discomfort associated with transit of devices

17. Christian: So pre-pretreat it

In line 2, Andrew makes an incursion and lays claim to first authorship by suggesting that they focus on the urethra. Farzad picks up on it in line 3 by saying, “So the broad category could then would just be (1.0) different different ah different approaches” and lists other approaches to the solution that was initially proposed by Andrew.

Andrew takes the lead; he starts a project and others follow him to show affirmation and also to refine his idea. The most important thing of note is to see how the other three members orient themselves to Andrew’s project. After some further talk and writing down of ideas by Christian, we see that Andrew comes back to the conversation by repeating what Farzad could not produce in line 9 by saying, “transrectal transvaginal and suprapubic”. He takes this opportunity to bring back the topic of urethra and talks about cystoscopy and its supposed disadvantages. The point to look at here is that both Christian and Farzad realign their talk in lines 15 and 17 respectively in order to focus on the topic that Andrew brought up in the first place thus ensuring his first authorship of the idea. Though Andrew is not necessarily the leader of the group, he laid claim on the topic of treatment through the urethra and wanted to stay focused on it generate ideas off of it and others did not override this and went along, due to his first authorship and therefore his ownership. It is very similar to Bronwyn’s victory in Excerpt 3. ‘Building off of each other’s ideas’ is not so democratic and spontaneous as it may sound. There are intricate mechanisms in place where the first speaker seems to have the right to take his/her idea to its conclusion.

The following example shows how tables turn and anybody can gain the momentary status of a “leader” (even when there is a pre-designated facilitator.) This is the continuation of the talk in which the participants were Bronwyn, Todd, Viral and Andrew. This is after the turn, shown in excerpt 3 in which Bronwyn wins rights to continue her project and at this point it has finished; anybody is able to take the lead and this is what happens.

Excerpt 5 [Biodesign: example 1:3::2:33 - 3:00]

1. Andrew: aa somephn like algorithm for like spinning around sk-gyroscope and then like untangles the bowel like the path of ( ) resistance ((gazes at all))
2. Todd: yeah yeah
3. Bronwyn: uhn:: okay
4. Viral: uhu

5. Andrew: I gotta write that up there= ((writes))
6. Bronwyn: = yeah gyroscope and movement that in can mn manipulate the bowel from the inside (3.2) and this can have it could have algorithms that could >automadicly do it< or it could be remotely controlled
7. Viral: like Roomba (.) something like that ((gazes at Andrew))
8. Todd: right
9. Andrew: yeah, Roomba exagtly
10. Todd: hh ( ) bowel Roomba hh heh heh
11. Bronwyn: ( )
12. Viral: bowel Roomba uh heh >heh heh<

Of note here: lines 5 where after affirmation from Bronwyn and Viral, Andrew says, "I gotta write that up there=" and starts writing his idea thus creating a Turn Relevance Place (TRP) (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson, 1974) to which Bronwyn invokes rule 1 (b)[4] and 'latches' onto the prior talk by saying, "= yeah gyroscope and movement that in can mn manipulate the bowel from the inside". Furthermore after a long pause (3.2 seconds), she further builds upon the idea with, "and this can have it could have algorithms that could >automadicly do it< or it could be remotely controlled." Viral, who hears the term, ">automadicly" from Bronwyn, produces an overlap "like Roomba (.) something like that" and directs it at Andrew because he had initially started the talk about algorithms. Though Bronwyn had refined the idea by suggesting some sort of automation, Viral attributes the term "Roomba" (a popular vacuuming robot) to Andrew and invokes Rule 1 (a) and therefore acknowledges Andrew's ownership of the whole turn-sequence.

3.7 Summary of Conversation Analysis

Though the study is by no means exhaustive and incomplete the following conclusions can be drawn which are repeated for the convenience of the reader:

- *The voicing of encouragement by recipients of turn*
- *Supplementing the current speaker's talk*
- *The avoidance of conflict by next speakers*

[4] Rule 1 (b) states, "if no *(next speaker)* selection has been made, then any next speaker may (but need not) self-select at that point (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson, 1974; Hutchby and Woofit, 1998) (words in italics mine).

