Pragmatics across Languages and Cultures
HoPs 7

Handbooks of Pragmatics

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Preface to the handbook series

Wolfram Bublitz, Andreas H. Jucker and Klaus P. Schneider

The series *Handbooks of Pragmatics*, which comprises nine self-contained volumes, provides a comprehensive overview of the entire field of pragmatics. It is meant to reflect the substantial and wide-ranging significance of pragmatics as a genuinely multi- and transdisciplinary field for nearly all areas of language description, and also to account for its remarkable and continuously rising popularity in linguistics and adjoining disciplines.

All nine handbooks share the same wide understanding of pragmatics as the scientific study of all aspects of linguistic behaviour. Its purview includes patterns of linguistic actions, language functions, types of inferences, principles of communication, frames of knowledge, attitude and belief, as well as organisational principles of text and discourse. Pragmatics deals with meaning-in-context, which for analytical purposes can be viewed from different perspectives (that of the speaker, the recipient, the analyst, etc.). It bridges the gap between the system side of language and the use side, and relates both of them at the same time. Unlike syntax, semantics, sociolinguistics and other linguistic disciplines, pragmatics is defined by its *point of view* more than by its objects of investigation. The former precedes (actually creates) the latter. Researchers in pragmatics work in all areas of linguistics (and beyond), but from a distinctive perspective that makes their work *pragmatic* and leads to new findings and to reinterpretations of old findings. The focal point of pragmatics (from the Greek *prãgma* ‚act') is linguistic action (and inter-action): it is the hub around which all accounts in these handbooks revolve. Despite its roots in philosophy, classical rhetorical tradition and stylistics, pragmatics is a relatively recent discipline within linguistics. C.S. Peirce and C. Morris introduced pragmatics into semiotics early in the twentieth century. But it was not until the late 1960s and early 1970s that linguists took note of the term and began referring to performance phenomena and, subsequently, to ideas developed and advanced by Wittgenstein, Ryle, Austin and other ordinary language philosophers. Since the ensuing *pragmatic turn*, pragmatics has developed more rapidly and diversely than any other linguistic discipline.

The series is characertised by two general objectives. Firstly, it sets out to reflect the field by presenting in-depth articles covering the central and multifarious theories and methodological approaches as well as core concepts and topics characteristic of pragmatics as the analysis of language use in social contexts. All articles are both state of the art reviews and critical evaluations of their topic in the light of recent developments. Secondly, while we accept its extraordinary complexity and diversity (which we consider a decided asset), we suggest a definite structure, which gives coherence to the entire field of pragmatics and provides

orientation to the user of these handbooks. The series specifically pursues the following aims:

- it operates with a wide conception of pragmatics, dealing with approaches that are traditional and contemporary, linguistic and philosophical, social and cultural, text- and context-based, as well as diachronic and synchronic;
- it views pragmatics from both theoretical and applied perspectives;
- it reflects the state of the art in a comprehensive and coherent way, providing a systematic overview of past, present and possible future developments;
- it describes theoretical paradigms, methodological accounts and a large number and variety of topical areas comprehensively yet concisely;
- it is organised in a principled fashion reflecting our understanding of the structure of the field, with entries appearing in conceptually related groups;
- it serves as a comprehensive, reliable, authoritative guide to the central issues in pragmatics;
- it is internationally oriented, meeting the needs of the international pragmatic community;
- it is interdisciplinary, including pragmatically relevant entries from adjacent fields such as philosophy, anthropology and sociology, neuroscience and psychology, semantics, grammar and discourse analysis;
- it provides reliable orientational overviews useful both to students and more advanced scholars and teachers.

The nine volumes are arranged according to the following principles. The first three volumes are dedicated to the foundations of pragmatics with a focus on micro and macro units: *Foundations* must be at the beginning (volume 1), followed by the core concepts in pragmatics, *speech actions* (micro level in volume 2) and *discourse* (macro level in volume 3). The following three volumes provide *cognitive* (volume 4), *societal* (volume 5) and *interactional* (volume 6) *perspectives*. The remaining three volumes discuss *variability* from a *cultural and contrastive* (volume 7), a *diachronic* (volume 8) and a *medial* perspective (volume 9):

1. *Foundations of pragmatics*
   Wolfram Bublitz and Neal Norrick
2. *Pragmatics of speech actions*
   Marina Sbisà and Ken Turner
3. *Pragmatics of discourse*
   Klaus P. Schneider and Anne Barron
4. *Cognitive pragmatics*
   Hans-Jörg Schmid and Dirk Geeraerts
5. *Pragmatics of society*
   Gisle Andersen and Karin Aijmer

6. *Interpersonal pragmatics*
   Miriam A. Locher and Sage L. Graham
7. *Pragmatics across languages and cultures*
   Anna Trosborg
8. *Historical pragmatics*
   Andreas H. Jucker and Irma Taavitsainen
9. *Pragmatics of computer-mediated communication*
   Susan Herring, Dieter Stein and Tuija Virtanen

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Anna Trosborg

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Introduction

Anna Trosborg

Handbook of Pragmatics volume 7 focuses on pragmatics across languages and cultures. With increasing globalization and the ever growing interest in communication across borders and between different cultural communities, it became salient for pragmatics studies to "cut across" and "make comparisons" across national and cultural borders. The ability to master foreign languages and understand cultures different from your own became of utmost importance, and a need for intercultural competence rose. Besides, having to communicate in multicultural settings, not only privately but also in business contexts, opened up a whole new area of corporate culture communication, which, in turn, may cut across national borders.

The aim of this handbook is to capture this development and provide an overview over major trends in central aspects of pragmatics as realized across languages and cultures. This is indeed a very far reaching and ambitious aim as it is an enormous and versatile task bridging very different fields. Having realized the impossibility of covering all relevant aspects, a selection had to be made. Four very central areas of pragmatics were chosen: Contrastive, cross-cultural and intercultural pragmatics; interlanguage pragmatics; teaching and testing of second/foreign language pragmatics; pragmatics in corporate culture communication. The contributors to the volume are picked among competent and renowned people in their respective fields. The approach is theoretical as well as applied though with an emphasis on authentic data in their linguistic and cultural contexts.

The aim of this introduction is to function as an eye opener to the handbook. It introduces the topics chosen and gives the reader an insight into to what can be gained from reading the handbook. Altogether 22 articles are sampled providing a state of the art as well as implications for future research.

1. Part I. Contrastive, cross-cultural and intercultural pragmatics

The contrastive approach started out in the 1970s (Wardhaugh 1970) as an attempt among others to comply with the demand for language learning across borders. The concept was: what is similar will be transferred, what is different will have to be learned. If only we could describe the differences between two languages, appropriate remedial teaching material could be developed, and students would prosper. This conviction did not last long, however. As an approach to foreign language teaching, this theory failed, as differences did not always cause problems. On the other hand, we could not take for granted that equivalent aspects would be

transferred. So, for learning purposes, the contrastive approach could not stand alone. As a theory, it was also soon realized that not only language itself but also culture must be considered. Before we embark on the discussion on how to delineate the three pragmatic fields, an introduction to the notion of culture, and the relation between culture and language, will be in order.

The notions of culture and cultures are of course closely related, yet each has its own distinct meanings. Culture signifies how an individual thinks, acts and feels as member of a group and in relation to other members of that same group. Thus, a circle of friends, a theatre ensemble or a business organization is defined by its own unique culture of attitude and relationship. When we see such groups or communities in relation to one another, we note that they are very differently constituted, and thus begin to refer to them in the plural, namely as "cultures". In this sense, cultures are differentiated by their purpose, values, membership, history, etc. Then, as Jürgen Streeck (2002) notes, when collectives of disparate communities together form a society, we begin to consider them under the umbrella of "national cultures" where cultures are defined by their geographical boundaries instead of other identifying features. Thus, culture explains the pattern of assumptions and behavior formulated by human systems in response to their environment, be it a nation with its macrostructure, a local community with its needs and customs, a market with its consumers and suppliers, or an industry with its colleagues and competitors ((Harris and Moran 1987). It must be remembered, though, that within a nation, within a corporate culture, individual differences will always exist.

Language is culture – culture is language. Culture and language are intertwined and shape each other. The two are inseparable (for a discussion on this point, see e.g., Varner and Beamer 40ff). They point out that "language is not a matter of neutral codes and grammatical rules, because each time we send messages, we also make cultural choices."

The delineation of the three fields of contrastive, cross-cultural and intercultural pragmatics has not always been clear-cut. Whereas contrastive pragmatics analysis points to language differences as linguistic phenomena, the terms cross-cultural pragmatics and intercultural pragmatics have sometimes been used interchangeably in the literature (see e.g., Gudykunst 2002 and Kecskes (2004). In line with this point of view, Kraft and Geluykens (2007) have argued that the term "cross-cultural" should be used as a cover term for the study of all pragmatics phenomena relating to cultural differences. In this volume, however, cross-cultural pragmatics is used to designate comparative cultural studies obtained independently from different cultural groups, and the term intercultural pragmatics is saved for intercultural interaction where data is obtained when people from different cultural groups interact with each other (cf. the standpoint adopted by e.g., Spencer-Oatey 2000, and Gudykunst 2002). With interaction as the central concern, intercultural communication does not focus only on cultural differences but also on the reasons behind.

Part I captures the development from contrastive studies to intercultural interactions between people from different cultural backgrounds. Due to the increasing concern with communication worldwide in pragmatics through the last three decades, purely contrastive studies have given way to studies cross-cultural in orientation. The first study by Wierzbicka is concerned with Natural Semantic Mini-language as a tool for articulating "cultural scripts". They are based on "semantic primes", are universal and can be formulated in any language for various pragmatic purposes. Then follow a number of cross-cultural studies.

In principle, all aspects of pragmatics may be subjected to cross-cultural comparisons, but interest has centered on two dominant areas, namely speech act theory and Brown and Levinson's theory of politeness. With the cross-cultural speech act realization project (CCSARP) and the formulation of the discourse completion test (DCT) by Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper (1989), researchers were given an instrument that allowed them to gather quickly a large amount of data, and cross-cultural studies of speech acts, such as requests, suggestions, complaints and apologies were popular. In Part I, this trend is represented by a study by Chen on the speech acts of compliment and compliment responding, chosen because these acts are truly indicative of social norms and values across cultures. Interactional aspects are highlighted in an analysis by Márques Reiter and Luke of telephone conversation openings across many different nationalities.

Closely related to speech acts, the interest in politeness flourished. The issue of politeness is targeted in many studies in which it is not the main topic. It appears, for example, in many studies on interlanguage pragmatics. Learners' utterances were found wanting with regard to politeness. In Part I, two articles are dedicated to politeness, one by Chen examining the controversial issue of politeness in Eastern compared to Western cultures, and the other by Haugh tackling the micro-macro issue in politeness, thereby bridging the gap between cross-cultural and intercultural pragmatics. Finally, this part is concluded with a chapter on intercultural competence by Spencer Oatey. With a growing interest not only in establishing cross-cultural differences in pragmatics discourse, but also in actual encounters between people from different cultures, where conflicts were likely to rise, researchers strived to define intercultural competence. The necessary link between cross-cultural pragmatic knowledge and intercultural competence is provided by Spencer-Oatey in her study examining the interface between intercultural competence and the pragmatics of intercultural business discourse.

1.1. Cultural scripts and intercultural communication

People who live "in" different languages live in different cultural worlds, with different norms and expectations. No one is more qualified to make generalizations about the "cultural worlds" associated with different languages than those who inhabit two such worlds, especially linguistic "migrants", says Wierzbicka. She

uses Natural Semantic Mini-language (NSM) as a tool for articulating "cultural scripts". All natural languages share a common core of "conceptual primes" and a "universal grammar". Because of this it is possible to construct equivalent NSMs on the basis of any language. There is an English NSM, but there is also a Spanish NSM, a Japanese NSM, a Chinese NSM, a Malay NSM, etc. (e.g., Goddard and Wierzbicka (eds.) 2002).

The use of NSM as a system of conceptual analysis depends on being able to break down complex language-specific meanings and ideas into extended explanatory paraphrases, known as explications. This is the major concern of Wierzbicka's paper. Insights from cross-cultural literature written in English by authors of non-Anglo backgrounds throw a great deal of light on the challenges of cross-cultural lives and cross-cultural encounters. NSM techniques allow the author to translate such "experiential" evidence into "cultural scripts" written in a controlled mini-language based on simple and cross-translatable words. Her paper provides a large range of examples involving more than a dozen different languages in different social situations including, for example, Russian and English scripts for "making a request", scripts against "criticizing the person you are with", scripts for "pleasant interaction", scripts against "blurting out what one thinks", to mention just a few.

Wierzbicka warns against "a wide-spread tendency to mistake speakers of English for "simply people" (people in general) and to take Anglo cultural norms for the human norm". The use of such scripts, consistent with the "objective evidence" of lexical facts and "subjective evidence" from bicultural writers, can lead to increased cross-cultural understanding and serve as a basis for intercultural training. Thus, the methodology of cultural scripts formulated in simple and universal human concepts can help explain shared assumptions and values embedded in ways of speaking in different languages and cultures and can at the same time be practically useful in intercultural education. She is aware, though, that cultural scripts may be seen as stereotypes.

1.2. Compliments and compliment responses: A cross-cultural survey

Throughout the 1980th cross-cultural studies flourished. Contrasting systems to analyzing actual language use across cultures were invented, and studies of speech acts, in particular, were the focus of attention. The discourse completion test (DCT) (see Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper (1989) enabled researchers to gather quickly a large amount of data from different nationalities. Studies of, for example, requests, refusals, complaints, and apologies were undertaken and have remained salient till today. Likewise, the speech acts of complimenting and compliment responding have retained their attraction to students of cross-cultural pragmatics for three decades. The reason for this sustained attention may be twofold. First, the complimenting and compliment responding sequence displays a more complex structure than speech acts that have been studied in isolation, without its preceding

or successive acts (Golato 2005). Second, compliments and compliment responses reflect a multitude of socio-cultural values (Manes and Wolfson 1981). The paper by Chen, summarized below, is a survey of this active line of research in about a dozen languages carried out in the past three decades.

Research on compliments has revealed the formulaic nature of utterances used to deliver compliments in almost all languages studied (Manes and Wolfson 1981), although the actual patterns may differ from one language to another due to their respective typological features and although speakers of some languages display a great deal of creativity in complimenting (e.g., Greek). In terms of the topic of the compliment, studies have identified a small number of recurring things that get complimented on – appearance, possession, ability, and accomplishment – in all languages hitherto studied (Holmes 1988). Languages differ, however, in the relative weight they give to these for targets of compliments. Since compliment is by definition about something that is viewed favorably by society, researchers are able to discover important aspects of a culture based on their findings about the objects of compliments (Holmes 1988; Yuan 2002).

While early works (Pomerantz 1978) on compliments identify solidarity building as the primary function of compliments (American and Australian English), more recent research has revealed other functions such as to solicit information on how to obtain the item being complimented (Polish, Turkish, Greek), to mitigate the criticism that is to follow (German), and to show deference and respect (Japanese).

One notable feature of compliments that has been discovered in a host of languages is gender-based differences in the compliment behavior (Herbert 1990). Women have been found to pay and receive more compliments than men; they are complimented more on appearances than men are, and their compliments, which are more geared towards building harmony and solidarity, are less likely to be responded to than men's (American English, French, Spanish and Greek). Another cultural factor in complimenting is social status. Compliments are found to flow primarily from a speaker in higher social status to one in lower status in some languages (American English), but they flow both ways in others (Japanese, Chinese). The former, researchers believe, is due to the assumption that compliments, particularly those on ability, presupposes authority while the latter is due to the fact that compliments are also a means to show deference and respect.

Research on compliment responding has been likewise active, yielding a rich diversity of findings across languages. In recent years, a convergence seems to have been formed among researchers on how to classify compliment responses. This taxonomy is a continuum based on compliment acceptance/rejection, a scale with three major regions: Acceptance (at one end), Rejection (at the other end), and Deflection/Evasion (in the middle). Thus a gross-grained comparison can be arrived at by placing languages on this scale. Starting from the Acceptance end, one finds different varieties of Arabic, followed by different varieties of English. Then

come non-English European languages such as German and Spanish, with the possible exception of French. Turkish and East Asian languages – Chinese, Japanese, and Korean – seem to cluster towards the Rejection end.

Among the nearly two dozens of languages that have been investigated for compliment responding, Chinese stands out as an exceptionally intriguing case. Studies have placed it at different regions on the Acceptance-Deflection/Evading-Rejection scale: some found it to be characterized by rejection (Chen 1993), others provide evidence to the contrary (Yuan 2002). To add further to the complexity, evidence is emerging that Chinese speakers may be changing their ways of responding to compliments as a result of contact with other cultures (Chen and Yang, in press).

Besides summarizing findings in compliment and compliment response research, Chen discusses the contributions this research paradigm has made to pragmatics in general, most notably in the area of theory testing and building, and speculates on the directions compliment and compliment response research seems to be headed.

1.3. Telephone conversation openings across languages, cultures and settings

At the discourse level, telephone conversations have been a popular and fascinating area of research. Ever since Sacks and Schegloff's pioneering work in the 1960s and 1970s, scholars of language and social interaction have taken an interest in telephone conversation. In spite of its "apparently perfunctory character" (Schegloff 1986: 113), almost every aspect of telephone conversation turns out to be intricately organized to a fine-grained level. The chapter by Márques Reiter and Luke examines the opening section of telephone calls by reviewing forty years of research on telephone conversation openings, with a focus on the theme of variation across languages, cultures, and settings.

Schegloff's framework, on which all subsequent work is based, consists of four core sequences: summons-answer, identification/recognition, greetings and how-are-yous. Building upon this platform, scholars around the world have studied telephone openings in a variety of linguistic and cultural settings, including French, German, Spanish, Dutch, Swedish, Greek, Arabic, Persian, Chinese, Korean and Japanese. A survey of the findings reveals that of Schegloff's four core sequences, summons-answer and greetings are the most robust, their structure and relevance having been confirmed by study after study in a wide range of linguistic and cultural settings. In comparison, the identification/recognition and how-are-you sequences appear to be susceptible to greater variation. Thus, in some communities (e.g., Swedish, Dutch, and German), there appears to be a preference for self-identification, while in others (e.g., USA and others), other-recognition is preferred. Exchanges of how-are-yous seem also to be subject to variation, from communities where they are routinely done and appear to constitute a key sequence in

the opening section (e.g., Iran and Japan), to those where they seem to be regularly absent (e.g., Greece). However, as the authors point out, these observations are based on what is still a relatively small sample of languages and cultures, and must be treated as nothing more than tentative conclusions. They should be tested against further work which will hopefully extend the database to a broader range of settings, and be supported by more in-depth analyses based on collections of naturally occurring data.

Schegloff's work has also inspired much research into telephone call openings in a variety of institutional settings. The earliest studies are represented by the work carried out by Zimmerman, Whalen and others on emergency calls. Zimmerman (1984, 1992) showed that emergency calls typically have openings that are not only heavily truncated relative to ordinary calls but are organized in such a way as to display their "institutional" character. The opening section usually consists only of summons-answer and identification-acknowledgment sequences but no exchanges of greetings or how-are-yous. Organizational self-identification is typically provided right from the start by call recipients. Callers typically move directly into business immediately following an acknowledgment of the organizational self-identification in the same turn. These early studies have generated much interest in institutional calls, so that two decades after Zimmerman and others' studies there was an exponential growth of research into calls for help, from calls to 'warm lines' to various publicly and privately funded hotlines in countries beyond US and Europe. The overriding concern of most of these studies has been to uncover the ways in which institutional call openings depart from the patterns of ordinary talk and the extent to which they display similar patterns. On the whole, it seems fair to say that the findings of these and more recent studies of call centers and general service calls have confirmed those of the earlier studies. At the same time, they have deepened our understanding of institutional call openings by indentifying further parameters of variation; for example, the presence vs. absence of call recipients' explicit offers for assistance, which appears to be related to the nature of the service being provided (e.g., ordinary help lines vs. kids' help lines).

While the last forty years have seen more and more research on telephone conversation openings using data from an increasingly broader variety of communities and settings, still, in absolute terms, only a relatively small number of languages and cultures are represented. Therefore, the authors end their survey with a plea for more in-depth analysis of telephone calls in an even wider range of languages, cultures and settings in the future.

1.4. Pragmatics East and West: Similar or different?

The so-called East/West debate, which is the topic of Chen's paper, started when cross-cultural pragmaticians applied classical theories, notably the speech act theory and Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory of politeness, to Non-Western lan-

guages – Japanese and Chinese in particular – and found them wanting in their explanatory adequacy. In the case of Japanese, students argue that the notion of face does not explain, among other things, its honorific system, as the choice speakers make among the morphological variations of the verb is not depended on face considerations as defined by Brown and Levinson but on speaker's judgment of the status of the hearer with regard to power, distance, gender, and age. Constructs such as discernment (Ide 1989; Matsumoto 1989) and place (Haugh 2005) have hence been proposed for Japanese politeness. Chinese, on the other hand, are thought of as being characterized by notions such as modesty and warmth in its pragmatics (Gu 1990), as they have been found to self-denigrate in speech acts like compliment responding (modesty) and repeatedly offer things to their hearers in speech acts like invitation and dinner food plying (warmth).

Partly because they are among the most studied languages in pragmatics, Japanese and Chinese have been held as sources of evidence that East and West are fundamentally different in pragmatics, a view that has been dominating the field for more than two decades. Recently, however, a dissenting voice has emerged to defend the position that East and West are fundamentally similar. Regarding Japanese politeness, these researchers argue that Japanese honorifics are subject to the same face considerations as is believed in Western politeness. The correlation between a more formal (and polite) verbal alteration and a hearer in higher social status, for instance, means that the hearer would expect to be shown deference and respect. To be shown deference and respect, in turn, is part of positive face. Further, in languages which lack a honorific system, speakers would adjust their verbal strategies also according to the status of their hearers, a point few would disagree with (Pizziconi 2003). Similar arguments have been made about Chinese pragmatics. Showing warmth, for instance, can very well be seen as a positive politeness strategy, as it demonstrates the care for the hearer that she expects. Thus, Eastern pragmatics is not as different as it has been believed from Western politeness.

The significance of the East-West debate is far-reaching, as it has to do with the philosophical stance on whether there exist general principles underlying language use across languages and cultures, a stance that is directly related to the Whorfian hypothesis. While the view that the two cultural groups – East and West – are different is still the dominating view, its opposition, that East and West are similar, seems to be gaining some momentum and hence cannot be ignored. The continuation of the debate – the prospect of which appears to be certain – will generate more discussion about whether universal pragmatic theories exist and, if yes, what these theories should look like.

1.5. Intercultural (im)politeness and the micro-macro issue

While there have been numerous reviews of cross-cultural pragmatics politeness research (see Haugh for references), there has been little specific attention paid to studies of intercultural politeness. Haugh is concerned with the difficulties inherent to reconciling micro and macro perspectives on language, interaction, and culture in intercultural pragmatics, and as the object of study he has chosen intercultural politeness (or lack of it). The micro perspective encompasses the study of interactions between individuals, and the cognition underlying those interactions, while the macro perspective focuses on establishing norms of and expectations about language use distributed across social groups and cultures (cf. Levinson 2006; Terkourafi, in press). As stated by Haugh, the issue facing researchers in intercultural pragmatics is that, on the one hand, in attempting to move from the micro to the macro level of analysis the researcher can become vulnerable to accusations of over-generalization, while, on the other hand, in trying to move from the macro to the micro level of analysis the researcher may fall into the trap of imposing "analytic fictions" on the data at hand (Levinson 2005; Schegloff 2005). While some researchers thus have argued that these levels of analysis are complementary perspectives that are better kept distinct (Levinson 2005, 2006), Haugh argues that a more active focus on integrating micro and macro perspectives is critical to the continued advancement of intercultural pragmatics.

Concerning this perspective, Haugh makes a number of proposals. First, it is proposed that intercultural politeness theory can lend useful insight into this issue as im/politeness is both constituted in interaction in the form of evaluations (micro) and constitutive of interaction in the form of expectations. Second, he points out that the analysis of the constitution of im/politeness in interaction draws from ethnomethodological conversation analysis, while the analysis of the way in which expectations in regards to im/politeness are constitutive of interaction draw from discourse analysis and systems theory. Third, he claims that a re-conceptualization of language, interaction, and culture as both horizontally distributed and vertically stratified, may serve as a possible means of integrating these two important perspectives (see Haugh for references).