- *The short- term tendency to follow the leader (whoever that may be at the moment)*

It goes without saying that the rules of brainstorming (Osborn, 1953) and the resulting linguistic behavior of people well-versed in the technique of brainstorming are two different things. The former is more of a set of guidelines while the latter is not a set of rules by any means. Rather, the points described are what people seemed to orient their actions to in such a way that would make it as expedient as possible the generation of ideas. It is also clear that there seems to be a concerted effort to not disturb social cohesion by voicing support for each other, and when there are instances of onset of disagreement, steps are taken to avoid such a situation as this would go against the rule 'don't criticize ideas as they are expressed' (Osborn, 1953). Behavior in terms of talk- in- interaction seems to indicate that the participants had taken the rules of brainstorming to heart and their controlled 'talk' behavior reflects this orientation.

3.2 Workshop Implementation

The workshop was conducted three times with students of Keio University; once with undergraduate students and twice at the Graduate of school of System Design and Management. The same teaching curriculum was employed as described in 2.2.4, yet there were some obvious differences such as number of participants, gender distribution and so on. It was not possible to ascertain the average English level for all groups as many participants did not divulge their English scores and also people tend to take different types of tests and consolidation of results is difficult to achieve. Each brainstorming group had 5 to 7 members.

3.2.1 The three studies

Study A:

The first workshop (herein referred to as Study A) involved a group of five participants (N = 3 females, N = 2 males). The students were members of the Graduate School of System Design and Management. The average English level was at intermediate level. They have had previous experience in brainstorming in Japanese. One brainstorming group was formed (group A – 1). The final brainstorming topic was, 'how to make SDM more famous?'

Study B:

The second workshop (herein referred to a Study B) comprised of students from the undergraduate school who were in their freshman and sophomore year at Keio University. They had no previous experience in brainstorming. A group of graduate students who were member of SDM joined as facilitators to jumpstart the process. The average English level was at the intermediate level. The group had a total of 18 member (N= 5 females, N= 13 males). Four brainstorming groups were formed (groups B-1, B-2, B-3 and B-4). The final brainstorming topic was, 'Come up with unique and original food items. Choose from beverages, snacks or gum.'

Study C:

The third workshop (herein referred to as Study C) comprised of students from the graduate school of System Design and Management at Keio University. They have had experience in brainstorming in Japanese. The average English level was at the intermediate level. The group had a total of 28 members (N = 13 females, N = 15 males.) Four brainstorming groups were formed (groups C -3, C – 5, C – 6, C – 7). There were more groups initially but many left due to another class and the remaining members, C-1, C-2 and C-4 were invalidated. The final brainstorming topic was, 'Come up with unique ways of preserving knowledge.'

In all three studies, students were asked to fill questionnaire data for the first ten minutes of the session. After finishing the questionnaire, they were asked to do a brainstorm session for five minutes regarding the problem, "how to preserve gum" for five minutes. They were then shown a video by students of D-School at Stanford University[5]. They were asked to also read the conversation analysis transcript after a brief description of its conventions (see appendix 1). They were asked to conduct a cross-linguistic and cultural comparison between the brainstorming in Japanese and then in English. They were also given the results of the Conversation Analysis that was mentioned in 3.7. They were asked to brainstorm again but the same topic but in Japanese after which they were asked to make further comparisons and what they would do differently compared to the first time they brainstormed in English. Finally another brainstorming was performed again but on a different topic.

[5] D.school brainstorming rules. (n.d.). Retrieved March 18, 2016, from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W1h5L_0rFz8

3.2.2 Verification (or the number of ideas generated)

The following table indicates the number of ideas generated by groups formed within each study group. When we look at the mean, we can see a significant difference in the number of ideas generated before and after the treatment.