A number of case studies focusing on how different perceptions of im/politeness can arise in intercultural contexts are referred to in illustrating how these perceptions differ not only across individuals and groups (horizontal distribution), but may also invoke broader discourses and historicity (vertical stratification). The first case study involves an analysis of the way in which offence arose from diverging understandings of what was implied in a sermon given in a mosque that was later widely circulated through the mass media. The second case study involves offence that arose when a judge on American Idol was seen apparently dismissing a contestant's hearty wishes to friends killed in a shooting tragedy in the U.S. The

third case study involves differing perceptions between Australians and Taiwanese of the relative im/politeness of an apology (see Haugh for references). It is concluded that a solely micro or macro analysis would have led to an impoverished account of these incidents, and thus coming to terms with the micro-macro issue remains central to understanding both intercultural (im)politeness and the broader research program of intercultural pragmatics.

1.6. Intercultural competence and pragmatics research

Intercultural competence is extremely important in today's globalised world, and there is a growing interest in what such competence actually entails. A number of conceptual frameworks have been developed in several different disciplines, particularly in communication studies, international business and management, and foreign language education. In nearly all of these frameworks, communication is highlighted as being of crucial importance, yet there is very rarely any mention in these other disciplines of pragmatics research into intercultural interaction, despite the large amount that has been carried out. Conversely, pragmatics research into intercultural interaction almost never refers to frameworks of intercultural competence, and typically focuses on detailed linguistic analyses. In her chapter, examining the interface between intercultural competence and pragmatics research through studies of intercultural business discourse, Spencer-Oatey tries to bring the two together. She considers the extent to which pragmatics research can inform and illuminate the multidisciplinary frameworks of intercultural competence, and perhaps help them to become more truly interdisciplinary. She also discusses the need for pragmatics research to take a competency approach and relate findings to conceptualizations of intercultural competence. In doing this, she focuses on pragmatics research (and more broadly, discourse analytic research) into intercultural business interaction, restricting her analyses to studies that are based on authentic (rather than simulated or questionnaire-based) data.

After a brief introduction, Spencer-Oatey's chapter starts by outlining some of the most well known frameworks of intercultural competence, including those by Gudykunst (2002) and Ting-Toomey (1999) in communication studies and psychology, by Byram (1997) and Prechtl and Davidson Lund (2007) in applied linguistics and foreign language teaching, and by Spencer-Oatey and Stadler (2009) in applied linguistics and intercultural management. She focuses particularly on what they say about communicative competence in intercultural interaction, pointing out that there is a noticeable lack of authentic discourse data to illustrate and/or back up their points.

The author reviews intercultural pragmatics and discourse research in business contexts, focusing only on studies that analyze authentic interactional data. She considers the range of topics that the researchers select for analysis, and explores the extent to which there is any synchrony with the conceptualizations of intercul-

tural competence reviewed in her previous section. In conclusion, she argues that pragmatics research has much to offer intercultural studies, and vice versa. She draws attention to the need for greater sharing across disciplinary boundaries, and for pragmaticians to take a deeper research interest in the conceptualization and operationalization of intercultural competence.

2. Part II. Interlanguage pragmatics

The term interlanguage was first coined by Selinker (1972), and it is used to refer to learner language as a system in its own right with its own rules. The learner constructs a system of abstract linguistic rules which underlies comprehension and production. The learner's grammar is permeable, and his/her competence is transitional and variable. Interlanguage can be seen as a restructuring continuum, where the learner gradually substitutes target language for mother-tongue rules. It is a recreating continuum, although transfer from L1 may take place. At a certain stage, the learner's interlanguage may fossilize (see, for example, Ellis 1994: 50ff). From a concern with grammar and vocabulary, interlanguage research has developed to an overriding concern with interlanguage pragmatics (ILP) during the last three decades.

Part II is concerned with theoretical and methodological approaches to ILP, first in a chapter by Bardovi-Harlig exploring ILP through definition by design. In a comprehensive study covering 30 years of research in ILP, she examines the agreement between design and purpose, analyzing how data collection is designated (appropriately or not) to reflect explicitly articulated objects of study, for example, with regard to elicitation tasks, population, choice of speech acts and spontaneous conversation. In the second chapter, the traditional methodological paradigms (e.g., the CCSARP data elicitation methods and the lack of interactional data) are challenged by de Pavia, who instead advocates a comprehensive methodology with an integrated theoretical framework taking into account cognitive theories and interactional approaches. Then follow two chapters viewing ILP from the point of view of learners; first in a chapter by Yates concerned with the pragmatic challenges second learners are faced with, including both pragmalinguistic and socio-pragmatic aspects, and next in a chapter by DuFon, who is concerned with second language learners in instructional contexts, focusing on a particular task, namely the learning of address terms.

While the chapters so far have been on language use, Taguchi targets research on developmental pragmatics, revealing the scarcity of longitudinal studies. Finally, Part II ends with a study by House on the pragmatics of English as a lingua franca. While the previous studies have been concerned with L2 learning, her study is concerned with the use of a second language for communicative purposes, with the expert multilingual learner as a focal point. As such, focus is no longer on

learning, but the similarity to interlanguage can be seen in the robustness of English as a lingua franca as a system of its own and in the tendency to show fossilization.

2.1. Exploring the pragmatics of interlanguage pragmatics: Definition by design

Bardovi-Harlig's chapter investigates how the research designs used in the study of interlanguage pragmatics compare to the articulated goals of the field as evidenced in its definition of pragmatics by Crystal (1997). In this definition, adopted by Kasper and Rose in their landmark 2002 monograph, Crystal defines pragmatics as "the study of language from the point of view of users, especially of the choices they make, the constraints they encounter in using language in social interaction and the effects their use of language has on other participants in the act of communication" (p. 301). Bardovi-Harlig investigates research designs from the perspective of how they address these critical features. Working from a corpus of 152 empirical studies from refereed journals, serial publications, and edited volumes in second language acquisition and pragmatics from the last 30 years, she investigates the shape of the field today. The chapter provides a methodological portrait of interlanguage pragmatics comparing its articulated interests in, for example, interaction and the effects of language use on other participants to the actual means of eliciting data. The chapter examines the types of research questions posed by the field, how they are framed, and how they are operationalized. The review includes both production studies and studies which address comprehension and judgment tasks; it investigates how interaction is represented, and the role of mode and tasks in data collection. The analysis reveals, on the one hand, a gradual move by some researchers towards using interactive language samples even when the research questions are not framed in terms of interaction, and on the other hand, a steadfast dedication on the part of other researchers to the use of simulations of language which sometimes are ingenious and sometimes almost stubbornly at odds with spontaneous conversation in mode, lack of interaction, and degree of control. The results encourage us to think about the cost and benefits of experimental designs in terms of specific research questions and a global understanding of pragmatics in interlanguage.

2.2. An integrated approach to interlanguage pragmatics

Whereas Bardovi-Harlig's chapter is a quantitative report in the sense that it is concerned with what has been done, the goal of the integrated approach by de Paiva is qualitative investigating what theoretical and methodological approaches are preferable. Her chapter discusses theoretical and methodological approaches in interlanguage pragmatics (ILP). It starts with a critical review of the fields of inter-

language pragmatics, cross-cultural pragmatics and contrastive pragmatics, examining their articulations and arguing that it is possible to integrate the insights of each in order to make theoretical and methodological advances. The vital research questions these fields have raised are taken forward under a more comprehensive agenda. The chapter proceeds towards the theoretical implications of a comprehensive ILP agenda, considering a range of approaches in information-processing accounts in second language acquisition: (Schmidt's (1993) noticing hypothesis, Bialystok's (1993) two dimensional model), Trosborg's (1995) interactive theory, and relevance theory (Sperber and Wilson 1995), and argues that by bringing these approaches together (cf. de Paiva 2006) some of the blind-spots of existing discipline perspectives in the field can be brought into view. One of the issues considered is the role of the input for the learning of pragmatics in a second language. Next, the author sets out to cross methodological barriers with a view to proposing a comprehensive methodology in keeping with the integrated theoretical framework above. Here, traditional methodological paradigms (e.g., the CCSARP data elicitation method and the taxonomy of speech acts) in ILP are reviewed and new interactive and discourse approaches are presented.

The recent move in ILP, from studies with a focus on non-interactive data elicitation and sentence-level analysis, to discourse and conversation analysis offers greater analytical sensitivity and depth. The analytical gains of these comprehensive approaches are illustrated with a discussion of the case study of requests in Brazilian Portuguese, in which findings based on the CCSARP coding taxonomy for requests and on a discourse analytical approach are compared and discussed. The information-processing accounts together with insights from Relevance theory are brought together to shed light on learners' production of conventional expressions across proficiency levels.

2.3. Pragmatic challenges for second language learners

The term "second language" (L2) is used as a cover term relating to a later-learned language (second, third, and so on). Strictly speaking, it refers to language acquired in a natural environment but it is also sometimes used for language learning in instructional settings either in the target language country, or in a country in which the target language is not used, also referred to as foreign language (FL) learning. In her chapter on pragmatic challenges for L2 learners, Yates focuses on issues that are particularly relevant to adult users who have grown up familiar with one linguaculture, but who have later to operate successfully in another.

Interpersonal pragmatic aspects of language behavior are particularly challenging for language learners because they relate not only to linguistic features but also to deeply held values and beliefs. In reviewing what learners might find helpful, issues related to the conceptualization of interpersonal pragmatics and the interplay between language, culture and the individual speaker in interaction are ad-

dressed. The distinction between pragmalinguistic aspects of communication, that is the way in which form is mapped onto force in a linguaculture, and socio-pragmatic aspects, or the socio-cultural conventions or expectations that speakers may orient to (Thomas 1983) remains an important one for learners and teachers because it allows an appreciation of not only what might be expected in a particular interaction, but also why. Still, much work in interlanguage pragmatics has favored research into the former because it is more readily observable and less open to speculation (Alcón and Martínez-Flor 2008).

In general, when learning a language to which you are not native, both pragmalinguistic features and socio-pragmatic issues must be considered. Much research has provided insight into the challenges that non-native speakers might face in mapping force onto form in other languages, particularly work on speech act sets (e.g., Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper 1989; Kasper and Blum-Kulka 1993; Trosborg 1995) and has thus favored research into the former. Besides, as Scollon and Scollon (2001) note, the considerable amount of work on differences between cultures has not always been directly related to interaction, and yet cultural issues play a central role in establishing a communicative ethos (e.g., Sifianou 1992). Acknowledging this shortcoming, Yates also manages to provide insights into socio-pragmatic issues provided by speech act studies, theories of politeness and face, and ethnographies (see Yates for references).

In conclusion, Yates suggests that future research in non-native pragmatics should embrace a range of perspectives and methodological approaches, and tackle a wider range of languages and cultures. In this way we may arrive at a more integrated picture of what happens when speakers from different linguacultures interact. In the light of the explosion in global communication in recent years, not only in Europe but world-wide, it is imperative that we also relate these findings to the theory and processes of intercultural competence.

2.4. The acquisition of terms of address in a second language

Interlanguage pragmatics has been restricted by a number of researchers (Kasper and Dahl 1991) to research on speech acts, so that, for example, the acquisition of address terms fell outside the scope of ILP. This is not the case in this handbook. Terms of address are considered an important aspect of intercultural pragmatics and thus of interest to ILP studies.

DuFon points to terms of address as an important means of expressing both identity and relationship with the interlocutor. Any term that does not match the interlocutors' perceptions of identity and relationship is likely to decrease their desire to be cooperative and benevolent. Therefore, it is important to choose address terms wisely. Yet choosing an appropriate address term can be challenging even for native speakers, let alone foreign language learners, because each address system consists of a variety of forms that are selected based on a set of criteria that vary

across and within languages and requires considerable socialization and practice in a wide range of situations.

In her chapter, DuFon synthesizes the research that has been conducted on the acquisition of various types of address forms including zero pronouns, lexical pronouns, names, kin terms, and titles by foreign language learners. She then examines how teaching materials, classroom instruction, and interaction with native speakers through both computer mediated communication and study abroad can assist learners in acquiring address forms.

Her research reveals that the acquisition of address terms in a second language is similar to that in a first language. First, it is a complex process that takes place over time as learners move from using address terms appropriately in unambiguous cases to doing so in ambiguous cases as well. Learners can accomplish the former through textbooks and classroom experience, but accomplishing the latter ultimately requires them to engage in social interaction with competent members of the speech community. Second, the sequence of address term development depends on the quantity and quality of social relationships that learners experience, which in turn depend both on the learning context and on individual learners' characteristics including personal traits such as openness and motivation, and the abilities to notice what competent speakers do, to be aware of what they themselves actually do, and to take the perspective of another.

In order to assist learners in their acquisition of address terms, teachers need to help them to: 1) disambiguate the address system; 2) notice the holes (Swain 1998: 66) or notice the gaps in their knowledge and performance (Schmidt and Frota 1986), and 3) shift their perspectives away from more ethnocentric ones to broader more encompassing ones. Some techniques for accomplishing these goals as well as directions for future research are also provided.

2.5. Longitudinal studies in interlanguage pragmatics.

Researchers in the field of second language acquisition often ask: How do people develop competence in a second language (L2)? What internal and external factors affect the development? What variations are observed in the process and outcome of the development? Existing research on interlanguage pragmatics has predominantly focused on pragmatic use, not on development. As observed by Kasper and Schmidt (1996), a great majority of studies in ILP has not been developmental; focus has rather been given to the ways in which non-native speakers' pragmalinguistic and socio-pragmatic knowledge differ from that of native speakers and among learners with different linguistic and cultural backgrounds.

A little more than a decade later, Taguchi provides a state-of-the-art of developmental issues in interlanguage pragmatics research. Her research synthesis addresses such questions as they are found in the domain of ILP. Exhaustive electronic and manual searches of literature were conducted to locate accessible

longitudinal studies published up to 2009. Bibliographic searches of refereed journals, books and book chapters, and conference monographs yielded a body of 21 unique studies for analysis (see Taguchi for references). Her chapter compares findings across the studies and explores the patterns and inconsistencies that emerge among them. In the area of pragmatic comprehension, learners seem to progress from the stage where meaning is marked via strong signals, such as universal or shared conventionality between L1 and L2, to the stage where meaning does not involve those signals and thus requires a series of inferential stages to comprehend. In the area of pragmatic perception, L1 socio-pragmatic norms are found to shape learners' meta-pragmatic awareness of appropriateness, and opportunities to observe native speakers' interactions seem to help learn correct form-function-context mappings. In the area of pragmatic production, it appears that form-function-context mappings are not internalized in a linear manner. Learners usually begin with a limited range of pragmalinguistic resources, and gradually expand their pragmalinguistic repertoire by adopting a new form-function mapping into their systems.

2.6. The pragmatics of English as a lingua franca

Whereas the studies presented so far in this part on interlanguage pragmatics have all been concerned with language learning and thus fall well within the scope of ILP, studies of lingua franca are not concerned with learning as such, but focus instead on the use for communicative purposes of a foreign language, in most cases English, to which the users are not native. In her chapter, House states that English as a lingua franca (ELF) is used much more frequently today than native English. Major characteristics of ELF are its enormous functional flexibility and spread over many different linguistic, geographical and cultural areas and its openness to foreign forms. In its role as a language for communication (House 2003), ELF can be compared to Latin at the time of the late Roman Empire. It has a full linguistic and communicative range, and can thus not be described as a language for specific purposes, a pidgin or Creole, foreigner talk or interlanguage. ELF is characterized by a multiplicity of multilingual and multicultural voices that are alive underneath the English surface.

Early empirical pragmatics-related studies of ELF (e.g., Firth 1996) point to the surprisingly consensual, "normal", and robust nature of ELF interactions achieved primarily through the "let-it-pass" principle and demonstrations of group solidarity. More recent studies highlight ELF's inherent variability (Firth 2009), and the results of many corpus-based studies show how ELF speakers deviate from, and creatively develop native English norms (House 2009; Jenkins 2009; Seidlhofer 2009). Other features of ELF interactions found in ELF research include transfer from L1 and code-switching, repetition and self-initiated repair, negotiation and the co-construction of utterances as well as the systematic re-inter-

pretation of discourse markers such as *you know, I think, I mean, I don't know, yes* and *so* used in order to make speakers more self-referenced and supporting utterance production (Baumgarten and House 2010). While ELF speakers as multilingual and multicultural individuals par excellence have well-developed strategic competence, their "pragmatic fluency" might well be improved.

3. Part III. Teaching and testing of second/foreign language pragmatics

Over the last two decades, the development of learners' communicative competence in a second (L2) or foreign (FL) language has been one of the main concerns of language teaching professionals in the field of second language acquisition (see e.g., Kasper and Rose 2002). As current models of communicative competence have shown (Trosborg 1995; Usó-Juan and Martínez-Flor 2006; Celce-Murcia 2007), communicating appropriately and effectively in a target language requires not only knowledge of the features of the language system, but also of the pragmatic rules of language use. In fact, as noted by Crandall and Basturkmen (2004) among others, error of appropriacy on the part of the non-native speakers may have more negative consequences than grammatical errors. For example, while a grammar error when performing an impositive face-threatening speech act may be seen as a language problem by native speakers, an error of appropriacy may characterize the non-native speaker as being uncooperative, or more seriously, rude and offensive. Having acknowledged the need for second language learner's to achieve pragmatic competence, the question was now whether pragmatics could be taught, and if answered in the affirmative, what would be the most successful teaching method(s)? Studies (e.g., Bardovi-Harlig 2001; Golato 2003) have shown that interlanguage pragmatic knowledge is indeed teachable. Consequently, teaching pragmatic competence in instructed settings has been regarded as necessary to facilitate learners' pragmatic developmental process (Alcón and Martínez-Flor 2005, 2008; Kasper and Roever 2005; Tatsuki 2005).

Both pragmalinguistic and socio-pragmatic competence were desired and the recurrent question in research was whether a deductive or inductive method was the better way to teach pragmatic competence, in other words should pragmatic competence be taught through an explicit or an implicit approach. In the first chapter in Part II, Takahashi provides a very extensive review of research on the effects of pragmatics teaching procedures. This is followed by a more specific study on the teaching of speech acts (Usó-Juan and Martínez-Flor). Error correction is the subject of a chapter by Cheng and Cheng and finally, what has been achieved so far in the testing of ILP is reported in a study by Liu.

3.1. Assessing learnability in second language pragmatics

In her chapter, Takahashi sees the question from the point of view of the learner when she sets out to explore whether target language pragmatic features are sufficiently learnable through pedagogical intervention and what factors constrain pragmatic learnability the most. As a parallel to mainstream instructed second language acquisition research, a number of interlanguage pragmatics researchers have been making efforts to investigate the effects of intervention in second language pragmatics since the 1980s (e.g., Alcón and Martínez-Flor 2005; Martínez-Flor, Usó-Juan and Fernández-Guerra 2003; Rose and Kasper 2001). One of the major findings shared by these studies is that providing meta-pragmatic information or certain forms of explicit intervention was indeed effective or helpful for learners to develop pragmatic competence in L2. However, it is also reported that some aspects of pragmatic features are difficult to teach and learn despite the conscious noticing of elements in the surface structure of utterances in the input (e.g., Takahashi 2001). Furthermore, some studies demonstrated that the effectiveness of implicit intervention may be similar to that of explicit intervention (e.g., Takimoto 2007).

In order to get a clearer picture of the effect of different forms of intervention, Takahashi provides an overview of the findings of pragmatic intervention research that have been accumulated during the past two and a half decades, and attempts to grasp a general tendency emerging with respect to pragmatic learnability through explicit and implicit interventions. Subsequently, by exclusively focusing on the studies that provided information on the durability of treatment effects through delayed posttests, further effort was invested in critically examining the possible factors constraining pragmatic learnability through pedagogical intervention.

In her overview section, Takahashi focuses on 48 interventional studies in L2 pragmatics, all of which are experimental or quasi-experimental studies with a pretest-posttest design. This overview revealed several aspects with respect to pragmatic learnability on the basis of the findings of the past research. As expected, pragmatic learnability is highly attainable through explicit intervention and the positive role of meta-pragmatic explanation is confirmed. This tendency is more marked for the learning of socio-pragmatic features. However, it was also found that some pragmatic features appear to be sufficiently learnable through implicit intervention. Much research has been invested in what is the more successful approach. However, as shown by Trosborg and Shaw (2008), the solution lies in employing both. They found that a combination of deductive and inductive methods is far more successful than each of the two approaches used on its own. Left is to emphasize that we should note that many of the studies reviewed yielded mixed results; learnability is apparently affected by the types of target features and assessment measures and the methods of analyzing data.

The factors constraining pragmatic learnability through pedagogical intervention were further explored in relation to the robustness of intervention. For this

purpose, Takahashi reinterpreted pragmatic learnability as the "durability of the treatment effects" and concentrated on examining the results of the delayed post-tests, which were obtained from parts of the 48 studies. With regard to the robustness of pedagogical intervention, explicit intervention is on the whole robust enough for learning the target pragmatic features, particularly, some aspects of socio-pragmatic features. Exceptions would include some interactional markers as applied to extended turns at talk and the linguistic aspects of some socio-cultural rules for conversation. At the same time, it appears that some forms of input-based implicit interventions are also robust enough to produce relatively large and positive learning outcomes in L2 pragmatics. In addition, the following four factors may be possible candidates for constraining pragmatic learnability: (1) learners' perception of their own problems with respect to the use of the target pragmatic features, (2) learners' active involvement in cognitive comparison between their own performance of the target features and the corresponding normative performance obtained from natural communicative interactions, (3) learners' reliance on their own efforts to discover pragmatic "rules" or conventions, and (4) learners' experiences of immediate communicative needs in relation to the treatment tasks.

The findings of Takahashi's review were further examined using the framework of Schmidt's (2001) noticing hypothesis. The crucial point of this research is the method of heightening awareness at the level of "understanding." In this respect, she argues for the importance of learners' pushing themselves to process the target pragmatic features; this deeper processing could be maximized when interventions – irrespective of their explicitness – involve or assure parts or all of the four factors identified as those constraining pragmatic learnability.

Moreover, as one of the pedagogical implications, the issue of socio-cultural norms in pragmatic intervention was addressed. One of the most critical questions is whether or to what extent learners need to conform themselves to their target language norms in their own speech. The most pertinent answer to this question would be that learners should be left with their own decision in this respect; in fact, this is the stance adopted by a vast majority of ILP researchers when learners are taught pragmatic features in classroom settings.

3.2. The teaching of major speech acts

Having outlined the importance of pragmatics competence and the need for this to be taught, Usó-Juan and Martínez-Flor focus on teaching methods. Given the needs for instruction and the prospects of a successful outcome, the authors focus on one specific area within pragmatics, namely that of speech acts. They present research-based approaches, techniques and activities that enable learners to overcome their pragmatic difficulties in a given context and subsequently help them in successfully communicating in English (see Usó-Juan and Martínez-Flor for references). In particular, the teaching approaches discussed in their chapter are cen-

tered on the three major speech acts of requests, suggestions and refusals, since their use may intrinsically threaten the hearers' face and, therefore, call for considerable pragmatic expertise on the part of the learners for their successful performance. They present major characteristics of these crucial speech acts followed by a revision of the different proposals that have been elaborated for the teaching of pragmatics in instructed settings. Finally, on the basis of those proposals, they outline in detail particular teaching techniques and activities that may help L2/FL learners to appropriately perform these three major speech acts in different contextual situations.

3.3. Error correction

Another aspect of crucial importance to L2 instruction is that of error correction. A central question is when and how to correct. The relevant theory relates back in particular to Schegloff et al. In a chapter on "Correcting others and self-correcting in business and professional discourse and textbooks", Cheng and Cheng discuss these problems. Their chapter falls in two parts. First it reviews the literature on the speech acts of self-repair and other-repair which are essential to "the study of social organization and social interaction" (Schegloff et al. 1977). The definitions comprise two types of repair, self-repair and other-repair, and two sub-types of these repair types: self-initiated self-repair, other initiated self-repair, self-initiated other-repair and other-initiated other-repair. The authors describe the trouble sources related to these repair types and the preference for self-correction over other-correction. The review of previous studies shows that the speech act of correction/repair has been examined in a variety of interactional contexts and investigated in terms of types of repairs, repair strategies, and the associated linguistic forms and reformulations, as well as the possible social-organizational, cognitive, and morpho-syntactic factors that contribute to the use of repair by speakers. In addition, the review reports a variety of research methodologies adopted and data analyzed, e.g., intonation, corpus analysis of spontaneous speech in English, self-report data from English learners, comparative analysis of everyday conversation and classroom discourse, comparative analysis between native and non-native speakers with a number of different language backgrounds (see Cheng and Cheng for references). They also provide and exemplify seven types of syntactic organization of repair from naturally occurring conversation from the work of Fox and Jasperson (1995).