Table 3

Group Number	Before treatment	After treatment	Difference
A-1	19	28	9
B-1	10	14	4
B-2	9	21	12
B-3	24	32	8
B-4	20	16	-4
C-3	14	28	14
C-5	19	33	14
C-6	15	28	13
C-7	19	25	6
Mean	16.55	25	8.45**

Note: 0.001 $\leq$ ** < 0.01, P(T<=t) was 0.00128 for mean difference

3.2.3 Validation (or differences in individual measure of pragmatic awareness)

Survey samples were taken before and after the treatment. Table 4 denotes the differences in pragmatic awareness at the individual level.

Table 4

Questions	Study A (N=5) Before treatment		After treatment		Change	Study B (N = 18) Before treatment		After treatment		Change	Study C (N = 28) Before treatment		After treatment		Change
	M	SD	M	SD		M	SD	M	SD		M	SD	M	SD	
1) I will identify the communicative acts (i.e. requests, compliments) that I want/need to focus on.	3.4	0.55	4.4	.55	1.0*	2.83	1.20	4.4	0.55	1.57**	2.53	1.4	3.67	0.98	1.14***
2) I will conduct my own cross-cultural analysis (e.g. identify norms and strategies specific to a given communicative act like "complementing," determine the similarities and differences between Japanese and English.)	1.8	1.3	3.2	1.09	1.4**	1.83	1.34	3.05	1.10	1.22	2.17	1.12	3	1.24	0.83**
3) I will pay attention to what foreigners do by noting what they say, how they say it, and their non-verbal behavior.	2.4	1.51	4.4	0.55	2.0**	2.69	1.01	3.12	1.02	0.43*	2.57	1.37	3.42	1.23	0.85***
4) I will remain true to my cultural identity and personal values while still being aware of the cultural expectations of foreigners.	3.4	1.34	3	1	-0.4ł	2.22	1.73	2.55	1.50	0.33	2.14	1.20	2.78	1.25	0.64*
5) I use communication strategies to get the message across (e.g. "I don't know how to say it in English," repair when	3.4	0.89	4.4	0.55	1.0*	2.88	1.64	3.33	1.49	0.45*	3.21	1.61	3.96	0.99	0.75*

necessary; attempt to follow native speaker examples.)															
Questions	Study A Before treatment M	SD	After treatment M	SD	Change	Study B Before treatment M	SD	After treatment M	SD	Change	Study C Before treatment M	SD	After treatment M	SD	Change
6) I will monitor my performance of communicative acts (e.g. level of directness, timing, sociocultural factors.)	1.8	1.30	2.8	1.30	1.0*	1.55	1.33	2.27	1.48	0.72*	2.03	1.29	3.03	1.13	1.0***

Note: $0.0001 \leq$ *** < 0.001, $0.001 \leq$ ** < 0.01, $0.01 \leq$ * < 0.05, $0.05 \leq$ ł < 0.1

Question 1 which was 'I will identify the communicative acts (i.e. requests, compliments) that I want/need to focus on', question 3 'I will pay attention to what foreigners do by noting what they say, how they say it, and their non-verbal behavior' and question 6, 'I will monitor my performance of communicative acts (e.g. level of directness, timing, sociocultural factors)' saw significant changes.

Question 2, 'I will conduct my own cross-cultural analysis (e.g. identify norms and strategies specific to a given communicative act like "complementing," determine the similarities and differences between Japanese and English' and question 5, 'I use communication strategies to get the message across (e.g. "I don't know how to say it in English," repair when necessary; attempt to follow native speaker examples)' saw less statistical significance. Question 4, which was, 'I will remain true to my cultural identity and personal values while still being aware of the cultural expectations of foreigners' saw the least amount of statistical significance.

3.2.4 Some comments from participants

Comments were collected at the end of the workshops. Some of the selections are provided below.

- Participant 1: とてもたのしかったです。自分は日本人なんだな。。。と思いました。

The participant says that he is “Japanese” meaning that he was able to identify his cultural background with the backgrounds of the people depicted in the Stanford videos, which indicates that he was able to make some sort of cross-cultural comparison that made him realize his identity as a “Japanese” person.