The second part of Cheng and Cheng's paper reports on a research study conducted in Hong Kong which examines teaching materials presented in school textbooks and compares them with a study of spoken discourse. The two speech acts of how to correct others and self-correction are explicitly taught to upper school students of English in Hong Kong, but the structures and linguistic realizations of these acts are fairly limited. Through examining authentic spoken discourse in the

prosodically transcribed corpus of Hong Kong business and professional English, their study seeks to determine the ways in which the speech acts of correcting others and self-correcting are linguistically realized in real-life communication, compared to what is to be found in school English language textbooks. It was found that there were differences, both in terms of forms and linguistic realizations between the corpus-driven findings and the textbooks, because the latter tend to rely on the introspections of the textbook writers rather than real-world language use. Both research and pedagogical implications in the area of pragmatics across languages and cultures were made. First of all, the findings from this study suggest that the textbooks currently in use in Hong Kong are in need of revision as far as the teaching of correcting others and self-correcting are concerned. Also, the rather prescriptive ways in which these speech acts are presented in the textbooks are misleading because they omit the variety of linguistic realizations available to speakers when they perform these speech acts. The findings of the study also have implications for the promotion of intercultural communicative competence. The study shows that current students in Hong Kong are not taught what has been found to be appropriate, authentic ways of correcting others and self-correcting, which could potentially adversely affect their pragmatic competence. The comparison of the intercultural communication and pragmatic competence between the two sets of speakers (Hong Kong Chinese and English Speaking Westerners) examined points the way to future studies in these areas.

3.4. Testing interlanguage pragmatic knowledge

In previous papers of language teaching, it was discussed how the teaching of pragmatics is a difficult and sensitive issue, for one thing due to the high degree of 'face threat' it often involves; and second, because of the limited number of available pedagogical resources. Liu (2006) adds that this reluctance should also be attributed to the lack of valid methods for testing ILP knowledge.

Liu's paper introduces the status quo of ILP competence assessment, followed by a survey of relevant research. He examined the reliability, validity and practicality of testing methods and rating procedures obtained in a survey of relevant research. He examined 16 studies. The main focus was on speech acts, in particular requests, apologies and refusals, and a few studies on suggestions, disagreeing, and implicatures. The target language was English, with the exception of 2 studies in Japanese, 1 in Korean and 1 in Spanish. The learners were from different language backgrounds. The testing methods employed were various forms of the DCT and roles plays. The results of these studies were not consistent. While role play tests were found to be reliable and reasonably valid, the findings of the DCT tests varied. In some studies it was shown that the multiple-choice discourse completion test (MC DCT) was valid and reliable, whereas others demonstrated a low reliability and validity for the MC DCT.

Liu discusses problems and difficulties relating in particular to testing methods, rating, social variables, and scenario generation. He concludes that there are more questions about assessing pragmatics than there are answers and more research studies are badly needed. More attention should be paid to and more studies should be conducted on the assessment of ILP knowledge. The paper introduces the status quo of ILP competence assessment, followed by a survey of relevant research. Then it discusses some of the major problems in ILP assessment, and finishes with some suggestions for further research.

4. Part IV. Pragmatics in corporate culture communication

In a business environment, unique corporate cultures will share some commonalities as they are influenced and confined by the laws, regulations and customs of the national culture of the nation state to which they belong. However, there will also be industry-specific identifications, conditions and traditions which traverse national boundaries and allow researchers to cross-culturally study a single industry and to distinguish between or compare its membership's varying cultures. In this context, the corporate cultures of the individual industry within and across national cultures represent a viable and controllable object of study for providing insights into the different customs and practices of corporate discourse.

Fiol, Hatch and Golden-Biddle (1998: 56) argue that an organization's identity is the result of a culturally embedded, self-focused process of sense-making defined by "who we are in relation to the larger social system to which we belong". Having realized this, an organization may go on to display its culture by verbalizing who it is through corporate discourse. According to Hatch and Schultz (2000), deeply rooted cultural values, attitudes and behaviors imbue organizations with expressive powers containing narration, corporate value statements and the symbolic use of names, slogans and visuals which, as the self-presentation of identity, provide reflections of culture and cultures at organizational, industry and national levels. In creating such identities, large corporations around the world, regardless of national origin, have found that certain structures work better for multinational business than others do (Varner and Beamer (2005). Yet the apparent similarities may cover up different underlying approaches to doing business. As e.g., Adler (1986) has pointed out:

> Organizations worldwide are growing similar, while behavior of people within organizations is maintaining its cultural uniqueness. So organizations in Canada and Germany may look the same from the outside, but Canadians and Germans behave differently within them (quoted in Varner and Beamer 2005: 333).

Corporate culture helps companies and employees from many different cultures to connect and communicate.

Pragmatic theory has greatly influenced and contributed to research in corporate communication. The articles concerned with corporate culture communication divide into two parts. In the first place, Yli-Jokipii emphasizes the great stimulus and innovative theory pragmatics has been for corporate communication research. She investigates how, in particular, speech act theory and genre analysis have contributed to analyzing corporate communication. Likewise, credibility in discourse (an old Aristotelian concept found in ordinary discourse) also finds its way to corporate discourse in the article by Jørgensen and Isaksson. Second, new and emergent fields are introduced and discussed. Research specifically geared to corporate communication comprises crisis communication (Frandsen and Johansen) and Corporate Social Responsibility (Thomsen; Mayes).

4.1. Pragmatics and research into corporate communication

The pragmatic approach to language and culture has had an enormous impact on research into corporate communication. Yli-Jokipii examines how pragmatic research methodology has been employed in corporate communication. Her approach is defined not only as an approach that views communication in context, as discourse, but also as one that deals with textual issues, bringing into focus extratextual context, such as the complexities of the professional situation in which communication takes place, interactants in the communicative instance concerned, their professional roles and the power issues contained in such roles, their mutual relationship with regard to the social distance between them, as well as their cultural and linguistic backgrounds.

Yli-Jokipii offers an account of how and what the pragmatic approach has contributed to research into corporate communication in the past decade or so. Two prime principles run throughout her paper. First, it is concerned with research that uses genuine, real-life material that is investigated within a pragmatic framework. Second, attention is paid to cultural issues involved in and findings yielded by such research set-ups. The primary focus is on intercultural corporate communication.

Launching from research oriented with certain speech acts, such as requests and apologies, Yli-Jokipii's discussion involves politeness issues and focus on the higher-level concepts of directness and imposition that are central in intercultural corporate interaction. The notions of power and distance are dealt with as well. While the aforementioned concepts were in the forefront in the 1990's in particular, they remain important in corporate communication at all times. For example, negotiation research involving these variables has produced worthwhile insight into cultural variation. Furthermore, her paper focuses on research in which genre-oriented issues are fore-fronted. This covers recent research dealing with the canonical business letter as well as topics such as media choice, e-mail communication and multimodal corporate communication (see Yli-Jokipii for references).

4.2. Credibility in corporate discourse

Jørgensen and Isaksson treat the concept of source credibility or ethos and its centrality in relation to the communication of organizational identity. Since most organizational identity theorists (e.g., Hatch and Schultz 2000) have been silent on the role of credibility vis-à-vis organizational culture, identity and image, the authors argue that there exists an underexplored area of study of relevance to both pragmaticians and corporate discourse analysts.

The authors follow the general assumption of current organizational identity theory that organizational culture defines members' shared identity which, in turn, informs the self-presentations they continuously make in order to change or maintain the images held by the organization's stakeholders. These messages essentially display the organization's expertise, trustworthiness or empathy to anyone interested in the corporate "soul", and they contain the potential to affect the readers' or listeners' images of the organization. The authors' treatment of source credibility thus takes departure in the classical Aristotelian conception of the construct and the observation that ethos is a pragmatic resource constituted by language and by linguistic practice (Baumlin 1994).

They introduce source credibility from classical, modern and contemporary perspectives, linking the construct to the notions of organizational identity, culture and image. To do this, they move swiftly from Aristotelian rhetoric to highlight the mid-20th century revival of ethos (see Jørgensen and Isaksson for references). They give credit to the New Rhetoric theory of Burke (1950), Toulmin (1959), and Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (1969) for being instrumental in recasting classical notions of rhetoric, and they emphasize that early pragmatic studies of business discourse were grounded in the philosophically and rhetorically informed theory on conversational maxims by Grice (1975), the research on face-work and impression management by Goffman (1959, 1967), and the work on politeness by Brown and Levinson (1987). Finally, they call attention to some of the more recent discussions of ethos and applications of the construct (see Jørgensen and Isaksson for references).

In this manner, the authors provide an overview of the small number of pragmatic studies of corporate discourse which are directly or indirectly concerned with source credibility in a variety of genres. These studies illustrate the shift in focus over time from the very detailed analyses of text at sentence level to a concern with the structuring of text into chunks and, subsequently, to a preoccupation with the rhetorical planning and execution of discourse on the basis of corporate culture, image and identity. The authors also touch on the more recent inclusion of visual rhetoric (Kjeldsen 2002) as an important dimension in understanding how visual imagery may reinforce the production of credibility and assist in its analysis. Through their own research and modeling of ethos (Jørgensen and Isaksson 2008), the authors demonstrate how ethos is not only a rhetorical construct in the planning

of discourse, but one that can be made operational at the level of text and pictures in corporate discourse.

4.3. Corporate crisis communication across cultures

In their contribution, Frandsen and Johansen provide a state of the art review of the research that has been conducted to date within the new and emergent field of crisis communication. The first part of the chapter is devoted to definitional questions and to an overview of the previous research on crisis communication. This research is divided into two general categories: 1) a rhetorical or text-oriented research tradition which focuses on what and how an organization communicates in a crisis situation, and 2) a strategic and context-oriented research tradition which is more interested in when, where and to whom the organization in crisis starts communicating. The first tradition is represented by various approaches to crisis communication such as the theory of Image Restoration or Image Repair Strategies (Benoit 1995) and the theory of Terminological Control (Hearit 2006), whereas the second tradition is represented by approaches such as the Situational Crisis Communication Theory or SCCT (Coombs 2007) and the Contingency Theory of Accommodation (Cancel et al. 1997). Johansen and Frandsen (2007) have tried to overcome some of the problems linked to these approaches by developing a multi-vocal approach to crisis communication called the Rhetorical Arena which takes into account the many corporate and non-corporate "voices" which meet and compete as a crisis breaks out and accelerates.

The second part of their chapter is about the intercultural dimension of crises, crisis management and crisis communication: Does culture have an impact on how organizations and their stakeholders perceive, react to and handle a crisis? Departing from a model embracing three interrelated dimensions (the organization in crisis, various types of stakeholders, and two cultural levels: national culture and organizational culture), the studies conducted so far within the intercultural perspective are presented and discussed with a clear focus on crisis communication and national cultures (cf. Lee 2004, 2005a, 2005b; Huang, Lin and Su 2005; Hearit 2006) and crises, stakeholders and national cultures (cf. Taylor 2000; Arpan and Sun 2006).

4.4. The pragmatics of Corporate Social Responsibility across cultures

Conceptions of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) have existed since the 17th century, but it is only in the last two decades that this notion has become more widely recognized within management literature (Simola 2007; Steurer et al. 2005). During this time, CSR has commonly been understood in terms of the so-called "Triple Bottom Line" (3BL) for business accounting by which corporate success is evaluated not only through the conventional bottom line involving finan-

cial results, but also through the bottom lines of environmental and social performance (Elkington 1997). Recently, leading scholars have begun to conceptualize the social component of 3BL (e.g., Carroll 1991, 1999) seeing it, for example, as a visionary approach to international business that promotes corporate profitability (Hart 2005). However, the literature points out that a successful implementation of CSR requires not only the adoption of new strategic approaches but also the establishment of new and culturally sensitive relationships.

The paper by Thomsen introduces the most important theoretical and empirical approaches to the concept of Corporate Social Responsibility, its management and communication. Then follows a discussion of the wider pragmatic implications and consequences of adopting CSR as a central strategic tool in modern corporate communication. With regard to CSR management, the focus is on four main theoretical groupings, namely instrumental theories, political theories, integrative theories and ethical theories, and on how CSR is socially constructed in a specific context, the latter forming the empirical part of the chapter (outline in Garriga and Melé 2004). With regard to CSR communication, the focus is on the literature in terms of implicit CSR moving towards explicit CSR (Matten and Moon 2008). Implicit CSR normally consists of values, norms and rules which result in requirements for corporations to address issues that stakeholders consider a proper obligation of corporate actors. Explicit CSR would normally consist of voluntary, self-interest driven policies, programs and strategies by corporations addressing issues perceived to be part of their responsibility towards their various stakeholders.

Having reviewed the literature on the meaning-in-context of CSR, Thomsen's main concern is how and why the understanding of CSR differs from country to country and culture to culture.

4.5. A case study of Corporate Social Responsibility

Using Starbucks Corporation as a case study, Mayes examines how language is used to construct a corporate identity of "social responsibility" and in the process desirable consumer identities. Employing work in several disciplines as a foundation for her study, she examines how one corporation (Starbucks) uses language to construct an identity of corporate social responsibility (CSR) and in the process also constructs identities that are desirable to consumers. The language used by Starbucks in its web site and advertisements can be understood as an example of what Gee, Hull and Lankshear (1997) refer to as "fast capitalist texts", which are designed to espouse the benefits of globalization in a "free market" economy while denying any negative effects such changes may have at the local level. Mayes links these points to Bazerman's (2002) study which suggests, in essence, that over the past century individuals' values and interests (interpreted as social interests such as education and health care) have become increasingly merged with marketplace,

economic interests, primarily through discursive practices, which continue to evolve, making this merger ever more efficient.

Starbucks mentions three types of social responsibilities in its web site and advertisements: Basic Economic Functions, Consequences of Basic Economic Functions, and General Social Problems; and there are many instances in which all three types are intertwined. Mayes then examines how this discursive construction of CSR policy creates a socially responsible corporate identity for the company and desirable consumer identities. Based on Bucholtz and Hall's (2005) framework, identity is defined as fluid and constructed moment-by-moment through discursive action, and is assumed to be a means for linking the individual and marketplace interests discussed by Bazerman (2002). Mayes goes on to examine two specific discursive strategies that Starbucks uses to construct these identities. Following Ahearn (2001), a connection is made between social agency and semantic agency, and Starbucks is found to use clause-level, semantic agency in two ways: In the first case, when socially responsible actions are discussed, Starbucks is constructed as the semantic agent, the "doer" of these actions; in the second case, Starbucks' agency is downplayed in order to suggest that it is a compassionate, caring experiencer and perhaps to highlight the agentive role of other individuals such as coffee growers and consumers. The common thread with respect to these two strategies is that both serve to humanize the corporation, thus making the identity of the good corporate citizen more persuasive. In addition, the discursive construction of Starbucks' good corporate citizen identity also suggests consumer identities of elite (global) class and good citizenship, which become available as consumers symbolically align themselves with Starbucks through the purchase of its products. Bucholtz (1999) has suggested that language is instrumental in forging a link between social class and consumption, and the discourse used by Starbucks to promote its products supports this point.

In concluding, Mayes suggests that Starbucks' discourse is an example of the merging of marketplace interests with individuals' social values, typical of today's "fast capitalist texts" that discursively construct a "perfect world" where private citizens are portrayed as empowered and working with corporations for the good of all. Following Bazerman (2002), she also suggests that it is essential that applied language experts focus ever more attention on evolving discursive practices, as they may open up new ways of enacting civic participation and creating identities of citizenship. As the case study of Starbucks Corporation shows, private corporations are very adept at using newer genres and media, and in order to enact their own form of social responsibility, informed citizens must be equally savvy.

5. Summing up and looking ahead

Four main areas crucial to "Pragmatics across language and cultures" have been presented and discussed. The survey is by no means exhaustive of the tremendous growth of research in the areas over the last decades. It does, however, capture some major trends of development. It goes from a cross-cultural analysis of language systems to intercultural interactive aspects of communication based mainly on authentic data.

Pure contrastive studies are not part of this handbook. The importance of culture has been very pervasive and is now a crucial aspect of contrastive studies, whether these are cross-cultural or intercultural in orientation. Throughout the 1980th cross-cultural studies flourished. The discourse completion test (DCT) enabled researchers to gather quickly a large amount of data from different nationalities. However, it was only when researchers began to focus on actual language interaction between people with different cultural backgrounds that intercultural theories began to take form.

Two dominant aspects in pragmatics research have been speech act theory and Brown and Levinson's politeness theory. The relationship between politeness and culture has been the focus of a vast amount of research in the past thirty years. Focus has been on politeness phenomena in a single culture (intracultural politeness) compared with those of other cultures (cross-cultural politeness). With the vast literature on cross-cultural politeness it is time that politeness researchers focus more on politeness strategies in intercultural interactions, where the participants have different (socio)cultural backgrounds (intercultural politeness). Integrating the micro perspective (encompassing the study of interaction between individuals) and the macro perspectives (focusing on establishing norms and expectations about language use distributed across social groups) and culture is critical to the continued advancements of research in intercultural pragmatics.

The advice for future research studies in interlanguage pragmatics goes from designating data collection to appropriately reflect explicitly articulated objects of study – agreement between design and purpose – to reiterating areas of investigations that are underrepresented in ILP studies. Although ILP research has benefited greatly from the overwhelming amount of research carried out, it seems that ILP has often followed too closely research that has already been conducted, resulting in dominance of certain speech acts, elicitation tasks and populations.

ILP research would benefit from expanding the range of languages investigated. Languages and settings not commonly researched can be approached with natural data or innovative designs. In addition, ILP research would also benefit from expanding learner population from almost exclusively instructed language learners to investigating second language learning and use among uninstructed learners. As for elicitation tasks, role plays show many of the same features as

spontaneous conversation, for example, including sequential effects for turn-taking, but they lack established realizations between speakers and real world consequences beyond the task itself. Samples of authentic and consequential language use should be collected whenever possible in order to avoid the worries of how good a simulation is and how natural "naturalistic" tasks are. Interaction can only be studied through interaction and effects on others can better be viewed through interaction among the parties. Furthermore authentic and consequential data best reveals language use and where two-way-communication occurs, interaction and effect on participants as well. Oral language should be used whenever studying conversational features, and written production should be abandoned as a facsimile of oral production. Two areas that are under-explored are emotional reaction and sincerity of turns.

Since the idea of ILP was introduced into language education, it has received more and more attention in language courses. As ILP development does not necessarily follow grammatical development, and not least due to the "face threat" of pragmatic failure, the necessity and importance of teaching pragmatics was recognized. Much research has been invested in ILP teaching and special attention has been devoted to teaching methodology. Two aspects in particular have attracted attention, namely whether deductive or inductive methods should be employed. Here a combination of approaches is called for. Studies of pragmalinguistic aspects have by far outperformed studies in socio-pragmatics. However, as socio-pragmatics issues of communicative ethos are vital to our understanding of why it is that people use language in the way they do, future studies need not only to investigate what is said by whom in what situation, but also why language is used the way it is. Furthermore, intervention demonstrating greater pragmatic learnability was characterized by learners' pushing themselves to process the target pragmatic features. Still, pragmatic intervention potentially encompasses a possible resistance to the target-culture oriented approach in the part of learners who want to maintain their own identity rather than comply with target socio-cultural norms they do not value.

Instructional frameworks and teaching techniques for the teaching of speech acts should be extended. More research is needed to examine the effectiveness of activities and pedagogical models depending on individual and social variables, such as gender, age, level of education, power and social distance. Future studies that focus on the relationships between these variables and their pragmatic development are called for. The need for further research is even more pronounced for the testing of ILP knowledge. Here, a reluctance to test ILP knowledge was observed not only because of the "face threat" involved, but also because the number of pedagogical resources are limited. The findings obtained so far can only be used in research, they are not valid for actual testing purposes.

Students need to be taught appropriate and authentic ways of speech act realization, be it repair-acts or other speech acts. English textbooks have been found to

omit the variation of linguistic realization available to speakers in real life situations. Textbook writers are advised to refer to relevant corpora for both context specific and genuine examples of speech acts to incorporate a more accurate and wider rage of forms, strategies and structural patterns into their teaching material in order to better reflect the realities of language use.

Intercultural competence is recognized as being extremely important in today's globalized world. A vast amount of research on the conceptualization of intercultural competence has been presented, but hardly ever has links been made to pragmatics research into intercultural interaction. Conversely, research into the latter almost never refers to frameworks of intercultural competence. So links between the two approaches are needed. Issues of intercultural communication remain highly relevant to learners of any language who interact with native speakers or in (business) contexts with other non-native speakers. Recent work on intercultural competence and language as a lingua franca have opened up new ways, particularly as they relate to international commercial contexts. The norm is not the monolingual native speaker, but rather the expert multilingual user.

An attempt was made to identify emerging trends in corporate communication research and its findings. It was pointed out that employing pragmatic research methodology in corporate communication has thus far made remarkable progress and produced noteworthy results. Over the past fifteen years there has been a transition from research into linguistically centered issues to research in issues relevant to the business profession. Here, the scholar investigating corporate communication in modern intercultural settings has an increased number of problems to investigate. Serious attention must be paid to the increasing multi-modality of corporate discourse while at the same time the basic complexities of human interaction is unlikely to change, dissolve or give way to a more uniform, culture-free discourse.

Additionally, this field has given rise to innovative promising research in little researched areas, such as corporate crisis communication and corporate social responsibility. Although only in its primary stage, research in these new areas has already been undertaken across a number of languages and cultures. Crisis communication is still in a very young academic discipline. It needs to establish basic theoretical frameworks and methodologies of its own before researchers will be able to incorporate national cultural and organizational factors in their research. Studies accounting for differences and similarities between Western and Asian national cultures or between American and European cultures have dominated. Approaches to culture have departed from a functionalistic view of culture, mostly without a reflection about the choice of cultural theory. In new approaches in recent research, an interpretive sense-making process is more dominant, promising a discipline that will to a much larger extent take into account the complexity and dynamics of organizational crises as well as important socio-cultural factors such as national culture, social culture, and crisis culture.

Scholars have also addressed the pragmatics of corporate social responsibility (CSR) focusing on why CSR differs across contexts and cultures. Corporations seeking to engage in CSR may have to consider many contextual variables, such as national culture, geography, or social and economic elements before deciding on which CSR perspective to adopt. A case study of Starbucks, as an example of how one corporation, very adapt at discursively constructing "perfect worlds", uses language to create the construct of CSR. To humanize Starbucks and create the identity of a good corporate citizen, the corporation is involved in building bridges in coffee growing communities and making donations to charitable organizations. Individuals who buy Starbucks' products can construct their own individual identities as good global citizens. How firms ultimately conceptualize and implement CSR may vary widely and as the literature is scarce, new studies across cultures are needed.

Although we have benefited greatly from enlarging our research spheres in the past, more languages and cultures await exploitation. Studies of languages which have so far been neglected can help us in our endeavor to gain a deeper understanding about language use and about culture that is intricately linked with language. Furthermore, longitudinal studies of ILP developmental are needed. It is also imperative to examine the effects of intervention on learners' pragmatic competence at several points during the treatment. Future directions in this area of ILP research could profit from undertaking studies that combine longitudinal and interventional aspects in a single design, i.e., developmental interventional research. Longitudinal pedagogical intervention can lead to more convincing and insightful findings about the nature of pragmatic learnability in classroom settings.

Changes may take place over time and cultural studies over a longer time span may reveal changes in linguistic preferences and cultural norms. The fact that compliments are accepted much more frequently today by Chinese speakers than they were twenty years ago mirrors changes of social values. Furthermore, studies have pointed to increasing globalization as a factor diminishing cultural differences, for example in the East/West divide. Similarly, the development of corporate cultures may transgress national borders. The dynamics of language and culture must not be forgotten.

As pointed out, this survey is by no means exhaustive of research in pragmatics across languages and cultures. Still, it is my hope that the studies portrayed will spark off further interest and encourage researchers to take over where this handbook left and continue to promote research in the ever fascinating area of pragmatics and the no less intriguing aspects of intercultural interaction across borders and between different cultural communities.

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I. Contrastive, Cross-cultural and Intercultural Pragmatics

1. Cultural scripts and intercultural communication

Anna Wierzbicka

1. The reality of cultural scripts revealed in cross-cultural communication

In his memoir *From the Land of Green Ghosts* the Burmese-English writer Pascal Khoo Thwe (2002: 28) writes about the experiences of elderly tribal women from Burma who were taken to England for a few years to be shown in circuses as freaks because of their 'giraffe-necks' (artificially elongated by neck-rings):

> They suffered from the cold of England. (…) 'The English are a very strange tribe', said Grandma Mu Tha. 'They paid money just to look at us – they paid us for not working. They are very rich, but they cannot afford to drink rice-wine. (…) They say "Hello," "How are you" and "Goodbye" all the time to one another. They never ask, "Have you eaten your meal?" or "When will you take your bath?" when they see you.' Grandma Mu Tha gave up trying to account for these strange habits, which afforded her great amusement. If we had had the notion of 'freaks', I suppose she would have put the whole English race into that category.

Unlike Grandma Mu Tha, Pascal Khoo Thwe has lived in England long enough to come to think that the English are, after all, not any stranger than the Padaung of Burma (a tribe to which both he and Grandma Mu Tha belong); but the reality of different 'cultural scripts' adhered to by different human groups, some simple and easy to identify, others more complex and more hidden, is for him simply a fact of life.

The term "cultural scripts" can be used to refer to tacit norms, values and practices widely shared, and widely known (on an intuitive level) in a given society. In a more technical sense, this term is also used to refer to a powerful new technique for articulating cultural norms, values and practices in terms which are clear, precise, and accessible to both cultural insiders and cultural outsiders. This result is only possible because cultural scripts in this sense of the term are formulated in a tightly constrained, yet expressively flexible, mini-language ("NSM") consisting of simple words and grammatical patterns which have equivalents in all languages (see section 3).

Because the ways of speaking and thinking prevailing in a given society often vary, to some extent, from person to person and from one group to another, there is often a great reluctance to formulate any general "rules" and there is a wide-spread concern about stereotyping and "essentialism". This applies, in particular, to English-speaking societies, such as the United States and Britain, which are indeed highly differentiated internally, as well as different from one another. On the other

hand, the failure to formulate any such "rules" clearly and precisely handicaps the immigrants to English-speaking countries who need to learn what the prevailing local norms and expectations are in order to build successful lives for themselves within the host society.

The reality of cultural scripts is confirmed, with particular clarity and force, in the testimonies of immigrants who have experienced in their own life the shock of collision between one set of tacit rules – that of their old country, and another – that of their country of immigration. For example, Eva Hoffman, who as a teenager emigrated with her family from Poland to America and who had to learn the unspoken cultural scripts of her new country, writes:

> I learn also that certain kinds of truth are impolite. One shouldn't criticize the person one is with, at least not directly. You shouldn't say, "You are wrong about that" – though you may say, "On the other hand, there is that to consider." You shouldn't say, "This doesn't look good on you," though you may say, "I like you better in the other outfit." I learn to tone down my sharpness, to do a more careful conversational minuet. (Hoffman 1989: 146)

Such perception of different cultural scripts operating in different societies is a common feature of cross-cultural texts reflecting on immigrant experience. I will adduce here one other preliminary example (more examples will be given later). In Monica Ali's novel *Brick Lane* (2003) describing the life of a Bangladeshi woman in London, the heroine, Nazneen, is living with, and caught between, two cultures. Nazneen herself does not talk about "two cultures", but she and her friends repeatedly contrast two ways of living and two ways of thinking. For example, when her friend Razia finds out that her teenage son is taking drugs, she worries greatly about the reactions of other Bangladeshis in the same neighbourhood: "What do they say about me?", she asks. Nazneen tries to comfort her friend: "Let them talk if they have the time." In response, "Razia hooted, a strange sound came down her nose. 'Oh yes, I don't need anyone. I live like the English'" (p. 297).

Evidently, Razia doesn't want "people" to say bad things about her. What "people" say about her matters to her a great deal. She perceives "the English" as people who don't care what other people say about them because they can live "without other people". By contrast, people like her can only live "with other people".

In this sense, Nazneen appears to have moved further from a "Bangladeshi way of thinking" to an "English way of thinking". In the final scene of the novel, however, it is Razia who identifies with this "English way of thinking", whereas Nazneen worries about "what people will say". In that final scene, Nazneen's daughters, born and raised in England, have, as a surprise, taken their mother to an ice-rink:

> Nazneen turned round. To get on ice – physically – it hardly seemed to matter. In her mind she was already there. She said, 'But you can't skate in a sari.' Razia was already lacing her boots.
> 'This is England,' she said. 'You can do whatever you like.' (p. 413)

In addition to testimonies from autobiographically-based cross-cultural life writing, there is also evidence of many other kinds. One type comes from questionnaires distributed to large numbers of respondents from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds and involving simple situational scenarios. For example, in her comparative study of the communicative behaviour of Russian and English speakers, the Russian linguist Tatjana Larina offers the following scenario:

> **In a restaurant**
> Tom: *What would you like to eat?*
> Mary: *I don't know. Let's have a look at the menu.*
> Tom: *OK* (to the waiter) –

The question is: what does Tom say to the waiter? The results showed that the majority of Russian speakers (60 %) regarded an utterance with the imperative as the most natural way to address the waiter:

> *Prinesite, požalujsta, menju.*
> 'Bring [me] the menu, please.'

As Larina notes, not a single English speaker found it appropriate to address the waiter in this situation with an imperative, not even one accompanied by the word *please.* Almost all the English speakers (98 %) regarded a response in an interrogative form as the most appropriate in this situation, e.g., "Could I see the menu, please?" Of the Russian respondents, on the other hand, only 40 % suggested an interrogative utterance, e.g., *Možno menju?* (literally 'could [one] the menu?'). Larina (2008: 264–5) comments on this as follows:

> In the Russian linguo-cultural tradition, directives are normally expressed in a straightforward manner, by means of an imperative. Imperative utterances are the most natural in such situations. Using a form which semantically implies some options in a situation which, functionally, doesn't offer any options, is regarded as inappropriate. (…) On the other hand, English speakers in the same situations (…) dress their "command" in a form which offers an illusion of options.

Referring to her long experience of teaching English to Russian university students, Larina (2008: 17) notes how resistant Russian students are to "accepting" the English phrase *would you mind …?* and quotes one of her students as saying, "But surely only princesses speak like that? Why on earth [*začem že*] should we?"

Such evidence from questionnaires, and also, from language learners' responses, shows that the tacit rules about saying what one wants the addressee to do

are different for Russian and English speakers, and that they are related to shared understandings and values.

In a recently published series of 25 postcards entitled "How to be British", postcard 12 bears the heading "How to be polite". The card is divided into two halves. Each half shows a picture of a river in a city in which a man appears to be drowning and calling for help as a gentleman in a bowler hat is passing by, walking his dog. In the first picture, labelled "Wrong", the drowning man is screaming: HELP!, and the gentleman is walking away, clearly without any intention of coming to the man's rescue. In the second picture, labelled "Right", the speech bubble emanating from the mouth of the drowning man says, instead: "Excuse me, Sir, I'm terribly sorry to bother you, but I wondered if you wouldn't mind helping me a moment, as long as it's no trouble, of course." Phrased like this, the request for help is clearly effective: the gentleman with the dog is turning towards the drowning man and throwing him a lifebelt.

In the postcard's terms, which are reflective of Anglo cultural norms, to be "British" one must avoid giving people the impression that one is "telling them" to do something. Some aspects of the two vignettes (such as the use of the term "Sir" and the elaborate apology for "imposing" on someone during some solitary pastime) are perhaps indeed specifically "British". But the main point – the avoidance of an imperative and of any linguistic devices which could suggest a direct, open attempt to get someone to do something – can be said to be not only British, but more generally, Anglo.

The postcard on British politeness is of course a joke, playing on certain cultural practices and expectations. As a matter of fact, however, even stereotyping of the kind satirized in the "How to be British" postcards can be very useful to immigrants to Britain from a non-Anglo background (whether they are drowning literally or metaphorically). "Stereotyping" is not the only danger facing those involved in intercultural communication; unwarranted universalising can be equally dangerous. As far as academic writings on pragmatics are concerned, universalising is in fact a much more real and present danger: most writers on pragmatics are extremely conscious of the need to avoid stereotyping, but many seem not to be aware at all of the need to avoid universalising and the ethnocentrism – usually Anglocentrism – which goes with it (Goddard 2007, Wierzbicka 2008).

The cultural script approach rejects the universality assumptions of Griceans and neo-Griceans, recognizes the reality of the differences in tacit cultural norms and offers a methodology for identifying such norms in a way which can be both illuminating and practically useful.

2. Cultural scripts and cultural values

The cultural scripts approach was initiated in a 1985 article by the present author, entitled "Different cultures, different languages, different speech acts: English vs.

Polish". The basic claim advanced in that article was that in different societies there are different culture-specific speech practices and interactional norms, and that the different ways of speaking prevailing in different societies are linked with, and make sense in terms of, different local cultural values, or at least, different cultural priorities as far as values are concerned.

This article provided a nucleus for the book *Cross-cultural Pragmatics* (Wierzbicka 1991), with an expanded second edition published in 2003. Subsequent landmarks in the development of this approach include the special issue of *Intercultural Pragmatics* titled "Cultural Scripts" (Goddard and Wierzbicka (eds.) 2004), and the volume *Ethnopragmatics* (Goddard (ed.) 2006).

From the outset, the main goal of the cultural scripts approach was to understand speech practices, norms and values from the perspective of the speakers themselves. The proponents of this approach argue that, for this purpose, it is essential to draw on the techniques of cross-cultural semantics. They point out that to understand speech practices in terms which make sense to the people concerned, we must be able to understand the meanings of the many culturally important words – words for local values, social categories, speech acts, and so on. Important words and phrases of this kind often qualify for the status of cultural key words (Wierzbicka 1997). For example, important insights into the insiders' perspective on their own speech practices and values can be gained through the semantic analysis of cultural key words and expressions such as *iskrennost'* in Russian (Wierzbicka 2002), *noin* 'respected old people' in Korean (Yoon 2004), *zìjǐrén* 'insider, one of us' in Chinese (Ye 2004), *calor humano* in Spanish (Travis 2004), or *personal remarks* in English (Wierzbicka 2008; for general discussion, see Goddard and Wierzbicka 2004).

The cultural scripts approach demonstrates that the same semantic metalanguage based on simple and universal human concepts ("NSM") can be used both for explicating cultural key words and for writing cultural scripts from the insider's point of view, and thus can help bring to light the inherent connections between the two.

For example, the Russian cultural key word *iskrennost'* (roughly 'sincerity/frankness/spontaneity') is related to the cultural script encouraging people to say truly what they think and feel at a given moment. Similarly, the Polish key word *szczerość* (roughly, 'sincerity/frankness/truthfulness') is related to the cultural script allowing, and even encouraging, speakers to make frank critical remarks about the addressee, such as "this doesn't look good on you". Such links can be made explicit through the use of the same framework for explicating the meaning of words and for articulating the cultural norms.

As noted in the Introduction to the special issue to *Intercultural Pragmatics* titled "Cultural Scripts" (Goddard and Wierzbicka 2004), many of the concerns of the cultural scripts approach are shared by linguistic anthropology, ethnography of communication, and by aspects of cultural psychology (e.g., Hymes 1968 [1962];

Gumperz and Hymes (eds.) 1986; Bauman and Sherzer (eds.) 1974; Shweder 1993). The chief contribution of this particular approach is an improved methodology to bear on these common concerns, a methodology which builds on more than two decades of research in cross-cultural semantics.

The cultural scripts approach is evidence-based, and while drawing evidence from many other sources (ethnographic and sociological studies, literature, and so on) it places particular importance on linguistic evidence. Aside from the semantics of cultural key words, other kinds of linguistic evidence which can be particularly revealing of cultural norms and values include: common sayings and proverbs, frequent collocations, conversational routines and varieties of formulaic or semi-formulaic speech, discourse particles and interjections, and terms of address and reference – all highly "interactional" aspects of language. From a data gathering point of view, a wide variety of methods can be used, including the classical linguistic fieldwork techniques of elicitation, naturalistic observation, text analysis, and consultation with informants, native speaker intuition, corpus studies, and the use of literary materials and other cultural products.

The next section (section 3) gives a brief sketch of the NSM theory of language of which the theory of cultural scripts is an offshoot and on which it crucially depends. Section 4 illustrates the use of NSM framework with some contrasting cultural scripts underlying the contrasting behaviour of Russian and English speakers in Larina's restaurant scenario. The sections that follow (5–9) show how the cultural scripts approach works by discussing in some detail a number of comparable (though different) cultural scripts from various languages and cultures. In each case, the focus is on challenges which different language-specific cultural scripts are likely to present in the context of intercultural communication. All the scripts discussed in these sections have to do with what to say and what not to say in a particular situation.

3. The Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) – a tool for articulating cultural scripts

NSM is a technique for the investigation of meanings and ideas which is based on, and interpretable through, natural language – *any* natural language. The central idea on which this technique is based, supported by extensive empirical investigations by a number of researchers, is that despite their enormous diversity, all natural languages share a common core: a small vocabulary of 65 or so "conceptual primes" and a "universal grammar" (the combinatory properties of the primes). This core is language-like, and can be regarded as a natural semantic metalanguage (NSM), with as many versions as there are languages. The set of universal conceptual primes identifiable as distinct word-meanings in all languages, includes elements such as SOMEONE, SOMETHING, PEOPLE, GOOD, BAD, KNOW, THINK, WANT,

FEEL, and so on. The full set of these primes is given in Table 1. (Cf. Wierzbicka 1996; Goddard 1998; Goddard and Wierzbicka (eds.) 1994, 2002).

The inventory of semantic primes given in Table 1 below uses English exponents, but equivalent lists have been drawn up for many languages. Because semantic primes and their grammar are shared across languages, it is possible to construct equivalent "NSMs" on the basis of any language: there is an English NSM, but there is also a Chinese NSM, a Malay NSM, a Spanish NSM, a Japanese NSM, and so on (see especially the chapters in Goddard and Wierzbicka (eds.) 2002; Peeters (ed.) 2006; Goddard (ed.) 2008). The use of NSM as a system of conceptual analysis depends on being able to break down complex language-specific meanings and ideas into extended explanatory paraphrases, known as explications.

Table 1. Universal semantic primes (in capitals), grouped into categories

I, YOU, SOMEONE, SOMETHING/THING, PEOPLE, BODY	substantives
KIND, PART	relational substantives
THIS, THE SAME, OTHER/ELSE	determiners
ONE, TWO, SOME, ALL, MUCH/MANY	quantifiers
GOOD, BAD	evaluators
BIG, SMALL	descriptors
THINK, KNOW, WANT, FEEL, SEE, HEAR	mental predicates
SAY, WORDS, TRUE	speech
DO, HAPPEN, MOVE, TOUCH	action, events, movement, contact
BE (SOMEWHERE), THERE IS, HAVE, BE (SOMEONE/SOMETHING)	location, existence, possession, specification
LIVE, DIE	life and death
WHEN/TIME, NOW, BEFORE, AFTER, A LONG TIME, A SHORT TIME,	
FOR SOME TIME, MOMENT	time
WHERE/PLACE, HERE, ABOVE, BELOW, FAR, NEAR, SIDE, INSIDE	space
NOT, MAYBE, CAN, BECAUSE, IF	logical concepts
VERY, MORE	intensifier, augmentor
LIKE	similarity

Notes: · Primes exist as the meanings of lexical units (not at the level of lexemes) · Exponents of primes may be words, bound morphemes, or phrasemes · They can be formally complex · They can have combinatorial variants (allolexes) · Each prime has well-specified syntactic (combinatorial) properties.

The NSM approach to semantic and cultural analysis has been employed in hundreds of studies across many languages and cultures. A large bibliography is available at the NSM Homepage: www.une.edu.au/bcss/linguistics/nsm/. Unlike complex English-specific terms like "criticism", "compliments", "apology", "sincerity", "hypocrisy", "bluntness", or "directness", the mini-language of universal conceptual primes can be used for discussing ways of thinking, feeling, acting and living without cultural or linguistic biases, without theoretical preconceptions, and in a unified framework (cf. Wierzbicka 2006a).

The fact that cultural scripts formulated in universal semantic primes can be readily translated into any language is of fundamental importance from a theoretical as well as practical point of view. Goddard (2007: 537) highlights in particular three aspects of this importance. First, it means that the cultural scripts are accessible to the people whose speech practices are being described. Native speaker consultants can discuss, assess, and comment on them. This makes for increased verifiability and opens up new avenues for evidence. Second, translatability is crucial to the practical value of cultural scripts in intercultural education and communication, i.e., in real-world situations of trying to bridge some kind of cultural gap, with immigrants, language-learners, in international negotiations, etc. (cf. Goddard and Wierzbicka 2004, 2007). Third, the fact that cultural scripts are expressible in the native language of speakers gives them a *prima facie* better claim to cognitive reality than technical formalisms which are altogether unrecognizable to native speakers.

A fourth, and closely related, point is that descriptions of different speech practices and communicative styles which are formulated in English (full-blown English, rather than "NSM English") are necessarily Anglocentric. The fact that cultural scripts are couched not in full-blown English but in a mini-English isomorphic with similar subsets of all other languages frees the description of speech practices and cultural norms from an Anglocentric bias and allows a culture-independent perspective that is ruled out in other approaches by the use of English as a metalanguage.

4. Russian and English cultural scripts for "making a request"

"Request" is an English word, without an exact equivalent in Russian, just as the closest Russian word *pros'ba* has no equivalent in English. Clearly, Russian speakers don't carry scripts for "making a request" in their heads. In fact, neither do speakers of English. For example, when English-speaking children are learning to say, "Could you open it for me?" instead of "Open it for me!" they are not internalizing this rule in terms of the word *request*. (Young children are not even likely to know this word at the time when they are learning to say "could you".) Nor do they know, needless to say, terms like "imperative" and "interrogative".

Arguably, what English speakers may carry in their heads, on a subconscious level, has to do with what to say to people when we want them to do something good for us and a communicative task formulated in these terms ("when I want someone to do something good for me what do I say?") can be seen as equally relevant to speakers of Russian – and presumably, to speakers of all other languages.

For some purposes, it may of course be useful to formulate the Anglo rules for "requests" in terms of grammatical labels like "imperative" and "interrogative". It needs to be recognized, however, that the communicative intention "I want this someone to do something good for me" can be conveyed in English in a great many different ways, and that what these different ways have in common is not the form but certain aspects of meaning. In particular, it is important that students of English as a second language should understand that this is not a mechanical rule, based on some idiosyncratic aversion to the imperative, but a meaningful cultural rule, reflecting particular cultural priorities and values.

Furthermore, if English learners are simply told to use interrogative forms for "making requests" they will not understand why non-interrogative forms are often culturally more appropriate than interrogative ones. For example, if an employee from a Russian background says to an Anglo employer "Could you show me this document?", or "Could you please show me this document?" this could be deemed rude and impertinent and have serious negative consequences for the employee's work relations and prospects. If, on the other hand, the employee says "I was wondering if I could perhaps see this document" this could be much safer and culturally more appropriate. What matters most from the point of view of intercultural communication is not the form of one's utterances but their meaning, including the hidden assumptions which reflect cultural values.

Evidence suggests that the key difference in meaning between the Russian and Anglo English "requests" lies in the presence vs. absence of an implied expectation that the addressee will do what the speaker wants him or her to do. From a Russian cultural point of view, it is natural for the speaker to convey an expectation that the addressee will comply with the "request". This is why not only is an imperative acceptable but also a whole range of other devices is available for highlighting this expectation and even "putting pressure" on the addressee to do what the speaker wants (cf. Larina 2008: 237; Wierzbicka 2006b). For example:

Ja vas prošu, 'I ask you'
Ja vas očen' prošu 'I ask you very much'
Ja vas ubeditel'no prošu 'I ask you convincingly'
Bud'te dobry, sdelajte ėto 'Be (so) good, do it'
Bud'te ljubezny, sdelajte ėto 'Be (so) kind, do it'
Nu, požalujsta 'Come on, please'

On the other hand, from an Anglo point of view, the more uncertainty about the outcome is conveyed, the better, and this is why in many situations locutions like "I

was wondering if it would be possible …" are considered more appropriate than "Could you (please) do it (for me)", let alone "Do it", or "Do it for me, please".

To explain to learners of Anglo/English speechways, through NSM, how to go about getting other people to do something for us, we can posit a cultural script given below in two versions, A and A'. Version A seeks to portray how cultural insiders think about it, and version A' is a pedagogical version for outsiders and newcomers to Anglo culture.

[A] "Making a Request" – An Anglo cultural script

[many people think like this:]
at many times when I want someone to do something good for me
it is not good if I say something like this to this someone:
"I want you to do it
I think that you will do it because of this"
at many times, it will be good if I say something like this:
"I want you to do it
maybe after I say this you will do it, maybe you will not do it, I don't know"

[A'] "Making a Request – A pedagogical rule for Russian learners of English

when you want someone to do something good for you
at many times you can't say something like this to do this someone:
"I want you to do something good for me
I think that you will do it because of this"
at many times, it will be good if you say something like this:
"I want you to do something good for me
maybe after I say this you will do it, maybe you will not do it, I don't know"

Paradoxically, Russian "linguaculture" does not seem to have any cultural scripts encouraging people to convey an expectation that their requests would be complied with, symmetrical to the Anglo script discouraging such an expectation. Presumably, expressing one's wishes by means of imperatives is seen as a default way of doing so, which doesn't require any particular encouragement. Thus, there is no need to posit a Russian cultural script along the following lines:

when I want someone to do something good for me
at many times it will be good if I say something like this to this someone:
"I want you to do something good for me,
I think about it like this: after I say this you will do it'

On the other hand, it does make sense to posit Russian cultural scripts encouraging people to amplify their "requests" in various culturally appropriate ways – not to problematize them by expressing uncertainty about the outcome but to simultaneously "soften" and strengthen them by expressing good feelings towards the addressee, typically, by means of diminutives, as in the following examples (from Larina 2008: 223):

Synok, pomogi.	lit. 'son.DIM help [me]'
Posidi so mnoj minutku.	lit. 'sit with me for [a] minute DIM'
Nalij mne kapel'ku soka.	lit. 'pour me [a] drop. DIM of juice'
Sestrička, prinesite stakančik vodički.	lit. 'sister.DIM bring [me] water.DIM' (To a nurse: 'Dear little sister, bring me a dear little glass of dear llittle water.')

Unlike the English form *sonny*, the diminutive form *synok* is used widely in Russian by both men and women, to lovingly address one's own (male) children. When used to boys or young men who are not one's children this form carries with it an affectionate and even tender attitude of a kind shown to one's own children.

Diminutive forms like *minutku* (a minute. DIM), *kapel'ku* (a drop. DIM) or *vodički* (water. DIM) do not refer to the addressee directly, but in the context of an imperative sentence they, too, convey affection – obviously, not towards their referents but towards the addressee. (For analogies from Polish, see Wierzbicka 1991: v, and from Spanish, Gooch 1970 and Travis 2004). The cultural script encouraging this mode of expressing "requests" can be formulated as follows:

[B] "Making a Request" – A Russian cultural script

[many people think like this:]
at many times when I say something like this to someone:
"I want you to do something good for me
I think that you will do it because of this"
it is good if I say something like this at the same time:
"when I say this to you I feel something good towards you"

A pedagogical rule for Anglophone learners of Russian telling them that in making requests it is often good to use the imperative combined with one or more diminutives can no doubt be useful. However, a purely formal rule of this kind does not necessarily help to promote intercultural understanding because it does not connect ways of speaking with cultural attitudes and values.

From a Russian cultural point of view, an English utterance like "Would you mind watching the phone while I go to the toilet?" addressed to an office mate (Larina 2008: 236) sounds odd, and from an Anglo cultural perspective, Russian imperative sentences may sound hectoring and rude. Cross-translatable cultural scripts formulated in simple words which express universal human concepts help explain the differences between different ways of speaking and different cultural values such as, roughly speaking, personal autonomy in the first case and interpersonal closeness and warmth in the second. The fact that such values can also be articulated through simple and universal human concepts allows both cultural scripts and cultural values to be explored in the same simple and universally accessible metalanguage.

5. The Anglo-American cultural scripts intuited by Eva Hoffman

Eva Hoffman's experiential discovery that in America "certain kinds of truth are impolite" (as compared with her native Poland) refers, above all, to what one can say about a person to that person. As she puts it, "one shouldn't criticise the person one is with, at least not directly".

What is meant here by "criticising a person directly" is illustrated, first of all, with saying to someone "you are wrong about that" – a sentence whose literal equivalent would be perfectly acceptable in Polish (or on Russian, see Wierzbicka 2002; or in Israeli Hebrew, etc. e.g., Blum Kulka 1982).