- Participant 2: 文化的背景の違いに配慮をしつつ、自分が別の言語を使いながら brainstorm をすると、idea の創出に役立っただけでなく、まさにマーディーさんのおっしゃる Third place に立つ視点を養えるなと感じました。良いものを選ぶ判断は自分ができるものだし、自分でしてよいのだからこそ、Third place に立ち客観的に（外から、メタに？）自分が普段浸っている文化的背景を意識したいです（それが本当の意味で「配慮」なのかも）。

This other participant has given a more detailed response in which she first reports that not only is she able to make more ideas but also describe this mindset in which she is able to freely choose ‘good’ things from the vantage point of the ‘third’ place. She also expresses the desire to maintain awareness of her cultural identity constantly by using this ‘meta’ perspective.

IV – Conclusion

The purpose of the research and the hypothesis are mentioned. The results are described again with analysis to try to fully understand the implications of the research. The question of what worked and what did not are mentioned. Further avenues for future research are also identified.

4.1 Purpose of the research

Past research on brainstorming has almost always focused on whether it is effective or not by comparing normative vs real groups starting with Taylor, Berry and Block (1958). Detractors claim that it is inefficient and does not really work; the argument that has been made has been that individuals can brainstorm and generate ideas more effectively than groups. During a conference, one official in the national Science Foundation said, '… we all know that brainstorming is nothing more than executive entertainment (Isaksen, 1998)'. The supporters of group brainstorming claim that the other camp has misunderstood the argument. They have also said that conditions that Osborn had indicated in 'Applied Imagination (Osborn, 1953) have not been included in the research that compares nominal vs. real groups which include factors such as trained facilitation and the necessity for orientation of participants beforehand (Stein, 1975; Hoffman, 1979; Watson, Michaelson and Sharp 1991).

Sutton and Hargadon (1996) make the case of the need for doing research on "how and why brainstorming is used in organizations." The fact of the matter is that the practice is an organizational and educational necessity and a reality because people naturally congregate and discuss ideas. Osborn (1953) simply wanted to increase the number of ideas by eliminating critical thinking which he thought was the death knell of free flowing of ideas. He envisaged a system in which people discussed, supported each other and simply worked on increasing the number of ideas. The editing and fine-tuning of ideas were to be worked out by the managers and people of responsibility later in the stage.

This research has focused on the 'how' of brainstorming (Sutton & Hargadon, 1996) for the sake of second language acquisition (SLA), specifically English as a Foreign Language (EFL) and English as a Second Language (ESL). It has also been argued that simply relying on the presently available ways of teaching English as described by Spratt, Pulverness, & Williams (2011) are not sufficient in terms of a short term strategy of implementing an effective and practical brainstorming for participants whose first langage or L1 is not English due to lack of time in a university or a graduate school.

4.2 Why pragmatics and 'third' place?

Other than practical considerations, it becomes necessary to think about brainstorming as a cultural and social act as it is not meant to be done alone. When people get together and brainstorm, quite natually

they talk and when the rules of brainstorming are included in the talk, then it is safe to assume that the talk is influenced and changed compared to the way people usually talk when they get together for reasons such as for social or business purposes. This insight alone warrants a different strategy when it comes to designing and carrying out a workshop that would benefit L2 learners of English. A language teaching approach that is pragmatic (and also intercultural since the practice is steeped in cuture) is needed in order to think of ways that would provide maximum efficacy to participants of such a workshop.

Linguistic pragmatics is defined as forming 'a triad with syntax and semantics (Mey, 2001).' Syntax studies the relationship between signs, and semantics studies the relationship between signs and objects in the outside world. Pragmatics is thought of as the study of "the relation of signs to those who interpret the signs, the users of language (Mey, 2006: p.786).' This distinction from the usual way of teaching an element of conversational English is necessary because in a seemingly mysterious and a somewhat under-researched field in terms of the actual mechanics of it, it becomes necessary to look at how brainstorming is done in the real world as (Sutton & Hargadon, 1996), and try to emulate it to see what happens.