If we use NSM, the cultural script spotted by the perceptive teenager transplanted from one cultural world to another (and articulated retrospectively by the adult author) can be formulated as follows:

[C] An Anglo cultural script

[many people think like this:]
at many times, if I think something bad about someone when I am with this someone
    it will not be good if I say this to this someone
if I say this, this someone can feel something bad because of it
at the same time, this someone can think that I feel something bad towards this someone

Two more specific cultural scripts implied by Hoffman's remarks are [E] and [F], the first of which corresponds to Hoffman's proviso "at least not directly", and the second, to her mention of "a more careful conversational minuet":

[D] An Anglo cultural script against "criticising the person one is with"

[many people think like this:]
if when I am with someone I think something bad about this someone
    at many times I can't say something like this to this someone: "I think something bad about you"
if I say this, this someone can feel something bad because of it
at the same time, this someone can think that I feel something bad towards this someone
if I want to say something about it to this someone I can say something else

[E] An Anglo cultural script encouraging "a more careful conversational minuet"

[many people think like this:]
if when I am with someone I think something bad about this someone
    at many times I can't say to this someone: "I think something bad about you"
if I say this, this someone can feel something bad because of it
at the same time, this someone can think that I feel something bad towards this someone
if I want to say something about it I can say something else
it will be good if before I say it I think like this for a short time:
    I want to know how to say it

Expanded cultural script [D] adds to the general idea "one shouldn't criticise the person one is with" a component which hints at the acceptability of some "non-di-

rect" strategies for conveying something about what is in the speaker's mind. Expanded cultural script [E] adds a special warning "to be careful" about how one is going to phrase one's remarks on the subject.

Hoffman's remark "I learn to tone down my sharpness" reflects her newly acquired Anglo-American perspective rather than her older, Polish one: from a Polish cultural point of view (as experienced by Hoffman) there is nothing particularly "sharp" about saying to someone the equivalent of "you are wrong" or "this doesn't look good on you". Thus, it is not that there is a Polish cultural script recommending "sharpness". Rather, there are cultural scripts encouraging ways of speaking which from an *Anglo* point of view may seem "sharp".

Importantly, such special care seen as appropriate in expressing some criticisms of the addressee need not apply to many other topics: while the word *blurt* as in the phrase "to blurt out (something)" has negative connotations, so does the word *guarded*. (Barack Obama (2008: 104) lists "guardedness", along with "pomposity" and "argumentativeness", as typical professional deformations of politicians.)

One of the most salient Anglo scripts is that "everyone is entitled to their own opinion" (and can freely express it) (cf. Carbaugh 1988). If an opinion about a disputed point is stated in a frame like "I think", "in my view", "in my opinion", or "as I see it", it does not have to be stated in a particularly gingerly manner. In saying negative things about *people*, however, it is advisable to be careful, and especially so in the case of the addressee. As we will see in section 9, Anglo culture differs at this point from some other cultures, where scripts for a "gingerly" approach to conversation have a much broader scope. On the other hand, as we will see in sections 6 and 7, cultural scripts allowing, or even encouraging, "direct criticisms" of the addressee are well documented, not only in Polish but also in other East-European cultural and linguistic traditions, including Russian, Ukrainian and Hungarian. The exact form of these scripts may vary depending on their wider cultural context, but the effect can be similar, particularly as seen from the point of view of a culture which, as Hoffman puts it, proscribes any "direct criticisms of the person one is with".

6. "Personal remarks" in English and speaking "straight" in Russian

Hoffman's examples of what she calls "direct criticisms of the person one is with" are particularly well chosen, since they refer to two areas given special attention in Anglo/English cultural pragmatics: personal appearance and differences of opinion. The first of these areas is associated with the ethno-pragmatic term "personal remarks", and the other, with the cultural imperative of tolerance for other people's opinions (Wierzbicka 2008; 2006a).

The Anglo cultural norm proscribing "personal remarks" as "rude" can be illustrated with a quote from *Alice in Wonderland*. When the Hatter, who "had been

looking at Alice with great curiosity", remarks: "Your hair wants cutting", Alice responds "with some severity": you should learn not to make personal remarks …; it's very rude".

There are no expressions corresponding to *personal remarks* in, for example, Polish and Russian, and there are no corresponding cultural scripts. As many examples from Russian literature show, Russian speakers often make negative remarks about each other's appearance, especially if they haven't seen each other for a long time. Thus in Chekhov's "Three Sisters" Masha (a woman in her twenties) greets Vershinin, an old acquaintance whom she hasn't seen for many years, as follows (Karl Kramer's translation, Chekhov 1997): "Oh, how you've aged! (Through tears). How you've aged!"

Similarly, in "The Cherry Orchard" (Michael Frayn's translation, Chekhov, 1978), the middle-age Ljubov' Andreevna tells the student Trofimov after a few years' absence: "What's this, Petya? Why have you lost your looks? Why have you aged so?"

Ljubov' Andreevna is fond of the student, but if she feels any concern to avoid "hurting his feelings" (an English expression, not a Russian one) it does not get in the way of "telling him the truth" or "telling him what she really thinks". Ljubov' Andreevna's gentle, kind-hearted daughter Varya (a young adult) makes similar remarks to Trofimov – without any malice but simply in recognition of the truth: "Oh, but Petya, you've grown so ugly, you've aged so!"

As these examples illustrate, there is no widely shared norm in Russian culture that discourages making what are known in English as "personal remarks", just as there is no norm against saying what one thinks about the addressee, or against speaking spontaneously, without any attempt to engage in a "careful conversational minuet". On the other hand, linguistic evidence suggests that considerable value is placed in Russian culture on speaking the truth and telling the addressee what one thinks about him or her (Wierzbicka 2002). From an Anglo point of view, the insistence on saying truthfully what one thinks, characteristic of Russian discourse, may often seem unkind and inconsiderate.

Russian expressions like *rezat' pravdu v glaza* ('to cut the truth into somebody's eyes') and sayings like *Pravda glaza kolet* ('truth stings the eyes') show that in fact Russians are well aware of the painful effect that truth-telling may have on the listener. Yet the same expressions and sayings also suggest that telling the truth may stand higher in the hierarchy of values than any consideration for the interlocutor's feelings. For example, the expression *rezat' pravdu v glaza* does not suggest at all that it is bad to throw the "cutting truth" into one interlocutor's eyes (usually a truth expressing a negative moral evaluation of the interlocutor's actions).

Furthermore, linguistic evidence suggests that it is seen as good, rather than bad, to speak to another person *bez obinjakov*, that is "without padding" (or "wrapping") around an unpleasant or painful message; it is good to speak *prjamo*, that is,

"straight" (both these expressions, *bez obinjakov* and *prjamo*, imply approval). One more example from Chekhov's play *Ivanov* (my translation):

> Nikolaj Alekseevič, forgive me, I'll speak openly [*prjamo*, lit. "straight"], without beating about the bush [*bez obinjakov*]. In your voice, in your intonation, not to mention your words, there is so much soulless selfishness, so much cold heartlessness … I can't tell you, I don't have a gift for words, but – I profoundly dislike you!

To which the addressee, evidently also concerned above all about the truth, replies:

> Maybe, maybe … You may be seeing more clearly because you're looking at it from the outside. Probably, I'm very, very guilty … You doctor, don't like me and you're not hiding it. This does you credit [lit. it gives honor to your heart].

Examples like these suggest a Russian cultural script which from the point of view of many other cultures (including Anglo culture) may seem somewhat hard to believe:

[F] A Russian cultural script

[many people think like this:]
at many times if I think something bad about someone when I am with this someone
it can be good if I say this to this someone

This script does not imply that in Russia, people always feel free to criticise the people they are with if they happen to think something bad about them at the time. Rather, it states that many Russian speakers think that it is not only natural but often good to speak "straight" (*prjamo*) in this way – particularly if one knows the addressee well.

This cultural script is not the exact reverse of the Anglo script proscribing "personal remarks" because it is more general and does not refer, specifically, to the addressee's body (appearance, bodily smells and noises, etc.). Nonetheless, some of its applications will run counter to the Anglo "personal remarks" script.

[G] An Anglo cultural script against making "personal remarks"

[many people think like this:]
if I don't know someone very well
it will be bad if I say something bad about this someone's body to this someone

The passage from Chekhov's "Ivanov" does not run counter to this particular script because it doesn't refer to the addressee's body, but the passages from "The Three Sisters" and "The Cherry Orchard" do. Without cross-cultural training such differences in cultural scripts could easily lead to cross-cultural misunderstandings, offence and interpersonal conflicts in encounters between Russian and English speakers.

In their article on "Inhibitory control of thoughts better left unsaid" published in the journal *Psychological Science*, psychologists Bill von Hippel and Karen Gonsalkorale (2005: 487) write:

> With all the inappropriate and unfriendly things that people think and say about each other (Rosnow 2001), how is it that interpersonal interaction is so often positive? What

> enables translation of socially insensitive or inappropriate cognition into pleasant interaction? One answer to this question focuses on the role of cognitive inhibition in social interaction. Specifically, it may be the case that effortful inhibition of inappropriate but prepotent responses is a critical component of social skill.

The observation that "interpersonal interaction is so often positive" and "pleasant" echoes the observations of many immigrants to English-speaking countries. The only difference is that the psychologists quoted here present this "positiveness" and apparent "pleasantness" as a comment on human behaviour in general, whereas the immigrants crossing linguistic and cultural boundaries see it as something specifically Anglo.

The Anglo scripts of "pleasant interaction" are related to Anglo scripts against "rudeness" – an English cultural keyword without equivalents in other European languages and quite central to Anglo norms of interpersonal interaction (see Waters, forthcoming). It is well known that immigrants to English-speaking countries are often perceived by English speakers as "rude" (cf. Wierzbicka 1997b; Clyne 1994) – largely because they unwittingly violate tacit Anglo norms such as those against the use of imperatives in requests, or against "direct criticisms of the person you are with", or against "personal remarks". No doubt they are also often perceived as rude because they violate Anglo scripts for "pleasant interaction".

There is clearly a whole family of Anglo cultural scripts which jointly conspire to produce the effect of "pleasant interaction". One of these scripts can be formulated as follows:

[H] An Anglo script of "pleasant interaction"

[many people think like this:]
at many times, when I am with someone for some time
it is good if I say something good to this someone about something during this time
if I do this, this someone can feel good because of this during this time
at the same time, I can feel something good because of this

Another Anglo script of "pleasant interaction" can be linked with expressions like "to soften the blow", "to cushion the blow", "to wrap up (bad news)", "to take the sting out of (something)", "to take the edge off (something)", "to sweeten the pill", and so on. Misunderstandings in cross-cultural exchanges related to this script can be illustrated with a quote from a personal letter by the well-known Russian linguist Aleksej Shmelev, author of a book entitled *The Russian Linguistic Model of the World* (2002) and co-author of another entitled *Key Ideas of the Russian Linguistic Picture of the World* (Zalizniak, Levontina and Shmelev 2005):

> I agree that in Anglo culture there are many prohibitions on saying unpleasant things to people (and probably even stronger "prescriptions" for saying pleasant things). For example, I know that some of my Russian friends and acquaintances who have emigrated to the United States were misinterpreting refusals (to employ, to publish a paper, to give a grant for a project) as almost acceptance, precisely because the Americans

tried to "sweeten the pill" (saying something like "we will get back to you", "we will be in touch with you again", etc.).

The cultural script suggested by Shmelev's remarks can be formulated as follows:

[I]An Anglo script of "softening/cushioning the blow"

[many people think like this:]
at many times when I want to say something to someone
if I think that this someone can feel something bad because of this
it will be good if I say something good to this someone at the same time
it will be good if when this someone feels something bad this someone doesn't feel something very bad

The evidence cited by Shmelev could of course be dismissed as anecdotal – were it not highly consistent with many cross-linguistic testimonies based on personal experience, and also with linguistic evidence such as, for example, the semantics of Russian words and expressions like *iskrennij* (roughly, 'sincere and spontaneous, therefore good'), *prjamo* (roughly 'straight, therefore good') and *bez obinjakov* (roughly, 'without soft wrapping, therefore good'). The fact that Russian doesn't have colloquial counterparts of English expressions like "nice to meet you", "nice talking to you", "lovely to see you", and so on, provides further evidence for the reality of the differences between Russian and Anglo/English ways of speaking of the kind discussed by Shmelev.

At the same time, those "Anglos" who have lived in Russia would be the last to say that there is less "positive interaction" among Russians than among speakers of English (cf. e.g., Smith 1976; Hobson 2001; Merridale 2000). But the unspoken rules which govern "positive interaction" in Russia are evidently different, in many ways, from those prevailing in America or in Britain. The widespread use of diminutives in Russian, which was touched on in section 4, is one example of such "positive interaction, Russian style".

7. Between Hungarian and English: Andrew Riemer's perspective

Differences between cultural scripts prevailing in different countries often cause serious difficulties in intercultural communication. In the case of immigrants, they often lead to the newcomers being perceived as rude and socially unacceptable. Immigrants who come to a new country as children or teenagers may be able to adapt to the host country's tacit norms, but in this case, a lack of understanding of the two different sets of cultural scripts may lead to negative perception of the culture of the parents.

A good example of this is provided by the memoir of the Australian writer Andrew Riemer, who emigrated with his parents to Australia from Hungary in 1946, at the age of ten. In her study of language and selfhood in cross-cultural autobi-

ography, Mary Besemeres (2002: 203) comments on Riemer's cultural transformation as follows:

> Andrew Riemer's autobiographical narratives both insightfully reveal and inadvertently display effects of his cultural transformation from a Hungarian Jewish child born in prewar Europe into an exclusively English-speaking Australian adult. Disconcertingly, his insights into the process of assimilation and his many sharp impressions of cultural differences coexist with a tendency to monocultural vision.

Among those Hungarian cultural patterns which baffle and offend Riemer as an adult fully assimilated into Anglo-Australian culture are, on the one hand, formulaic offers to "kiss Aunt Klari's hand", and an 'elaborate system of address' (reinforcing social hierarchy), and on the other, what Hoffman described as "direct criticisms of the person one is with":

> [In Hungary,] people constantly criticized each other openly and with considerable verbal violence. […] [O]n the one hand, [there was] rigid probity, on the other licence for considerable vehemence and even for a degree of coarseness which would not at that time have been tolerated in Australian society. The […] gatherings […] in my grandmother's flat would display the two contradictory poles of this social phenomenon: ceremonial and at times openly hypocritical *politesse* and violent, often quite coarse invective. (Riemer 1992: 50–51)

There is no recognition in this account of the existence of two different sets of cultural rules, one Australian and one Hungarian. Instead, the mainstream Australian rules are taken as a norm, and any observed violations of these rules are taken as evidence of Hungarian "hypocrisy", and "vulgarity" ("a stifling culture", etc.) – things that are "disturbing" and "demeaning". To quote Besemeres' analysis of Riemer's memoir again:

> In his account of social relations between Hungarians, Riemer imputes rudeness and hypocrisy, apparently without any awareness of cultural bias. He makes no reference to the beliefs about people's interaction on which Hungarian forms of speech might depend, as distinct from beliefs he has come to take for granted as an Australian adult. This approach withholds intelligibility from Hungarian speakers' behaviour. The 'Uncles and Aunties' (88) of his childhood transgress his accepted norms of politeness by discussing other people's appearance in their presence; they do not reckon in the first place with his present self's category of personal remarks. His memories of them voicing 'violent' criticisms to their targets' faces suggest that in Hungarian, unlike middle-class Australian English, people are not expected to avoid overt criticism of their interlocutors. (…) The reader is exposed to Riemer's cultural assumptions here as much as to the Hungarian interactive styles he sets out to describe. (Besemeres 2002: 215–216).

Since Riemer is looking at Hungarian cultural patterns from an outsider's, rather than an insider's perspective, his remarks seem to reflect a much better understanding of Anglo (-Australian) cultural scripts than Hungarian ones. It is easy to recognize in these remarks references to the prohibition on "personal remarks" and on "violently" criticising people to their faces, and also, to more specifically Austra-

lian "equalizing" and anti-hierarchical scripts such as the following ones (cf. Goddard 2006c, 2009):

[J] An Australian cultural script

[many people think like this:]
when I say something to someone
it will be good if this someone can know that I think about this someone like this:
"this someone is someone like me"

[K] An Australian cultural script

[many people think like this:]
when I say something to someone
it will not be good if this someone can think that I think like this:
"I am someone above this someone"

[L] An Australian cultural script

[many people think like this:]
at many times when I say something to someone
it will not be good if this someone can think that I think like this at that time:
"this someone is someone above me"

These Australian cultural scripts are clearly in conflict with some Hungarian cultural scripts reflected, in a somewhat caricatural form, in Riemer's memory and perception, such as the following one:

[M] A Hungarian cultural script

[many people think like this:]
at many times when I say something to someone
it will be good if this someone can think that I think like this at that time:
"this someone is not someone like me, this someone is someone above me"
at the same time it will be good if this someone can think
that when I think like this I feel something good towards this someone

8. Between Ukrainian and English: Marina Lewycka's perspective

The Anglo style of "positive human interaction" can be illustrated with a vignette from a cross-cultural novel by the English writer of Ukrainian origin, Marina Lewycka (2005: 1). In the vignette the narrator's father, who is eighty four, announces by telephone that he is getting married (to a woman who is thirty six):

> My father's voice, quavering with excitement, cracked down the line. 'Good news, Nadezhda, I'm getting married'.
> I remember the rush of blood to my head. Please let it be a joke! Oh, he's gone bonkers! Oh, you foolish old man! But I don't say any of those things. 'Oh, that's nice, Pappa', I say. (p. 1)

As it soon transpires, the woman has come from the Ukraine on a tourist visa and needs to marry someone quickly to be able to stay in the UK. The narrator's father first tried to help her ("save her") by finding a suitable young husband for her and approached two friends with unmarried sons. "They have both refused: they are too narrow-minded. He told them so, in no uncertain terms" (p. 4).

For the bicultural narrator the father's communicative style illustrates a Ukrainian way of speaking, whereas her own style, seen through her bicultural binoculars, illustrates an Anglo way of speaking. Once again, cross-cultural personal experience brings here a testimony of different cultural styles and different unspoken "rules" of speaking. And here is another vignette from Lewycka's cross-cultural novel (another telephone conversation):

> Tell me, Nadezhda, do you think it would be possible for a man of eighty-four to father a child?
> See how he always gets straight to the point? No small talk. No "How are you? How are Mike and Anna? No chit-chat about the weather. Nothing frivolous will hold him up when he is in the grip of a Big Idea.
> 'Well, I'm not sure …'
> 'And if it is, Nadezhda', he rattles on before I can marshal my defences, …
> 'Well now, Pappa' (pause for breath, keep the voice cheery and sensible) … (p. 14)

It would not be possible to try to articulate, within the confines of this article, all the cultural scripts brilliantly evoked in this exchange, so I will note only a few points: on the Ukrainian side, the command "tell me" (noted also in Eva Hoffman's cross-cultural memoir), the absence of "how are you?" and of "small talk" (a theme in the Polish poet Stanisław Barańczak's cross-cultural poem "Small talk"), and the "going straight to the point" (all characteristic also of Polish and Russian immigrant English); and on the English side, the ubiquitous English "well" (the prime tool of the "inhibition" of unpremeditated thoughts, the prime "anti-blurting" device); and the deliberately "cheery" and "sensible" voice (described elsewhere in the book as "English voice" [which] "distances me from all the pain and madness", p. 34).

A "cheerful voice" helps no doubt to keep the interaction "positive" and "pleasant", and if this is desirable in relation to one's father, it is of course all the more so in relation to people whom one doesn't know well. Thus, when the narrator finally meets her old father's new wife and thinks "Tart. Bitch. Cheap slut. This is the woman who has taken the place of my mother", at the same time: "I stretch my hand out and bare my teeth in a smile. 'Hallo Valentina. How nice to meet you at last'" (p. 77).

Needless to say, the ritual formula "nice to meet you" has no counterpart in Ukrainian. At the same time, it is important to note that for Lewycka, Ukrainian is anything but a language associated with a deficit of "positive interaction". For example, of her mother, now dead, she says: "My mother spoke to me in Ukrainian, with its infinite gradations of tender diminutives. Mother tongue" (p.15).

As these examples illustrate, cultural rules operating in different communities of discourse are much more specific than anything that could be captured with vague labels like "positive interaction". The methodology of cultural scripts provides fine-grained analytical tools. For example, the difference in cultural styles illustrated – somewhat satirically – in the first of Marina Lewycka's vignettes can be portrayed in NSM English in the cultural scripts [D] repeated here as [N] for the reader's convenience) and [O]:

[N] An Anglo cultural script (roughly, *don't criticise the person you are with*)

[many people think like this:]
at many times if I think something bad about someone when I am with this someone
it will be not good if I say it to this someone
if I say it this someone can feel something bad because of this
at the same time, this someone can think that I felt something bad towards this someone

[O] A Ukrainian cultural script (roughly, *tell the addressee what you think about them*)

[many people think like this:]
at many times, if I think something bad about someone when I am with this someone
it can be good if I say it to this someone

As these examples illustrate, by using the universal set of conceptual primes as our basic tool, we can give an account of different cultural scripts linked with different languages that is both rigorous and consistent with the experience of people crossing linguistic and cultural boundaries. We can show how rules of interaction in different communities of discourse differ because the set of universal concepts gives us a common measure for comparing such rules across language boundaries.

9. Some Indonesian and Malay Scripts: Barack Obama and Mahathir Mohamad

In his memoir *Dreams From My Father* (Obama 1995) the future President of the United States reflects on the time when, as a child, he lived in Indonesia and, at close quarters observed cross-cultural differences in values and attitudes between his American mother and his Indonesian stepfather. One thing that strikes young Barack about Lolo (his stepfather) is his reluctance to reveal his thoughts and his feelings to other people: "I had never heard him talk about what he was feeling. I had never seen him really angry or sad." (p. 40)

Lolo's tendency to "mistrust words – words, and the sentiments words carried" (p. 43) was no doubt partly due to his personal history and circumstances, but one gets the strong impression that there were also cultural factors involved. Clearly, Lolo did not share Ann's (Barack's American mother's) Midwestern" American values such as "honesty", "fairness", and "straight talk" any more than he did her

American faith "that rational, thoughtful people could shape their own destiny" (p. 50) and "her constant [moral] questioning" (p. 46). "Guilt is a luxury only foreigners can afford", he said. "Like saying whatever pops into your head." (p. 46). Thus, from the perspective of Obama's Indonesian stepfather, the thing that characterized foreigners [in Indonesia], and especially, one presumes, Anglo-Americans, was their readiness to say to others whatever popped into their heads.

It is doubtful, however, that English speakers in general and Americans in particular, would recognize themselves in such a characterization. The fact that the English verb *to blurt* has pejorative connotations suggests that, on the contrary, English speakers don't think highly of saying "the first thing that pops into your head". In fact, some Anglophone scholars have even suggested that if speakers don't keep their thoughts in check, and if they say spontaneously whatever "pops into their heads", this may be due to the shrinking of some parts of their brains.

Thus psychologists like von Hippel regard control over one's thoughts and the ability to hold one's tongue and to "suppress" one's thoughts as unquestionable and culture-independent human values. Barack Obama's Indonesian stepfather (who was educated in America) shows more awareness of cross-cultural differences in this respect, but naturally, his characterization of these differences reflects a better understanding of Indonesian cultural scripts than of Anglo-American ones. There are no Anglo cultural scripts encouraging speakers to say whatever pops into their heads. There are, on the other hand, Indonesian and Malay cultural scripts which encourage "a specific communicative strategy: namely, a period of consideration and premeditation before saying anything which could be potentially hurtful" (Goddard 1997). Goddard formulates the relevant script (Malay and Indonesian) as follows:

[P] A Malay and Indonesian cultural script ("think first")

[many people think like this:]
when I say something to someone
it is not good if this someone feels something bad because of this
because of this, when I want to say something to someone
    it will be good if I think about it for some time before I say it

In support of this script, Goddard cites the common Malay sayings that one should *fikir dulu* 'think first', *fikir panjang* 'think long', *fikir dua kali* 'think twice' etc.) and proverbs such as the following ones:

Jaga mulut. 'Mind your mouth'.
Berkata peliharakan lidah. 'Speak minding one's tongue'
Cakap siang pandang-pandang; cakap malam dengar-dengar. 'If you speak in the daytime, keep your eyes open; if you speak at night, keep your ears open'
Rosak badan kerana mulut. 'The body suffers because of the mouth'
Berhati-hati bila bercakap. 'Be careful when you speak'
Kalau cakap fikirlah sedikit dulu 'If you're going to speak, think a little first.'

As Goddard further shows, the scripts of "verbal caution" are linked in Malay culture with "the need to protect people's feelings", a theme reflected in traditional sayings and expressions such as *jaga hati orang* 'look after people's feelings', *memilihara perasaan* 'look after feelings', and *bertimbah perasaan* 'weigh feelings'. Goddard (1997) notes that the perceived insensitivity of Australians to the feelings of Malaysians "has been identified by Malaysia's Prime Minister, Dr. Mathathir Mohamad, as one cause of the perennially strained relations between the two countries. 'In Asian culture' Dr. Mahathir explained, 'people are reluctant to pass comment on others. … We have a way of making our views known, without hurting feelings' (ABC Radio, 2 December 1995, quoted in Goddard 1997)"

Thus, from a Malay and Indonesian perspective, Anglos appear not to care about other people's feelings and to be prone to say the first thing that comes into their heads. From an Anglo cultural perspective, on the other hand, Russians (and perhaps also Poles, Ukrainians and Hungarians) may seem to be people who don't "look after other people's feelings" and can't keep "rude" or "hurtful" thoughts in check.

However, when the relevant speech practices are looked at from an insiders' rather than outsiders' point of view, it transpires that neither Anglo culture nor Russian culture have scripts actually encouraging saying whatever "pops into one's head".

The impression that there are such scripts (or practices) comes from the fact that there are no Russian or Anglo scripts matching the Malay and Indonesian "think first" script. In addition, there are language and culture-specific scripts linked with English, and others, linked with Russian, which from an Indonesian/Malay point of view may look like norms encouraging a lack of verbal caution and indifference to other people's feelings.

One Anglo script which can be compared with the "think first" is that associated with the word *to blurt*. Arguably, this script can be formulated as follows:

[Q] An Anglo cultural script against *'blurting out'* what one thinks

[many people think like this]
at many times, if I think something when I am with someone else
it can be bad if I say it to this someone
    if I haven't thought about it for a short time before I say it

This script is much more general and less prescriptive in its scope than the Malay one: "at some times", "it can be bad", "for a short time", and it is not limited specifically with looking after other people's feelings. What matters here is the awareness that *sometimes* it can be good (for a variety of reasons) to consider whether or not to say something, under the circumstances.

What matters from a Russian point of view is the value of speaking *prjamo* 'straight' and that of *iskrennost*' ('sincerity/spontaneity'). The first of these values has already been mentioned and illustrated from Chekhov. I will come back to it shortly, to compare the scripts of "speaking straight" in Russian with those known

as "straight talk" in American English. Before doing so, however, it will be useful to compare the Russian scripts of *iskrennost'* with the *Malay/Indonesian* precepts of "think first".

The word *iskrennost'* is usually translated into English as "sincerity", but in fact it has a much wider range of use, and much greater cultural significance. "Iskrennost'" is often spoken of in Russian as an important and highly valued personal characteristic, the way "kindness" is spoken of in English. A few examples from Chekhov's play *Ivanov* (my translation): "She is a faithful, sincere (*iskrennij*) human being!"; "He has worn me down terribly, but I like him; there is a lot of sincerity (*iskrennost'*) in him!"; "I was young, passionate, sincere (*iskrennij*)". As this last example shows, one can mourn the loss of one's "iskrennost'" as one can mourn the loss of one's youth.

The adverb *iskrenno* is frequently used in Russian to emphasize the sincerity of one's feelings and wishes, as in the following example (also from Chekhov, *Three Sisters*, my translation): "My dear sister, let me wish you sincerely [*iskrenno*], with all my heart [lit. from the soul]." As the added phrase *ot duši* (from the soul) highlights, the word *iskrenno* does not have here the formality of the English *sincerely* but rather, indicates, in a fully colloquial way, a spontaneous outpouring of the heart (Wierzbicka 2002; Goddard 2006b; Pesmen 2000).

To add one more example, from Solzenitsyn's novel *The First Circle* (translated by Max Hayward, Manya Harari, and Michael Glenny): "Such was the childlike innocence [*iskrennost'*] of this eccentric that Abakumov was quite unperturbed; tolerating this invasion of his desk he watched Pryanchikov in silence." The translators have rendered the phrase *iskrennost' i neposredstvennost'* (roughly, "sincerity and directness") as "innocence", and, indeed, one could hardly speak in English of "childlike sincerity". What the Russian *iskrennost'* conveys is that one says what one thinks and feels, that it is something good, and that one says it because one wants to say what one thinks and feels, at that moment, not because of anything else. This leads us to the following cultural scripts (cf. Wierzbicka 2002; Goddard 2006b):

[R] The Russian cultural script of "iskrennost'"

[many people think like this:]
at many times someone says something good to someone else
    because this someone wants this other someone to know
    what this someone is thinking at that time, not because of anything else
it is good if it is like this
at many times someone says something good to someone else
    because this someone wants this other someone to know
    what this someone feels at that time, not because of anything else
it is good if it is like this

This script does not imply that it is always good to speak on the spur of the moment (it does not say "it is good if whenever someone says something …").

Rather, it recognizes that at times people speak like that – and far from condemning such a way of speaking it "praises" it. The script is indeed incompatible with the Malay/Indonesian script of "think first", but it is not its symmetrical opposite. In one case, the focus is on saying what "flows directly from the heart" (at a given moment) – presumably, in the interest of interpersonal closeness and trust, in the other, on premeditating what one is going to say so as not to say anything that could hurt, offend, or antagonize the addressee unnecessarily – presumably, in the interest of interpersonal "harmony", but at the cost of interpersonal distance.

Returning now to the question of "straight talk", it is interesting to note that Obama contrasts his Indonesian stepfather's disdain for what he perceives as the practice of saying "whatever pops into your head" with his American mother's reverence for "straight talk": "If you didn't like the shirt I bought you for your birthday, you should have just said so instead of keeping it wadded up at the bottom of your closet". (p. 49)

From a Malay/Indonesian point of view, such "straight talk" is no doubt contrary to the principle of "looking after other people's feelings": the mother can be expected to "feel something bad" when the son tells her that he doesn't like the shirt she bought for his birthday. But presumably, Obama's mother's reverence for "straight talk" would not have extended to telling people that they look fat, ugly, or aged: the cultural taboo entrenched in the phrase *personal remarks* would normally discourage English speakers from "speaking straight" in this particular way – even Midwestern American ones. The most common context for "speaking straight" in English is that of giving "a straight answer (to a straight question)". This suggests the following cultural script:

[S] An Anglo cultural script

[many people think like this:]
at many times, when someone wants to know what I think about something
    it will be good if I say it
if I think something bad about it it can be good if I say it
it can be good if this someone knows what I think about it

This script, related to the Anglo-American value of "honesty" of "speaking honestly", may overlap in some of its manifestations with the Russian script of speaking *prjamo* 'straight' or speaking *iskrenno* 'sincerely/spontaneously' "from the heart". But in Anglo-American culture, there are other scripts which limit the sphere within which such scripts of "honesty" and "straight talk" can operate. In particular, there is the script described by Eva Hoffman as "one shouldn't criticize the person one is with, at least not directly". It may be acceptable, and even good, to say to other people that I think something bad about something, but not to tell them, to their face, that I think something bad about them. As we have seen, there is no such script in Russian culture.

The Russian scripts of "iskrennost'" imply that it is good if one says something to someone because one wants to share with them one's current thoughts and feelings, not for some other reason (for example, because one thinks that it will be good to say that thing at that time to that person). Thus, "iskrennost" leaves little or no room not only for premeditation ("think first") but also for careful consideration and conscious control over what one says.

10. Some Japanese cultural scripts

In the literature on Japanese culture and society it is often said that in Japan it is important to apologize very frequently and in a broad range of situations. The experience of Western students of Japanese is consistent with such statements. As Coulmas reports, "a Western student who has been taught Japanese experiences the extensive usage of apology expressions as a striking feature of everyday communication when he first comes to Japan" (1981: 81). Correspondingly, "among Japanese students of English, German, or other European languages, it is a common mistake to make apologies where no such acts are expected or anticipated in the respective speech community" (1981: 81).

The Japanese psychiatrist Takeo Doi recalls in this connection an observation made by the Christian missionary Father Henvers about "the magical power of apology in Japan", and he comments: "It is particularly noteworthy that a Christian missionary, who came to Japan to preach forgiveness of sin, should have been so impressed by the realization that among Japanese a heartfelt apology leads easily to reconciliation" (1981: 50). To illustrate this point, Doi recounts the experience of an American psychiatrist in Japan who, through some oversight in carrying out immigration formalities, "found himself hauled over the coals by an official of the Immigration Bureau". However often he explained that it was not really his fault, the official would not be appeased until, at the end of his tether, he said "I'm sorry" as a prelude to a further argument, whereupon the official's expression suddenly changed and he dismissed the matter without further ado. Doi concludes his discussion with a characteristic comment that "people in the West … are generally reluctant to apologize" (1981: 51).

Observations such as those made by Coulmas and Doi are revealing and striking, but they may not be specific enough to be very effective in any attempt to "teach culture". To begin with, the concept of "apology" itself is culture-bound and is therefore inadequate as a descriptive and analytical tool in the cross-cultural field. The words *apology* and *apologize*, which belong to the English set of speech act terms, imply personal responsibility for something that was bad for the addressee: "I know that I did something, I know that it was bad for you, I know that you can feel something bad towards me because of this". But as Doi's little anecdote illustrates, the Japanese so-called "apology" does not presuppose such a

set of components. It is misleading, therefore, to call it an "apology" in the first place.

Furthermore, references to an extensive usage of apologies in Japan (as compared with the West) create an impression that the difference is quantitative, not qualitative. In fact, however, the difference lies not in the frequency of use of the same speech act, but in the use of qualitatively different speech acts (see Wierzbicka 1991a); and the use of these different speech acts is linked with qualitatively different cultural norms. Norms of this kind can be usefully illustrated with schematic scenarios, such as the following one from Hiroko Kataoka's *Japanese Cultural Encounters*:

> Tom rented a car one weekend. It was his first time driving a car in Japan, but he had been an excellent driver in the United States.
> On his way to a friend's house, however, he had an accident. A young child about four years old ran into the street from an alley just as Tom was driving by. Tom was driving under the speed limit and he was watching the road carefully, so he stepped on the brakes immediately. However, the car did brush against the child, causing him to fall down. Tom immediately stopped the car and asked a passerby to call the police and an ambulance.
> Fortunately the child's injuries were minor. The police did not give Tom a ticket, and he was told that he was not at fault at all, thanks to some witnesses' reports. He felt sorry for the child but decided that there was nothing more he could do, so he tried to forget about the accident. However, after several days, Tom heard from the policeman that the child's parents were extremely upset about Tom's response to the incident. (1991: 2)

Kataoka invites the reader to consider four alternative answers to the question "Why were the child's parents upset?" The following answer is then indicated as the correct one: "They were angry because Tom did not apologize to them, nor did he visit the child in hospital, even though he was not at fault. Tom should have done these things to show his sincerity". Kataoka comments further: "In Japan, one is expected to apologize whenever the other party involved suffers in any way, materially or emotionally. In many court cases, perpetrators get a lighter sentence when it is clear that they regret their actions, as reflected in their apology" (1991: 64).

The cultural norm reflected in Kataoka's story and explanatory comments can be represented in the form of the following cultural script:

> **[T] A Japanese cultural script**
>
> [many people think like this:]
> if at some time something bad happens somewhere because I did something
> it will be bad if I don't say something like this a short time after this:
> "I feel something bad because of this"
> it will be bad if I don't do something because of this at the same time

The cultural rule in question was clearly illustrated by the sudden resignation on April 8, 1994, of the Japanese Prime Minister Morihiro Hosokawa. According to

reports in *The Australian*, Mr. Hosokawa said that "the scandal over his financial dealings was 'extremely regrettable' because it had prevented the Parliament from passing the budget and hindered his reform plans … Mr. Hosokawa said there was nothing wrong with the two loans he accepted during the 1980s, but he felt morally responsible for the parliamentary impasse" (April 9, 1994: 12).

Thus Mr. Hosokawa didn't say that he had done anything bad, but he admitted that something bad (a parliamentary impasse) happened because of something that he had done (accepted two loans). This admission made it necessary for him to say, publicly, that he felt something bad because of what had happened, and this, in turn, made it necessary for him to do something (resign), to show that he really did feel something bad (that is, to prove his sincerity). Thus the cultural scenario enacted by the prime minister corresponds exactly to the one which in Kataoka's story should have been and was not enacted by "Tom".

Kataoka also discusses Japanese "apologies" in connection with a different vignette, entitled "Self-Defense":

> One morning at the Japanese company where Bob worked part-time, he took a finished document to his boss's office. His boss checked the document very carefully and pointed out a critical mistake in it. He also told him that the document should have been submitted earlier.
> The document was late because Bob hadn't had access to the word-processor at the office until very recently. As for the mistake in the document, Bob noticed that it was made by a colleague of his, and not by him. Bob explained these things to his boss calmly and very politely in Japanese, showing that he was not at fault. Having listened to Bob, the boss looked displeased and suddenly said to him in English, "I don't want to hear such excuses. Do this again, and give it to me before you go home today!"
> Bob left the boss's office, feeling upset. He didn't understand why his boss had become offended since he had done nothing wrong. Bob didn't know what to do. (1991: 16)

This time the question is "Why do you think Bob's boss got mad at Bob?" and the correct answer is "Bob made an excuse and failed to apologize. Apologies are very important in Japan." This is accompanied by the following comment: "If Bob had been apologetic, the reactions of his boss would have been more favourable. Apologies are used very often among Japanese people to show sincerity, and to reassure others that the person recognizes responsibility and wants to cooperate" (1991: 81). But in this case it is clearly not only the absence of an apology but also the attempt at self-justification and self-exculpation which causes the problem.

Apparently, from a Japanese cultural point of view it is not good to say "I didn't do anything bad" – or even to think this (Markus and Kitayama, 1994). In Kataoka's stories, the cultural outsider, Bob, actually said (more or less), "I didn't do anything bad". The other outsider, Tom, didn't say that, but his attitude suggested that he thought something along those lines. That was "wrong". Had he thought, instead, of other people's feelings, and of his own role in the events that caused other people's "bad feelings" ("someone else felt something bad because I did

something"), he would have been more likely to behave in a culturally prescribed manner. Thus the two stories illustrate an important norm of Japanese social interaction:

[U] A Japanese cultural script (it is bad to try to "justify oneself")

[many people think like this:]
if at some time something bad happens somewhere because some time before I did something
it will be bad if I say something like this: "it happened not because I did something bad"
it will be good if I say something like this: "I feel something bad because it happened"

But while not "apologizing" enough may be a problem for English speakers in Japan, Japanese speakers may get into trouble by "apologizing" too much in their cross-cultural encounters. For example, Rintell-Mitchell (1989: 248–249) report "how a Japanese businessman angers an American colleague by repeatedly apologizing for a late report; the American expects explanations and solutions" (I quote after Trosborg 1995: 405).

A pedagogical cultural script for Japanese learners of English suggested by these remarks can be formulated as follows:

if something bad happens in a place because you did something
it will not be good if you say something like this many times:
"I feel something bad because of this"
it will be good if you say something like this:
"I want you to know why it happened
(I want you to know what I will do because of this)"

The cultural scripts formulated in this section, present, in a crystallized form, generalizations about Japanese culture that have been reached and amply documented in numerous books and articles (see, e.g., Honna and Hoffer 1989; Lebra 1976; Mizutani and Mizutani 1987). The main purpose here is to show how the use of the natural semantic metalanguage can allow us to sharpen and to clarify generalizations put forward and supported by evidence elsewhere.

11. Concluding Remarks

In a study entitled "Polite responses to polite requests" which is published in the journal *Cognition*, the psychologists Herbert Clark and Dale Schunk (1980: 111) wrote:

> … when people make requests, they tend to make them indirectly. They generally avoid imperatives like *Tell me the time*, which are direct requests, in preference for questions like *Can you tell me the time?* or assertions like *I'm trying to find out what time it is*, which are indirect requests". (For discussion, see Wierzbicka 1991a: 7).

This is a good example of how speech practices and norms characteristic of present-day English can be mistaken for features of human behaviour and human cognition in general. As we have seen, in fact it is not "people" in general who avoid imperatives, but speakers of English. Although cross-cultural pragmatics has made great progress in the three decades since the paper including those remarks was published by Clark and Schunk, there is still a wide-spread tendency to mistake speakers of English for simply "people" (people in general), and to take Anglo cultural norms for the human norm.

If this happens in Anglophone scholarly literature, it is hardly surprising that it often happens in English-speaking societies at large. The result is miscommunication, misperception and unnecessary conflict. In particular, immigrants who unwittingly violate Anglo cultural norms are often seen as rude, difficult and odd (sometimes even by their own children).

In his book *Intercultural Communication At Work,* in which he treats present-day Australia as "a microcosm of cultural diversity" characteristic of today's world, Michael Clyne (1994: 212) writes:

> The need for sensitivity to inter-cultural communication is at least as urgent in the professions as on the factory floor. The Melbourne *Age* of 30 November 1991 reports that a Hungarian-born textile teacher who had been denied promotion was awarded $55,000 by the Equal Opportunity Board. According to the report, women teachers from non-English-speaking backgrounds in her department at a college of technical and further education were considered by their colleagues to be 'emotional, highly strung, demanding and overly conscientious in their work, long-winded and unable to be concise, holding undue regard for academic qualifications as opposed to practical experience …' and the teacher in question had been told that she was 'oversensitive and paranoid'. In view of the discourse patterns of Central Europeans described in Chapters 4 and 5, the importance of a substantial educational programme in inter-cultural communication is evident so that Australia is able to benefit more from its human resources. (It is probable that the treatment of this textile teacher is neither an atypical nor an isolated instance.)

What applies to present-day Australia, applies of course throughout the English-speaking and English-learning world.

The importance of intercultural communication in the increasingly globalized world is steadily growing, and so is the role of English worldwide. It is therefore more important than ever to treat intercultural pragmatics as a matter of practical, as well as theoretical concern. Putative "universals of politeness" cannot provide a framework for intercultural training. The methodology of cultural scripts formulated in simple and universal human concepts offers such a framework. It is a framework which can help explain shared assumptions and values embedded in ways of speaking in different languages and cultures and can at the same time be practically useful in intercultural education. It is not technical, and it is generally accessible. It is not tied to English, and while for practical reasons it is likely to be implemented most widely through a mini-English ("NSM English"), it does not

rely on technical English and can be used even at introductory levels of intercultural induction and training, as intercultural pragmatics' simple and practical lingua franca.

Table 2. Sample of previous studies using cultural scripts

LANGUAGE/CULTURE	PUBLICATIONS	RELATED PUBLICATIONS
"Anglo" English varieties	Peeters (1999, 2000), Wierzbicka (2002b, 2010)	Peeters (2004), Béal (1990, 1992, 1993, 1994), Stollznow 2004, Wierzbicka (1985, 1992: Ch 11, 1997a: Ch 5)
Chinese	Wierzbicka (1996c), Ye (2004a, 2004b)	Ye (2002, 2001), Kornacki (1995, 2001)
Ewe	Ameka (1994), Ameka/ Breedveld (2004)	Ameka (1987, 2002)
French, Spanish, and German	Peeters (1999, 2000), Travis (2004), Wierzbicka (1998a)	Béal (1990, 1992, 1993, 1994), Travis (1997a, 1998, 2002), Durst (2001), Wierzbicka (1999: Ch 3)
Japanese	Wierzbicka (1996b), Hasada (1996)	Asano (2003), Hasada (1998, 2001, 2002), Travis (1997a, 1997b), Wierzbicka (1997b: Ch 6)
Korean	Yoon (2004a)	Yoon (2003, 2004b)
Malay	Goddard (1997, 2000, 2002b, 2004a)	Goddard (1994, 1995, 1996, 2001a, 2001b, 2002b)
Polish, Russian	Wierzbicka (1999: Ch 5–6, 2002a)	Wierzbicka (1985, 1992: Ch 12, 1997a: Ch 3–4, 1997b, 1998b, 1998c, 2001), Gladkova (2005, 2007)
Singapore English	Wong (2004a)	Besemeres/Wierzbicka (2003), Wierzbicka (2003[1991]), Wong (2004b, 2004c, 2005)

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2. Compliment and compliment response research: A cross-cultural survey

Rong Chen

This paper provides a comprehensive survey of cross-cultural research on compliment and compliment response. It summarizes key findings about compliments and compliment responses in different languages, discusses the significance of these findings, and speculates the directions this field of investigation is headed.

The organization of the paper is as follows. Research on English compliments and compliment responses is presented in section 1 and on other European languages in section 2. In section 3, I move to Asia, discussing compliment and compliment response research in Chinese, followed by discussions on the other two East Asian languages: Japanese and Korea, in section 4. Section 5 is on Middle Eastern Languages: Turkish, Persian, and Arabic. In section 6, I summarize these findings into a few generalizations and, in section 7, I speculate on some possible directions for compliment and compliment response research.

1. English

Pomerantz (1978) is the first pragmatic study on complimenting and compliment responding, followed by a series of papers in the 1980s, most of which investigate the two speech acts in the English language spoken in America (Pomerantz 1984; Manes 1983; Wolfson 1981, 1983, 1989; Manes and Wolfson 1981; Herbert 1986, 1990, 1991), South Africa (Herbert 1989; Herbert and Straight 1989), New Zealand (Holmes 1988), and Ireland (Schneider and Schneider 2000).[1] I will discuss compliments and then compliment responses in American English, to be followed by South African English, New Zealand English, and Irish English.

Complimenting in American English is primarily studied by Manes and Wolfson (Manes 1983; Wolfson 1981, 1983, 1989; Manes and Wolfson 1981, among others). The authors find that, much like other well-studied speech acts such as requesting, apologizing, and greeting, complimenting is done through formulaic utterances. Syntactically, English compliments are confined to a small set of structures, most often the *NP is/looks* (*really*) *Adj* type (e.g., "Your blouse is/looks (really) beautiful!") and the *I* (*really*) *like/love NP* type (e.g., "I like/love your car"). Lexically, the adjectives used in compliments are mostly *nice, beautiful*, and *good* and the verbs used are primarily *like* and *love*. In addition, the things that compliments are paid on (in the rest of the paper these things will be referred to as the *topics, objects,* or *targets* of compliments) are also predictable, belong-

ing to two broad categories: appearance and/or possession and ability and/or accomplishments. With regard to interlocutors, compliments are paid mostly to people of equal status – colleagues, acquaintances, and casual friends – not nearly as frequently among intimates such as family members. These findings by Manes and Wolfson are later confirmed by Herbert (1986, 1989, 1990, 1991) and have since been used as starting points for research on complimenting in other languages.

These authors also discover a great deal of subtleties in the compliment behavior of Americans. They find, for instance, that while compliments on appearance and possessions can be delivered quite freely, compliments on ability and accomplishments are limited to situations of unequal status and, in these situations, compliments flow from those in higher status to those in lower status, not vice versa, as is commonly assumed (Manes and Wolfson 1981; Wolfson 1989). These findings enable the authors to conclude that the most important function of compliments is to establish and/or enhance solidarity and camaraderie (Manes 1983; see also Herbert 1990).

The relationship between gender on the one hand and the compliment and compliment response behavior on the other is yet another topic of investigation for these pioneer researchers. Manes and Wolfson show that women pay and receive more compliments than men and that women's responses to compliments are more geared towards social harmony than men's. Herbert (1990) is a more focused study on gender-based differences in compliments and compliment responses. He discovers, from his corpus of 1062 compliment events, that men's compliments are twice as likely to be accepted as women's, that women are twice as likely to accept compliments as men, that compliments given by men are far more likely to be met with agreement – particularly by a female responder – and, among all interactional pairs (men-to-men, men-to-women, women-to-women, and women-to-men), men-to-men compliments are the most likely to be met with no acknowledgement (Herbert 1990: 213, Table 3).

While Wolfson and Manes are credited for their original work on the speech act of complimenting, Pomerantz (1978) is the first study that brings the speech act of compliment responding to the fore of pragmatics. The most notable contribution Pomorantz makes to the field is her recognition of two conflicting constraints on speakers' compliment responding behavior, presented in (1) below:

(1) Pomerantz's (1978: 81–82) constraints in compliment responding
  A. Agree with the complimenter
  B. Avoid self-praise

Constraint A explains compliment acceptance, often expressed by appreciation tokens (e.g., "Thank you"). Constraint B is the motivation for a set of strategies that downgrade the value of the object of the compliment (e.g., "That's a beautiful sweater!" "It keeps out the cold") or to shift the credit away from the responder

herself (e.g., "That's a beautiful sweater!" "My best friend gave it to me on my birthday").

These two general principles are the basis for Herbert's (1986) three categories of compliment responses: Agreement, Nonagreement, and Other Interpretations, each of which includes several sub-types. Applying this schema to his corpus of 1062 instances of compliment responses gathered from an American University, Herbert finds his subjects overly accept compliments 36.35 % of the time (Herbert 1986: 80, Table 2) and overly disagree with the compliment 9.98 % of the time. The rest of the responses lie in between, belonging to types such as Comment history ("That's a cute shirt." "Every time I wash it the sleeves get more and more stretched out"), Reassignment ("That's a beautiful necklace." "It was my grandmother's"), Return ("You are funny." "You are a good audience"), and Qualification ("You look good in a moustache." "Yeah, but it itches").