When it comes to teaching intercultural pragmatics there are several approaches that are abound; this researcher has paid particular focus on the 'third place' (Kramsch, 2004). It is interestingly described as a place of 'comfort' (Liddicoat, Papademetre, Kohler, & Scarino, 2003) for second language learners because it frees learners from the burden of having to act like the 'other' if they are not willing to do so. By objectively looking at the way people act and perform cultural acts in the target culture, learners are also allowed to have a look at their own cultural practices from the outsider's point of view since an encounter with the 'other' almost always exposes the 'self' or an approximation of it. By looking at the target culture and their own, learners are able to create the 'third' place, thus creating a 'meta' - awareness and if the educational objectives of the workshop designer are successful, then a 'meta-pragmatic' awareness. The fact that this provides learners the time and the space to make pragmatic choices makes it 'safe' as they do not do the act if they do not feel inclined to do so.

4.3 Why Conversation Analysis?

The seminal paper, 'A simplest systematics for the organization of turn-taking for conversation' (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974) has led the way to expose the hidden features of a conversation by especially focusing on the turn-taking of participants since more often than not, people take turns while engaging in conversation. This has led to a range of observations, conventions, conclusions and rules (though not the sort of rules that dictate an interactant to curb their behavior) and so on. This has had a huge impact on understading how people not only talk in daily life under mundane circumstances but also how talk is conducted in organizations such as hospitals, court rooms and classrooms (Hutchby & Woofit, R., 1998).

A Conversation Analysis of brainstorming is warranted on two fronts, a) it is often conducted in institutional places such as universities and also companies such as IDEO (Sutton & Hargadon, 1996) therefore one can imagine an institutional influence on how people behave and b) the rules of brainstorming (Osborn, 1953) influence people in such a way that it is essential to see how they actually conduct and design their turn-taking methodology in such a way that allows for maximum number of ideas to be produced.

The results of the Conversational Analysis of samples that have been presented here barely scratch the surface of what needs to be done, yet some of the findings that were found during this research is offered:

- *The voicing of encouragement by recipients of turn*
- *Supplementing the current speaker's talk*
- *The avoidance of conflict by next speakers*
- *The short- term tendency to follow the leader (whoever that may be at the moment)*

The explanation has been given in 3.1 to 3.7 but in short participants agree often and make sure that they voice their agreement even if they overlap with the first speaker. The first speaker usually does not take it as a turn-incursion and continues with the turn. They often complete each other's talk in a show of collectivity and collective action (Lerner, Collectivities in action: Establishing the relevance of conjoined participation in conversation., 1993). They avoid conflict with each other and one person drops out to make sure that no hitches and perturbation (Schegloff 2000) are formed. When somebody starts a turn, in this case a talk regarding a new idea, he or she may become the leader of the group for a short while untill the idea runs out and up until then, all participants try to add or attribute their

contributions to the original author. The above noticings could now be included as a component of the workshop as material to be shared with students as part of their 'third' place treatment.

4.4 The workshop

The idea of the workshop is simple. First, students do a five- minute brainstorming on a topic in English. After that they watch a video of students at Stanford university brainstorm the same topic. The students talk to each other and also read the Conversation Analysis of the transcripts. They brainstorm in Japanese and again discuss the differences. Gradually they are able to rise above and gain a 'meta' perspective or what is known as the 'third' place (Kramsch, 2004) which enables them to make specific strategies, both individually (the decision to include lots of drawings to supplement their lack of vocabulary) and as a group (the decision to make lots of agreements by saying 'I love that' because a person on the video was saying that repeatedly). They brainstorm on a different topic for five minutes and compare the number of ideas compared to the first time they brainstormed. A 'before-after' questionnaire set is also done by the participants to measure any self-assessed changes in pragmatic awareness.

4.5 Analysis of results of workshop

Three workshops were conducted with undergraduate and graduate students of Keio University. A total of ten groups, each comprised of 5 to 6 students participated adding upto a total of 51 participants.

The mean of group brainstorming results show a net gain of 8.45 ideas indicating that most groups were able to significantly able to increase the number of ideas due to the treatment. It means that the workshop content verifies its effectiveness in terms of producing some changes in the way that group is able to interact together.

The question is: why did the numbers increase? If the 'third place' - influenced material affected them, what aspects were influential and what were not?

The first part of the hypothesis described in 2.1 is repeated here:

- Would the treatment lead to changes in pragmatic awareness of workshop participants?

A statistical analysis of the questions that were asked before and after the workshop treatment indicates some interesting differences. For example, Question 1 which was *'I will identify the communicative acts (i.e. requests, compliments) that I want/need to focus on'*, question 3 *'I will pay attention to what foreigners do by noting what they say, how they say it, and their non-verbal behavior'* and question 6, *'I will monitor my performance of communicative acts (e.g. level of directness, timing, sociocultural factors)'* saw significant increases (see 3.2.3). It showed that participants reacted strongly to the need to identify the tools needed for such an endeavor, observe how it is conducted in the target culture and keep their own behavior under watch i.e. raise self-awareness of their behavior while engaged in a cross-cultural act.

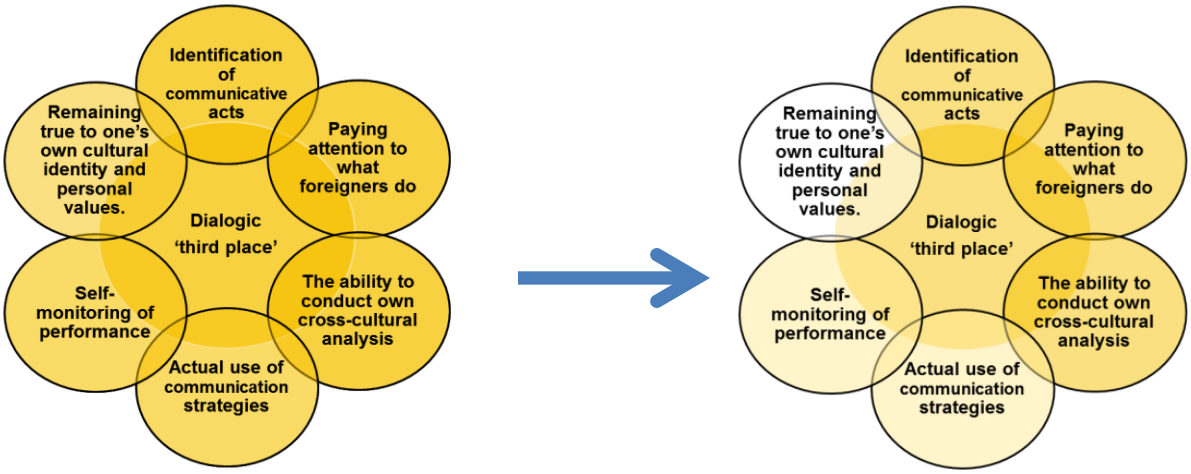
The answer to the research question is yes, but partially. That is because the other questions saw less significant rise. For example, question 2, *'I will conduct my own cross-cultural analysis e.g. identify norms and strategies specific to a given communicative act like "complementing," determine the similarities and differences between Japanese and English'* was low in significance.

In addition, question 5, *'I use communication strategies to get the message across (e.g. "I don't know how to say it in English," repair when necessary; attempt to follow native speaker examples)'* also saw less statistical significance. It shows that they did not strongly feel that comparing similarities between two cultural/linguistic acts was so beneficial, and indicates that they did not want to learn and adopt the strategies as much.

Finally Question 4 which was*, 'I will remain true to my cultural identity and personal values while still being aware of the cultural expectations of foreigners'* saw the least amount of statistical significance. One inference that could be made is that they did not feel that the workshop made a large impact on the question of sense of identity.