These works on compliments and compliment responses in American English reflect the field of pragmatics of the day. Judging by their theoretical orientations, these authors can be said to be more sociolinguists and anthropological linguists than pragmaticians. For instance, they typically adopt the ethnographical approach to their work; they have a keen eye for the subtleties in the social relationship between speakers and hearers;[2] and they often interpret their findings in terms of social function. Their respective works have contributed significantly to the knowledge of the speech acts of complimenting and compliment responding in American English, making American English a baseline language for cross-cultural pragmatics studies in the decades to come. The formulaic nature of compliment utterances, the rapport-building function of compliments, the most likely topics of compliments (appearance and/or possessions and ability and/or accomplishments), and the relationship between the complimenter and the complimentee (colleagues, acquaintances, and friends), all have since been repeatedly used as benchmarks against which to compare other languages and as points of departure for designing Discourse Completion Tests (DCT) for data collection. Pomerantz's (1978) dichotomy of the two conflicting constraints on compliment responding has likewise made its presence felt in most studies to be discussed below, although in different reincarnations.

During this period, compliments and compliment responses in English spoken in New Zealand and South America were also investigated. Studying New Zealand English is Holmes (1988), who confirms the formulaic nature of compliments with her corpus of 517 tokens of compliment and compliment response. She proposes a new category of compliment responding strategies: Acceptance, Rejection, and Deflect/Evasion and finds that New Zealand English speakers accept compliments 61.1 % of the time, reject them 10 % of the time, and deflect/evade them about 28.8 % of the time. In addition, she is the first researcher to connect complimenting and compliment responding with Brown and Levinson's (1987) and Leech's (1983) respective politeness theories, although no rigorous attempt is made to test the soundness of these theories against her data. Investigations of South African

English compliments and compliment responses are Herbert (1989) and Herbert and Straight (1989), both contrastive studies between American English and South African English. Herbert reports significant differences between the two speech communities: White South African English speakers pay compliments less but accept them more than their American counterparts. Herbert and Straight (1989) attribute these differences to the following factors. The first factor is psycholinguistic: the South African compliment behavior is governed by a speaker-based stance – "Don't offer (many) compliments" – whereas the American behavior is governed by a listener-based stance – "Don't accept (many) compliments." The second factor is functional: South Africans use compliments and compliment responses to affirm a confidently assumed social solidarity with their (white, middle-class) status-equals whereas Americans use the two related speech acts to establish, maintain, and otherwise negotiate such solidarity or seeming solidarity.

Lastly, compliment responding in Irish English is investigated by Schneider and Schneider (2000) in a contrastive study among Chinese, American English, German, and Irish English. The authors find that, compared to Americans, Irish speakers of English employ more strategies (15 as opposed to 10 by Americans) and favor compliment rejecting far more than their American counterparts. Based on Chen's (1993) proposal that compliment rejection is motivated by Leech's (1983) Modesty Maxim and compliment acceptance is motivated by Leech's Agreement Maxim, Schneider and Schneider report that overall compliment responses in Irish English give approximately equal weight to these two maxims (cited in Barron and Schneider 2005: 4), as about 43 % of the responses are categorized as Modesty-driven and 57 % as Agreement-driven (cited in Jucker 2009: 21, Figure 3).

2. Other European Languages

Studies on compliment and compliment response in English discussed in the previous section led researchers to turn their attention to other European languages, most notably Polish, German, French, Spanish, and Greek. Studies on these languages will be discussed in this section and in that order.

2.1. Polish

Complimenting and compliment responding in Polish are studied by Herbert (1991) and Jaworski (1995). Herbert (1991) finds that Polish compliments are very similar to English: they display a very small set of syntactic patterns and semantic formulae, although the exact syntactic structures used differ from those found in English due to typological differences between the two languages. However, while English compliments are more first person-based (e.g., "I like your shoes"), Polish

compliments are more second person-based (e.g., *Masz bardzo ładne buty* "You have very pretty shoes"). In addition, Polish compliments are more about possession (49 %) than any other categories of topics, which is a significant departure from what is reported about American English (Wolfson 1981) and New Zealand English (Holmes 1988). Herbert speculates that the focus on possession in Polish compliments is due to the scarcity of material goods Polish speakers faced at the time of his fieldwork – 1983–1988 – when Poland was still under the communist government.

Jaworski (1995) concentrates on the functions of Polish compliments. He distinguishes between two types of solidarity – procedural and relational – and argues that "many Polish compliments which are used in a manipulative or instrumental way are only procedurally solidary but not relational solidary" (Jaworski 1995: 63). Such compliments are often met with suspicion, joking, even sarcasm. Looking deeper, Joworski finds that a compliment often has a next-step function – the complimenter intends her compliment to lead to something beyond the mere praise of the target of the compliment. One such function is to encourage like behavior in the future (e.g., A husband complimenting on his wife's cooking); the other is to lead to the disclosure of information regarding the source of complimented object so that the complimenter can obtain it herself (e.g., compliment on a blouse is often intended to be a trigger for vital information for obtaining one like it).

2.2. German

Golato (2002) focuses on compliment responses in German using data collected from natural interactions in different parts of Germany and compares her findings strategy by strategy with American English compliment responses as reported in Pomerantz (1978) and Herbert and Straight (1989). While the two languages are strikingly similar at the macro-level of comparison – e.g., compliments in both languages are met with frequent acceptance, although no numerical data are provided – they differ in specific strategies speakers use in like situations. To accept a response, for instance, Appreciation Token is a favorite device for Americans but it is non-existent in Golato's German data. Likewise, Americans can express their agreement with a same-strength adjective, but Germans are found, correspondingly, to agree with a compliment via a confirmation marker. Golato (2005) extends her analysis of German compliments and compliment responses further, looking at the position of a compliment in the sequential organization of the conversation in which it occurs. She argues that the placement of a compliment in a larger context is relevant – even crucial at times – to its interpretation. Specifically, compliments can occur in a preferred environment (e.g., after the complimentee has just deprecated herself) or a dispreferred environment (e.g. before a criticism). These two types of context will lead to differences in the face-threatening force the compliments respectively carry.

According to Schneider and Schneider (2000), however, Germans reject compliments significantly more than Americans. In their contrastive study of compliment responses (cited above), they find that close to 40 % of the German responses are motivated by Leech's (1983) Agreement Maxim while only about 24 % of the American responses belong to that category (cited in Jucker 2000: 21). This is in sharp contrast with Golato's findings cited above. Jucker (2000: 22) appears to attribute this discrepancy to the different research methods the respective researchers adopt: Golato uses natural data while Schneider and Schneider use the DCT.

2.3. French

Wieland (1995) audio-recorded seven dinner conversations among French speakers and advanced learners of French whose native language is (American) English. She finds the assumption that French speakers do not compliment much is not borne out in her data. There are noticeable gender differences in compliment topics and the frequency of compliments: appearance is complimented only between women and more compliments are given by women. As for compliment responses, Wieland claims that responses that agree with the complimentee are rare, as "they violate the law of modesty" (Wieland 1995: 806). So the subjects routinely reject compliments, often prefaced by *non*. In addition, the French speaking subjects use a variety of mitigating devices such minimizing the compliment (Herbert's Scale-Down type) and displacing the compliment (Herbert's Reassignment type).

2.4. Spanish

Cordella, Large, and Pardo (1995) collect compliments from spontaneous interactions among Australian English speakers and Australian Spanish speakers who had immigrated to Australia from Uruguay, Chile, and Argentina and analyze their data using the framework from classical studies by Manes and Wolfson. Their findings, first, reveal similarities between the two groups. Both English and Spanish speakers compliment more among females than males and more among friends than among intimates and strangers. For Australian English speakers, Cordella, Large and Pardo (1995: 245) find that speakers under the age of 30 tend to be complimented on their appearance and those above 30, on their skills. There is no reportage of data about the Spanish group on the topics of compliments.

Lorenzo-Dus (2001) contrasts compliment responses between British English and Spanish speakers. Using a DCT, Lorenzo-Dus solicits data from students studying at Cardiff University (UK) and Valencia University (Spain). She finds that both groups reassign compliments on targets such as talent or intelligence to avoid self-praise. She also finds both groups use humor regularly, although English speakers combine humor with various types of agreeing strategies such as Com-

ment Acceptance, History, and Returning. There are also differences: 1) English speakers question the value of compliments more than their Spanish counterparts; 2) Spanish speakers frequently ask for repetition of the compliment, something English speakers are not found to do.

2.5. Greek

Sifianou (2001) may be the only study on Greek compliments. Based on 450 compliment exchanges collected ethnographically, Sifianou makes several qualitative observations about Greek compliments. First, since compliment is "personal assessment of a situation," it is "likely to be viewed suspiciously as expressing insincere feelings and flattery" (Sifianou 2001: 392–393). This leads to exchanges in which the complimenter provides disclaimers to diminish the possible negative connotation of a compliment ("It's true." "I'm telling the truth"). Second, compliments can be used together with, instead of, or in response to other speech acts such as congratulating ("Well, O.K. you've surpassed everybody, what else can I say?") and thanking ("You are a gem! What would I do without you," said after the complimentee had collected and brought the complimenter's ticket from the agent).[3] Third, Sifianou's Greek data confirms findings in previous studies about gender-differences. Of the 450 compliments, 79 % of them are paid by women and 83 % are received by women. In contrast, only 5 % of these compliments are between men. Besides, compliments paid to women are mostly about appearances while those paid to men are mostly about ability (Sifianou 2001: 401).

Sifianou also finds that Greek compliments are often seen as information seekers, in much the same way as in other languages such as Polish (see above). ("This dress also suits you a lot." "Do you like it? Laura Ashley"). Obviously, to provide information about how to obtain the object of the compliment assumes that complimenter is interested in the complimented object. Hence Greek speakers may simply offer the complimented thing to the complimenter. ("Nice brooch!" "Do you like it? Have it").

Lastly, Sifianou reports that although there are a few formulaic utterances Greeks use to pay "routine" compliments – compliments resulting from social obligations to say something nice to an acquaintance or friend – Greek complimenting displays an array of creative utterances in non-routine, unexpected situations. The following is a sampler from Sifianou's data, with the author's original Greek orthography omitted:

(2) A: My dear mother, I split up with Alexander.
B: So what? A doll like you will find a thousand like him and even better (ones).
(Sifianou 2001: 418)

(3) A: Have I ever told you that you are the best (thing) that has ever happened in my life?
B: Only when you want to ask for a favor.
A: And the most witty?
B: Come on tell me more. I like it.
(Sifianou 2001: 422)

3. Chinese

While English is the best studied European language in complimenting and compliment responding, the Chinese language is the best studied Non-European language in this area. Investigation on Chinese started with Chen (1993) and has lasted till this day (Tang and Zhang 2008, Chen and Yang, in press).

Chen (1993) uses the DCT method to collect data from college students in Missouri, USA and Xi'an, China. His results about American compliment responses confirm previous studies on American English (Herbert 1986, 1989) and New Zealand English (Holmes 1988), that Americans accept compliments outright 39 % of the time, return them 18 % of the time, deflect/evade them 29 % of the time, and reject them 13 % of the time. His findings about the Chinese compliment responses are drastically different: that Chinese reject compliment 95 % of the time, accept them 1 % of the time, and deflect/evade them 3 % of the time. In terms of theoretical framework, Chen (1993) represents the first serious attempt to use politeness theories to inform the study of complimenting and complement responding (cf. Holmes 1988). He applies Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory of politeness, Leech's (1983) Politeness Principle, and Gu's (1990) notion of Chinese politeness to his data strategy by strategy, concluding that Brown and Levinson's theory explains only the American data, Gu's only the Chinese data, and Leech's Agreement Maxim explains the American data and his Modesty Maxim explains the Chinese data.

In the next 15 years, studies on Chinese complimenting and compliment responding flourished. There are more than a dozen studies published in English journals and another dozen in Chinese journals inside China (e.g., Li and Feng 2000). These studies cover a wide variety of Chinese populations – Mainland Chinese, Hong Kong Chinese, Taiwanese Chinese, Chinese residing in America, Australia, and the United Kingdom, as well as Chinese immigrants in America (Fong 1998) – and an equally wide range of facets of the speech acts of complimenting and compliment responding.

About compliments, these studies show that Chinese compliments are also formulaic, although the structures of actual utterances are different from those found in other languages. Recall that Wolfson's (1981) identifies three syntactic structures that account for 85 % of her American English data, Yuan (2002: 207) finds that four structures account for 94 % of her Chinese data. Ye (1995) shows similar

results, although there is a noticeable difference in the percentage of verbs used between the Chinese data (2.3 %) and Wolfson's American English data (16 %). With regard to compliment topics, both Ye (1995) and Yuan (2002) identify ability/accomplishments (which Ye calls "performance") as the most favorable for their subjects. Yuan (2002), furthermore, discovers that child is also a frequent compliment topic in her corpus (18.36 %), a topic that does not seem to have appeared in compliments in any other language.

However, it is the findings about compliment responses in Chinese that have turned out to be the most fascinating, as results by researchers have varied considerably. Table 1 is a tabulation of those studies that have provided quantitative data on the frequency of occurrence of compliment response types: Chen (1993) on Xi'an Chinese, Loh (1993) on Hong Kong Chinese (quoted in Spencer-Oatey and Ng 2001), Schneider and Schneider (2000, cited in Jucker 2009), the identity of whose subjects is unknown, Yuan (2002) on Kunming (Mainland China) Chinese, Yu (2004) on Taiwanese Chinese, and Tang and Zhang (2008) on Chinese residing in Australia. Because the taxonomy each author uses differs from the next, it is difficult to compare their findings accurately. However, since Chen's (1993) finding that Chinese compliments are characterized by rejection has been used as a baseline by all other studies, I extract two types of compliment responses from these studies – acceptance and rejection – for comparison purposes. Those compliments that do not belong to either of the two are left out. In addition, Yuan (2002) uses a triangulation of data colleting methods: DCT, natural conversation, and interview and reports the DCT and natural data separately. Hence there are two rows presenting her study.

Table 1. Chinese compliment acceptance and rejection

	Subjects	Acceptance	Rejection
Chen (1993)	Mainland Chinese (Xi'an)	1.03	95
Loh (1993)	HK Chinese in Britain	41	22
Schneider & Schneider (2000)	Unknown	20	80
Yuan (2002) DCT	Mainland Chinese (Kunming)	7.00	28.93
Yuan (2002) Natural	Mainland Chinese (Kunming)	15.63	33.98
Yu (2004)	Taiwanese Chinese	13	24
Tang and Zhang (2008)	Chinese in Australia	49	38

Table 1 shows remarkable variability among the different groups of Chinese in their compliment responding behavior. The column on acceptance, for instance, ranges from 1 % to roughly 49 %. The column on rejection varies from 24 % to 95 %.

There are two more studies that add to the complexity of the Chinese compliment responding picture: Rose and Ng (1999) and Spencer-Oatey and Ng (2001). Rose and Ng have Cantonese subjects studying in Hong Kong rate compliment responses belonging the three broad categories: Accepting, Deflecting(/Evading), and Rejecting on a 1–4 scale, with "1" being the most preferred and "4" the least preferred. The mean for accepting is 1.79; the mean for deflecting is 2.24; and the mean for rejecting is 2.25. Spencer-Oatey and Ng, likewise, have Shanghai and Guilin (both Mainland) Chinese and Hong Kong Chinese evaluate acceptance and rejection responses on a 5-point Likert-type scale in terms of appropriateness, conceit, and impression conveyed (favorable/bad). They find, first, that mainland Chinese and Hong Kong Chinese evaluate acceptance responses in similar ways but their respective evaluations of rejection responses are significantly different, with the Hong Kong group finding rejection responses more acceptable than their mainland counterparts. Second, both groups rate acceptance responses as more preferred than rejection responses. "Agree," an acceptance strategy, for instance, produced a mean of 3.6 on appropriateness, a mean of 3.5 for impression (clearly towards the "favorable" end of the scale), but a mean of 3.23 for conceit, the lowest of the three sets of scores. "Disagree," on the other hand, generated the highest score on conceit and the lowest on appropriateness.

Putting these two studies together with those presented in Table 1, we find that the compliment responding behavior of Chinese differs drastically from group to group. The differences among the findings of these studies beg for explanation and explanations, at this stage, seem hard to come by. Geographical region and contact with Western cultures are obvious possible reasons, both of which have been suggested (Spencer-Oatey and Ng 2001: 193–195; Yuan 2002: 214–215).

In part to explain this great variation in Chinese compliment responses, Chen and Yang (in preparation) replicate Chen (1993) in the same cite (Xi'an China), conducting an investigation of compliment responses among a new generation of speakers in the same locale where Chen did his 1993 study. Their preliminary findings indicate that Xi'an Chinese have changed drastically in their compliment responding behavior. They now reject compliment much less and accept them much more, to the point there is virtually no difference between them and American English speakers as reported in previous studies.

4. Other Asian languages

While the Chinese language has taken the center stage in compliment and compliment response research, a few other Asian languages have also received attention: Japanese, Korean, and Thai. Research on these languages is discussed below.

4.1. Japanese

Both complimenting and compliment responding have been studied in Japanese. Matsuura (2004) uses a questionnaire to survey the likelihood of complimenting by Americans and Japanese according to the relationship between the complimenter and the complimentee. The chief findings of the study are: 1) Japanese are less likely than Americans to compliment family members; 2) Japanese are more likely to compliment people of higher social status such as university professors; 3) There is no significant gender difference in the Japanese likelihood of complimenting while American females are more likely to pay compliments than American males; and 4) Japanese find it more difficult to compliment – hence perhaps compliment less – than Americans.

The first work on Japanese compliment responses published in English is Daikuhara (1986). Using naturalistic data collected from Japanese who had resided in America for less than two years, Daihuhara finds that her subjects compliment frequently on appearance and abilities, much like Americans. But the similarity between the two languages stops here. While compliments in English have been treated as a means of building solidarity by Pomerantz, Wolfson, and Manes, compliments in Japanese function to show respect and deference. The showing of respect and deference in turn creates distance, which in turn leads to denial of compliments by the complimentee. This is claimed by Daikuhara to be the reason for her findings that Japanese favor compliment rejection: 95 % of the responses in the author's data are self-praise avoidance (Pomerantz 1978) utterances and only 5 % are appreciation tokens. Of the 95 % compliments that help the responder to avoid self-praise, 35 % are flat-out rejections, characterized by utterances such as "No, No" or "That's not true."

The next notable work on Japanese compliment responses is Saito and Beecken (1997). The authors used role play to collect compliment response data from 10 Japanese speakers, 10 American English speakers, and 10 Americans learning Japanese in America, with the aim to study transfer of compliment responding strategies from English to Japanese. As can be gleaned from their Table 2 (Saito and Beecken 1997: 369), the Japanese speakers in the study accept compliments (which the authors term "positive") about 57 % of the time, reject them (the authors' "negative" category) 15 % of the time, and deflect/evade them (the authors' "avoidance" category) 28 % of the time. Compared to Daikuhara (1986), Saito and Beecken (1997) thus paint a very different picture of Japanese compliment responses. But the authors do not discuss possible reasons for this obvious discrepancy. They only cite Yokota's (1986) findings that 21 % of the responses fall under Acceptance, 20 % of the responses fall under Rejection, and 59 % under Deflection/Evasion to demonstrate the complexity of the issue.

4.2. Korean

Han (1992) investigates Korean women's compliment responding behavior. She collects data from real-life conversations by 10 Korean female students studying in America and conducted interviews with them afterwards. Statistically, Han's subjects are found to accept compliment 20 % of the time, reject them 45 % of the time, and deflect/evade them 35 % of the time. These percentages bear much resemblance to the many studies on Chinese compliment responding, as cited bove, and Daikuhara's (1986) study on Japanese compliment responding, in that rejection, although differing widely among these studies, seem to be a key feature in compliment responses in these three East Asian languages.

4.3. Thai

Gajaseni (1994, 1995) investigates compliment responses in Thai. She used a DCT to solicit oral data from 40 Americans (students at University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign) and 40 Thais (three universities in Bangkok, Thailand). There were 20 males and 20 females in each population. She finds compliment acceptance to be the most preferred strategy for both Americans and Thais, although more for the former than the latter. Likewise, compliment rejection is the least preferred for both subject groups, although Americans reject less than Thais. In terms of the relationship between the complimenter and the complimentee, Gajaseni discovers that the direction of a compliment is a factor in both American English and Thai: a compliment that flows from someone in higher social status to someone in lower status is more likely to be accepted while a compliment that flows in the opposite direction is more likely to be rejected. This difference, however, is more pronounced in the authors' Thai data than in her American data.

5. Middle Eastern languages

5.1. Turkish[4]

Ruhi (2006)'s study of Turkish compliment responses is based on 830 naturally occurring compliment exchanges. Her subjects are found to accept compliments 61 % of the time, reject them 23 % of the time, and deflect/evade them 16 % of the time. Following Chen (1993), Ruhi subjects Leech's (1983) Politeness Principle and Brown and Levinson's (1987) universal theory of politeness to a rigorous application to her data. Recall that Chen finds Brown and Levinson cannot explain his Chinese data, so does Ruhi, finding Brown and Levinson wanting as an explanatory tool for Turkish compliment responses. Differing from Chen (1993), who finds Leech's Agreement Maxim sufficient for accounting for American English compliment responses and his Modesty Maxim sufficient for accounting for

Chinese compliment responses, Ruhi finds Leech equally wanting. For instance, the strategy of Upgrading, whereby the responder increases the complimentary force of the compliment, cannot be adequately explained by either the Agreement or the Modesty Maxim. Likewise, Leech's theory would be hard pressed to explain some rejecting strategies that border on impoliteness, as seen in the following exchange (Ruhi's original Turkish orthography is omitted):

(4) A. Your eyes look so much like F's. (F: a famous pop star)
B. You can't be serious.
A. Why?
B. Because I hate them that's why.
(Ruhi 2006: 70)

B's second utterance is clearly impolite as it threatens A's positive face per Brown and Levinson. Neither does it fit Leech's Agreement Maxim nor his Modesty Maxim. Based on examples like this, Ruhi proposes a construct of self-politeness (see also Ruhi 2007), which draws on Chen (2001) but different from him. She writes:

> I take up Goffman's description of demeanour as a starting point and maintain that individuals boost or protect their public image (and others pertaining to themselves) by attending to the face needs and sociality rights of not only others but also themselves. Furthermore, I maintain that this attention may take the form of an attack to alter's needs. (Ruhi 2006: 85)

Ruhi then applies the three superstrategies of self-politeness – Display Confidence, Display Individuality, Display Impoliteness – to the compliment responses in her data to demonstrate that self-politeness has greater explanatory power than classical politeness theories for explaining compliment responses in Turkish.

5.2. Persian

Sharifian (2005) proposes to analyze Persian compliment responses from the perspective of cultural schemas, defined as "conceptualizations that act as dynamic templates in people's interaction with others and with the external world." These schemas "emerge as the group's collective knowledge and thought" after repeated and shared experience in relevant social contexts (Sharifian 2005: 338). The specific schema for accounting for Persian compliment responses is *shekasteh-nafsi* "broken-self," literally glossed as "self-breaking" or "doing self-broken" and approximately meaning "modesty" or "humility" (Sharifian 2006: 342–343). This schema motivates Persian speakers to respond to compliments in various ways – and often in ways different from Australian English speakers in the author's data – such as downplaying the compliment, elevating the complimenter, and reassigning the credit. The following three examples illustrate these types of responses respectively and in that order (AES=Australian English speaker; PS=Persian Speaker):

(5) (Your friends praises your child by saying "you have a very smart child.")
AES: And he's nice as well, thanks.
PS: *loft daarin bacheyeh aziat kono sheitunieh*
"You are kind (to say that) (but he) is troublesome and mischievous."

(6) (A family friend compliments your cooking after dinner by saying "Your food is so delicious. You're a fantastic cook!")
AES: Thank you.
PS: *vali beh paayeh dast pokhteh shomaa nemireseh.*
"But not as good as yours."

(7) (You have received a prize for your outstanding work and your mother says to you, "congratulations! Well done!")
AES: I know mum, I'm a champ, check me out!
PS: *Maamaan in jaayezeh moto'alegh be shomaast*
"Mum, this prize belongs to you."