As seen in figure in terms of the pragmatic awareness of participants who were exposed to the 'third' place, we see some improvement in the following areas:

- The need to identify the tools necessary
- The importance of observation
- The need for self-awareness of one's own actions



The following factors did not show much influence:

- To try to do a cross-cultural analysis
- The need to use communication strategies

The following factor showed no or negligible improvement:

- The need to remain true to one's cultural identity

The fact that groups still improved idea generation techniques (a mean total of 8.45 ideas on average) showed that atleast on an individual level, one needs only to observe, identify the tools necessary and increase awareness of one's actions. It is quite possible to say that one does *not* need to have deep cultural awareness, comparison and appropriation skills to do well in brainstorming but just the power of observation, identification and self-awareness are enough.

4.6 Conclusion

The following conclusions can be garnered:

- ❖ There seems to be a positive co-relation of making comparisons of two types of brainstorming which led to more generation of ideas. The comparisons were made on how the participants used English versus how the people on video used English. Not only were linguistic and pragmatic comparisons made; other differences were also highlighted such as speed of speech, body language etc. The students had a 'talk about the talk' (Kramsch, 2004) not only about the video and the Conversational Analysis of the target language/culture but also about their own

performance. This seems to have enabled most groups to make more ideas at a significantly different rate than compared to the first time they brainstormed.

- Questionnaire data indicates that participants strongly felt the need to identify the tools necessary, the need for importance of observation and the need for self-awareness of one's own actions. The data shows that there was no strong willingness to try to do a cross-cultural analysis and the need to use communication strategies. There was negligible increase in the need to remain true to one's national identity.
- It might be that one does *not* need to have deep cultural awareness, comparison and appropriation skills to do well in brainstorming but just the willingness to make observations, identification of norms and strategies, and to have self-awareness regarding one's actions are enough to make a difference.

4.7 Closing remarks

Though the surface has barely been scratched in this thesis, a detailed analysis of brainstoming from the point of view of Conversation Analysis has not been done to the best of my knowledge. That being said, an extensive collection has yet to be created (which is not available due to lack of samples that are available) to make more findings that could help learners. It shows much work needs to be done in the finding out of 'how' brainstorming works as Sutton & Hargadon (1996) have stated.

In addition, teaching brainstorming from the point of view of intercultural pragmatics and the 'third' place is an intriguing way to teach a process which is still shrouded in mystery. I say that because we still do not know how people come up with great ideas that are innovative and genre-bending and in terms of imparting brainstorming training to L2 speakers of English, the 'third' place might be a good place to start as it serves as a crossroad between cultures. It is not possible to tell people to mimic target cultures, but we can show where they are located in terms of cultural milieu, point out that there are cultural differences but they are to be approached in a 'liquid' way (Dervin, 2011) as opposed to a solid way which leads to different problematic concepts such as cultural stereotyping. I would like to end with the following quote from Claire Kramsch (2004),

'We can teach the boundary, we cannot teach the bridge.'

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Appendix 1

Conversation Analysis Conventions (Hutchby & Woofit, R., 1998)

Hello.	Falling intonation
Hello,	slight falling intonation
Hello¿	rising intonation, weaker than '?'
Hello?	Strongly rising intonation
Hel-	talk is cut off
>hello<	talk is faster than surrounding talk
<hello>	talk is slower than surrounding talk
HELLO	talk is louder than surrounding talk
°Hello°	talk is quieter than surrounding talk
↑ or ↓	marked rising or falling shifts in pitch
He::llo	lengthening of a sound or syllable
H<u>e</u>llo	emphasis
(1.0)	timed intervals (silence) in seconds and tenths of seconds
(.)	short pause, less than 0.2 of a second
.hh	audible inhalations
hh	audible exhalations
=	latched talk- talk following previous talk with no gap
[ ]	simultaneous/overlapping talk
(ook)	transcriber uncertainty

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