5.3. Arabic

Different varieties of the Arabic language have been investigated for their respective pragmatics of complimenting and compliment responding: Jordanian Arabic by Farghal and Al-Khatib (2001), Egyptian Arabic by Morsy (1992), Nelson, El Bakary, and Al-Batal (1993), and Mursy and Wilson (2001), and Syrian Arabic by Nelson, Al-Batal, and Echols (1996). The findings of these studies have revealed two important features of complimenting and compliment responding in the language. First, Arabic speakers favor acceptance the most when they respond to compliments, more so than American English speakers. Using data gathered via interviews conducted in America and Syria (whereby subjects were paid unexpected compliments), Nelson, Al-Batal, and Echols (1996), for example, find that 50 % of the compliment responses by American English speakers belong to acceptance, 45 % to mitigation, and 0.3 % of them belong to the category of rejection. Their Syrian subjects, on the other hand, accept compliments 67 % of the time, mitigate them 33 % of the time, and there are no instances of rejection. Similarly, Morsy's 1992) Egyptian subjects accept compliments 72 % of the time, deflect them 20 % of the time, and reject them 8 % of the time. Farghal and Khatib's (2001) Jordanian subjects displayed analogous behavior: they accept compliments 84 % of the time. The percentages of the rest, non-acceptance responses are difficult to discern, as they are lumped together under a category of "Downgrading," which include instances of deflecting/evading as well as instances of rejecting.

The second notable feature of Arabic compliment responses is the strategy of "offering," as is seen in (8):

(8) (Responding to a compliment on necklace)
Shukran ruuHu' m'addam, maa b-yighla 'aleeki shu
"Thank you my dear [It is] presented [to you]. Nothing can be too precious for you."
(Adapted from Nelson, Al Batal, and Echols 1996: 425, example 20).

The offering of the compliment object, however, is only "lip service" (Farghal and Haggan 2006: 102) – the responder does not intend to "present" it to the complimentee, neither does the complimentee take the offer seriously. This is in part seen in the formulaic nature of the utterances speakers use to make the offer: *m'addam* "I proffer it to you," as is the case in (8); *halaalič* "It's all yours"; or *mayiëla 'aleeč* "You are worth it" (Farghal and Haggan 2006: 102).

6. A few generalizations

The foregoing discussions should have demonstrated the enormous activity in complimenting and compliment responding research. This line of research, most of it being contrastive in nature, has yielded a large body of knowledge about virtually every facet of these two related speech acts. Looking at these findings from a cross-cultural perspective, one finds a great deal of diversity in the way languages compliment and respond to compliments. In this section, however, I offer a holistic, bird's-eye view of these findings, aiming to glean from this rich diversity a few generalizations.

Firstly, we find that compliments are paid with a limited number of syntactic structures and lexical items across languages, although languages may differ drastically in the kind of structure and lexical item they respectively choose. This formulaic nature is significant, suggesting, among other things, that compliments and compliment responses are prevalent in language and perform indispensible functions in society. For only an indispensible need leads to repeated occurrence of the relevant language, and only repeated occurrence leads to formulaicness.

Second, the topics of compliments are limited in each language, too, in spite of the fact that specific things that get complimented on may differ from language to language. This is in consonant with the formulaic nature of compliment utterances. In the sense that the things speakers compliment on are the things that are valued by society, findings about the topics of compliments in these languages have yielded much information about the cultural norms and values of relevant societies.

Thirdly, the relationship between the complimenter and the complimentee – family vs. non-family members; acquaintances, colleagues and casual friends vs. strangers – and the gender of the complimenter and the complimentee have been established as major factors in complimenting and compliment responding in the

majority of languages. These two factors have been found – sometimes independently but other times in combination – to determine what one will compliment her complimentee on, how that compliment is going to be delivered linguistically, and sometimes even whether to pay the compliment at all in the first place. Other social factors have also been found to play significant roles in complimenting and responding to compliments, but in fewer languages. Social status, for instance, is found to be present in some cultures – American and Japanese, among others – but not in others such as Chinese (Yuan 2002). The fact that Americans do not compliment their superiors reflects the assumption that the act of compliment entails superiority, as compliment, particularly on ability and/or performance, presupposes the authority Americans deem needed to pass on judgments. Japanese, on the other hand, are not subjected to this constraint, because, for them, to compliment is to show deference and respect (Baba 1997; Saito and Beecken 1997). Therefore they quite freely compliment people of higher social status.

Fourthly, while the taxonomies of compliment responses differ widely from researcher to researcher, a pattern seems to have emerged. Recall that Pomerantz's (1978) two constraints on compliment responding: agree with the complimenter and avoid self-praise. Herbert (1986) developed a 12-type classification and Chen (1993) devises another set of strategies. However, Holmes' (1988) three-pronged system – Acceptance, Rejection, and Deflect/Evade (which is also echoed by Chen 1993) seems to have been well-received by scholars in the next two decades, as shown by the many references cited above. This system is a scale, on the one end of which is acceptance, the other end rejection, and in the middle is deflection/evasion. Since the two ends specify the "extremes" a responder can do about a compliment, it is potentially capable of measuring all compliment responses.

Importantly, the convergence on this taxonomy indicates maturity of the field – that some consensus is being formed after researchers have looked in different directions. The convergence also stands testimonial to Pomerantz's (1978) insights on the two constraints on compliment responding, as to accept a compliment is to agree with the complimenter, to reject it is to avoid self-praise, and to deflect/evade a compliment is to strike a balance between accepting a compliment and rejecting it.

Fifthly, based on the Acceptance-Deflection/Evasion-Rejection classification of compliment responses, we seem to be in a position to measure languages in terms of their pragmatics towards compliments. As can be gleaned from the literature, Arabic speakers accept compliments the most, followed by English speakers in South African, America, and New Zealand. Then come non-English European languages such as Germany and Spanish, with the possible exception of French (Wieland 1995). In the middle is Irish English. Turkish and East Asian languages – Chinese, Japanese, and Korea – seem to cluster together towards the rejection end of the scale. Obviously, this is a very crude comparison that should only be used for observations at the highest level of generalization.

These five points are all about compliments and compliment responses seen from a cross-cultural pragmatic perspective. The research on complimenting and compliment responding has also made significant contributions to other areas. Three of these areas stand out in the literature. The first is applied linguistics. Many studies on complimenting and compliment responding discuss pedagogical implications of their findings, assuming that learners of a foreign language will have difficulty complimenting and responding to compliments in the target language. Many other studies are carried out for the expressed purpose of investigating pragmatic transfer with regard to complimenting and compliment responding from the native language to the target language, as is seen in some of the titles of papers thus far cited (e.g., Baba 1997) and Fukushima (1990), Huth (2006), and Cedar (2006). There have also been studies exploring effective ways to teach complimenting and compliment responding strategies (Rose and Ng 1999). The second area of scholarship where compliment and compliment response research has had an impact is gender studies. The foregoing discussion should have made it clear that gender-based differences in compliments and compliment responses have been a favorite topic for many students of cross-cultural pragmatics, but feminist scholars seem to have turned some attention to compliment and compliment response research (Kitzinger and Frith 1999), using its findings to advance the their own research agenda.

The third area that compliment and compliment response research has been closely associated with is rhetoric. There have been a large number of studies on ironic compliments ("Yeah, I'm a genius!", said after making a silly mistake), such as Pexman and Zvaigzne (2004) and Ivanko, Pexman and Olineck (2004). Irony, long considered to belong in the realm of rhetoric and stylistics, is now clearly benefitting from compliment and compliment response research, particularly from what this research has revealed about the social values in a given culture and the relationship between the complimenter and complimentee in a given compliment event.

7. Future research

The research on complimenting and compliment responding has figured prominently in cross-cultural pragmatics in the past three decades and will continue to do so in the years to come. In this concluding section, I speculate a few areas in which this line of research can further enlarge our knowledge of cultures and language use and advance the research enterprise in cross-cultural pragmatics.

Firstly, more languages and cultures await exploration. Although an encouragingly great number of languages have been studied for their respective pragmatics of complimenting and compliment responding, a much greater number of languages have not. We have benefited hugely from enlarging our research sphere in

the past. We would not have learned about the subtle differences among European languages in their respective complimenting and compliment responding behavior without efforts by colleagues investigating Polish, Spanish, German, French, and Greek. We would not probably have identified modesty as a major motivating factor in language use without those working on East Asian languages. And we would be missing much about Middle Eastern cultural values and norms if not for colleagues researching languages spoken in that region. Therefore, looking into those languages that have been hitherto neglected – South Asian languages, Eastern European languages, African languages, let alone native American languages – would help us much in our endeavor to gain wider and deeper understanding about language use and about culture that is intricately linked with language use.

But this is not to say that we have learned enough about those languages that have been investigated. Take Chinese for instance. If anything, we have discovered that the more we learn about Chinese compliment responding, the more there is to learn about it. For research on compliment responses in Chinese has been anything but conclusive. The diversity of findings could be due to methodology; it could also be due to the diversity of the studied population itself. Only sustained efforts can help us be better informed.

Thirdly, research on complimenting and compliment responding will help cross-cultural pragmatics in general in theory testing and building. Early work in the area – those carried out in the late 1970s and the entirety of the 1980s – was guided by insights from ethnography, sociolinguistics, and conversation analysis. Politeness theories took over as the theoretical framework from the early 1990s till this day. However, in part on account of the dissatisfactions with those theories, recent years have seen proposals of new theories to account for compliment and compliment response, such as the notion of self-politeness (Chen 2001; Ruhi 2006, 2007), the social contract approach (Mursy and Wilson 2001), and the construct of cultural schemas (Sharifian 2005, 2008). Further research will reveal the utility and soundness of these theories as well as push us to device new ones.

Lastly, it may be time for researchers to start doing longitudinal studies on complimenting and compliment responding. As discussed earlier, Chen and Yang (in press) replicate Chen (1993) in the same research site, using the same instrument, and with a very similar population of subjects. The authors are discovering that Xi'an Chinese accept compliments far more than what is reported in Chen (1993). If the compliment and response speech event is indeed "a mirror of social values" (Manes 1983) and if social values change, then one would imagine that by looking at compliment and compliment responding, one would be able to see those changes. This has not been done in the past for a good reason: social values do not change overnight so that researchers need sufficient temporal space to measure a change that has taken place. Many studies on compliment and compliment response were done a couple of decades ago, and a couple of decades may be sufficient to measure changes, as Chen and Yang demonstrate.[5]

Notes

[1] Daikuhara (1986), a study of Japanese compliments, is the only exception in this regard. It will be discussed later.

[2] By saying this, I am not suggesting that pragmaticians are any less adept at discerning the relationship between speakers of a language. What I am implying is a difference in focus. Given the same language data, a sociolinguist might be more interested in what the use of language reveals about social relationships while a pragmatician might instead be more interested in how social relationships determine the use and interpretation of language.

[3] Sifianou views this as a feature unique to compliments, which, however, may not be entirely true. Many – if not all – speech acts can be thus used. For instance, one can remind by stating ("We are meeting at 3:00, right?"), suggest by asking ("Why don't you give him a call?"), and apologize by being ironic ("That's so brilliant of me," said after a blunder that caused the hearer inconveniences). This feature of speech acts lies at the heart of the distinction between direct and indirect speech acts.

[4] Turkey straddles Europe and the Middle East geographically and shares much culture with both regions. I included studies on Turkish compliments and compliment responses in this section for no other reason than the assumption that Turkish is an Asian language, possibly affiliated with Mongolian languages (Comrie 1990: 620).

[5] The time span between Chen (1993) and Chen and Yang (in press) is 17 years.

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3. Telephone conversation openings across languages, cultures and settings

Rosina Márquez Reiter and Kang-kwong Luke

1. The study of telephone conversation

The organization of telephone conversation has received much scholarly attention since Schegloff's pioneering work in the 1960s and 1970s (Schegloff 1968, 1979). There are several reasons why researchers have been fascinated by telephone conversations in spite of their "apparently perfunctory character" (Schegloff 1986: 113). First, telephone calls are arguably the second most important site of speech interaction after face-to-face conversation. For tens of thousands of years face-to-face conversation was the only mode of speech interaction that humans had for communication. However, with the invention of the telephone in 1876 and its subsequent popularization, a new mode of communication was born. In today's rapidly shrinking world of telecommunications, many people, particularly in the urban areas, are spending as much, if not more, time on telephone conversation than face-to-face interaction. Telephone conversation has thus gained a special status for students of language and social interaction. Second, for those interested in naturally occurring talk, the telephone offers a source of good quality data, unlike face-to-face conversations which often come with noise and other disturbances and complications. It is true that telephone calls are subject to a much more restrictive set of 'ecological constraints' than face-to-face conversations; for example, participants have no access to visual cues such as facial expressions and gestures. However, this turns out to be both a limitation and an advantage. From the analyst's point of view, one of the attractions of telephone conversational data lies precisely in its absence of visual information. With telephone data, 'what you hear is what you get', which means that the same amount of speech information available to the participants is also available to the analyst. This contrasts significantly with recordings of face-to-face talk, where the analyst may not have access to visual cues, unless he also has a video recording. Yet another reason for the appeal of telephone conversations – perhaps the most attractive one for many – is the possibility of cross-linguistic and cross-cultural generalisations. As a type of speech event, telephone conversations the world over can in principle be defined and delimited by a set of organizational tasks, including such elements as making contact, establishing identity, exchanging preliminaries, presenting reason-for-call, managing topics, moving into closing, terminating calls, etc. With reference to these parameters researchers can chart variations in how these organizational tasks are handled in different linguistic, social and cul-

tural settings. Thus, it has been suggested that "when it comes to making comparisons across linguistic and cultural settings, telephone conversations provide us with as close a situation as we could get to controlled experimental conditions." (Luke and Pavlidou 2002: 6)

Studies of telephone conversation over the past forty years have gone through three main phases, each with a somewhat different focus. In the initial phase, recordings of telephone calls were studied as samples of naturally occurring talk, no different from any other kinds of spontaneous speech interaction data. Much of Sacks' pioneering work was based on telephone data (e.g., to suicide centres). These were examined for what they could tell us about the organization of verbal interaction. For Sacks, "[t]he technology of the telephone … served as a prism through which were refracted the practices of ordinary talk-in-interaction" (Schegloff 2002: 321). It is interesting to note in this connection that Sacks has described his use of telephone data as something of an accident. He was looking for snippets of everyday interaction that could be put through a new form of analysis, a revolutionary method for "dealing in detail with conversations" (Sacks 1992: 1) when some recordings of telephone calls became available. These were then used as samples of talk-in-interaction, providing a testing ground for a burgeoning methodology which would come to be known as Conversation Analysis (hereafter, CA).

But as analysts' engagement with this kind of data intensified, the telephone call quickly took on a life of its own. How do participants set up contact? How do they establish each other's identities? How do they deal with the absence of a visual channel? How do they signal and negotiate disengagement? These and other questions about the telephone call as a distinctive kind of speech event appeared in every way as legitimate and interesting as questions about talk-in-interaction in general. Two early publications of Schegloff's (1968, 1979) dealt directly with these questions and showed how fine-grained the organisation of telephone conversation openings can be. More important, they demonstrate a new methodology with which telephone openings, and by extension, other parts of the telephone call, can be examined and analysed systematically. Following the publication of these two influential papers, which have served as a platform for all subsequent work, research on telephone conversation has entered a second phase. Calls were then studied not only for what they can tell us about social interaction, but also for their intrinsic interest as a distinctive type of speech event. The technology itself, the new possibilities opened up by it, and how participants cope with the parameters that constrain its use – these recurrent themes have stimulated further work using data from a variety of settings.

With the telephone call focussed upon as a distinctive type of speech event, the interest in its analysis quickly gathered momentum. Researchers from different disciplinary backgrounds began to collect data from a variety of settings – linguistic, cultural, institutional. Such new data makes it possible, indeed positively

tempting, to ask questions about differences of practice across cultures and institutions. The advantages of these new developments are obvious: as an empirical field, the study of telephone calls can only benefit from more data obtained from a wide range of settings, however these may be defined or conceptualised.

As mentioned above, Sacks' first inquiries into the organization of conversation were based on his observations of calls to a suicide prevention helpline based in a psychiatric hospital. Sacks was initially concerned with the way in which suicidal callers invoked membership categories to depict themselves as people who had 'no one to turn to'. It was, however, Sacks' later work (1992) on the more sequential and reflexive aspects of helpline interaction, and for that matter on telephone calls and 'institutional' forms of talk, which has become a principal topic and bastion of Conversation Analysis. In this sense, CA and the concepts developed in this sociological discipline, particularly in the study of telephone conversations, have become the *sine qua non* for the examination of telephone calls. In the light of this, most of the research that we attempt to synthesise in this chapter is either conversation analytic or, to a greater or lesser extent, conversation analytic inspired. Therefore the studies reviewed here are based on recorded instances of telephone interactions between genuine callers and call-takers.

The vast majority of conversation analytic studies into the sequential organisation of telephone conversations, and for that matter of studies into telephone calls that employ concepts from CA to locate interactional phenomena but not necessarily to provide a microanalysis of talk-in-interaction (see ten Have 2002 for a distinction), have predominantly focused on openings and closings.[1] The interest in openings and closings can be explained by the fact that they are easily identifiable sequences with clearly demarcated beginnings and ends. In opening and closing a telephone conversation, participants deploy distinctive, coordinated and ritualised interactional activities as the work of Schegloff (1979, 1986), Schegloff and Sacks (1973) and Button (1987, 1990) has amply demonstrated. These activities represent patterns of interactional behaviour that have evolved around the development of the telephone as a key technology of the 19th century (see, for example, Hutchby 2001; Green 2007) and, as the then new form of mediated social (inter)action (Wertsch 1991, Scollon 1998).

In this chapter, we will confine our discussion to openings, which alone will take up all the space that we have. We will first review studies of telephone openings in 'non-institutional calls' and then recent findings from a variety of institutional settings.

2. Canonical opening vs. 'national openings'

The framework for describing telephone openings in Schegloff's work contains four 'core sequences': (a) a summons-answer sequence, (b) an identification/recognition sequence, (c) an exchange of greetings, and (d) an exchange of initial inquiries and responses ('how-are-yous'). Each sequence allows the participants to deal with an interaction task specific to the beginning of a telephone call; together they constitute 'the opening'. The summons-answer sequence is needed for establishing contact between caller and answerer. Once contact is made, participants can proceed to identify each other through the identification/recognition sequence. With these two initial tasks out of the way, telephone call partners can then do what participants at the beginning of face-to-face conversations do, i.e., exchange greetings. Finally, the "how are you" sequence helps participants ease their way into the first topic by providing an 'anchor position' for it. The following example illustrates how these four core sequences are played out in an actual instance:

Excerpt 1 [Data from Schegloff 1979: #48; labelling and line numbers ours]

1	C: ((Telephone rings))	(*summons)*	(a)
2	A: Hello?	(*answer + voice sample)*	(a)+(b)
3	C: Hello Charles?	(*recognition display + voice sample*	(b)+(c)
4		*+ greeting)*	
5	(0.2)	*(no immediate recognition)*	(b)
6	This is Yolk.	(*self-identification)*	(b)
7	A: Oh HELLO Yolk.	(*recognition display + greeting)*	(b)+(c)
8	C: How are you heh heh.	(*initial inquiries)*	(d)
9	A: Alr(hh)ight hah hah	(*response)*	(d)
10	it's hh very funny to	(*account of non-recognition*)	
11	hear(hh) from you.		

This example, like numerous others in the literature, can be accounted for satisfactorily by reference to Schegloff's framework. But the four core sequences are not meant to be taken literally as a description of what happens every time a phone call is made. On any actual occasion, the four core sequences may not be played out in full. Indeed, as Hopper (1989) has pointed out, on the basis of an analysis of twenty-five openings, that cases which depart from Schegloff's description (taken literally) far outnumber those that conform to it. And yet, as Hopper also pointed out, this fact alone would not invalidate the framework, which is not meant to be taken literally or prescriptively. Rather, the 'full format' of Schegloff's model should be seen as a template against which actual openings are to be gauged and interpreted, not a specification of how each opening should proceed. 'Business calls' or 'urgent calls', for example, often come without a full identification/recognition or how-

are-you sequence. It is in this sense that Schegloff's framework has been referred to as the 'canonical opening'.

Another caveat is that in spite of the way the four sequences are laid out, their organization is not meant to be linear or serial. There is usually a great deal of interlocking and overlapping of the four 'stages'. For example, the first thing said by the answerer in response to the ringing of the telephone may serve as an answer to the ringing as well as a 'voice sample' that feeds into the identification/recognition sequence. Similarly, in the example given above, the response given by the caller (Yolk) to the recipient's (Charles) first "hello" is at once a display of recognition ("Hello Charles"), a supply of *his* voice sample and a greeting. Note also how Charles' return greeting and recognition display did not occur immediately following their corresponding first pair parts, but are separated from them by Yolk's self-identification ('This is Yolk').

Much research has been done on calls between family and friends following Schegloff's lead. As a result, descriptions are now available of telephone openings in a dozen or so linguistic/cultural settings, including French (Godard 1977, Hopper and Koleitat-Doany 1988), German (Pavlidou 1994, 1997), Spanish (Coronel-Molina 1998), Dutch (Houtkoop-Streenstra 1991, 2002), Swedish (Lindström 1994), Greek (Sifinaou 1989, 1999, 2002, Pavlidou 1994, 1997), Arabic (Hopper and Koleitat-Doany1988), Chinese (Hopper and Chen 1996, Luke 2002), Japanese (Park 2002), Korean (Park 2002), and Persian (Taleghani-Nikazm 2002), among others. A summary and discussion of this body of literature can be conveniently organised in terms of the four interactional tasks described above.

2.1. Summons-answer

The summons-answer sequence has proved to be very robust; the "answerer speaks first" pattern has been confirmed by practically all subsequent studies. Although questions have been raised about its cross-cultural validity, little evidence is available to substantiate these reservations. Trudgill (1974), for example, claims that in Japan, callers rather than answerers are expected to speak first. However, his assertion is not supported by recorded data or actual observations, but appears to be based either on hearsay or misunderstanding. Park's (2002) analysis of her Japanese data contains several transcribed episodes. In all of them it is the answerer who speaks first. Another query is raised by Hopper and Chen (1996), where it is reported that "a large enough number" of openings in which the caller speaks first are found in their Taiwan data. If true, this would be the only known setting where the summons-answer sequence does not apply. However, the authors offer no explanation of this phenomenon. Instead, they conclude by saying that they "await replication that this practice is found in Taiwan beyond the age and class restrictions of the current sample" (p. 306).

2.2. Identification and recognition

As far as the identification/recognition sequence is concerned, much of the discussion in the literature is focussed on the status of self-identification: to what extent is it done, and under what conditions? Schegloff observes in his data a preference for other-recognition over self-identification. This is then attributed to a strategy of "oversupposing and undertelling" (1979: 50), i.e., participants maximize their assumption of recognisability by others but minimize their provision of direct information about their own identity. However, subsequent work on Swedish and Dutch calls (Lindström1994, Houtkoop-Steenstra 1991, 2002), based on large numbers of recordings and detailed transcription and analysis, shows that in these settings there is a clear preference for self-identification (by both answerers and callers in the case of the Dutch calls, and by answerers alone in the case of the Swedish calls). A plausible explanation, as Lindström pointed out, may be built along the lines of formality vs. informality, i.e., the different preferences may be attributable to the 'style' of interaction in the two societies, with the US tending more towards the informal end of the scale and Scandinavia tending towards the more formal end. In more 'formal' communities, the phone call may be regarded as more of an imposition than it may be in less formal societies. Thus, even though Godard (1977) does not have empirical data to support her claims about 'the French opening', i.e., that in France callers overwhelmingly self-identify right from the start, the account she puts forward in terms of cultural differences might nevertheless be applicable to other societies such as Sweden or the Netherlands, for which empirical data *is* available.

Interestingly, at least in the case of the Dutch calls, it has been further reported that the preference for self-identification may have originated from a series of public campaigns to promote self-identification which were conducted during the 1920s to 1960s by telephone companies for reasons to do with economy – self-identification being generally a more time-saving option than other recognition (ten Have 2002). Thus, it appears that preferences for self-identification or other-recognition in particular communities may also be, at least in part, the outcome of prescriptive norms.

Radically different findings are reported in Sifianou (2002), where the author claims that the 'Greek opening' contains only two, not four, sequences: summons-answer and how-are-yous. According to Sifianou, identification/recognition and greetings are regularly absent in her data. However, when the examples in her paper are studied more closely, it becomes apparent that identification and recognition seem just as pervasively present as they are in any other setting that has been reported in the literature. To give just two examples from Sifianou (2002): (In the following examples, only the English translations are reproduced. Interested readers are referred to the full examples in their original places in the paper.)

Excerpt 2 [Sifianou 2002: 64]

((ring))
R: Hello?
C: How are you my love?
R: Fine, how are you?

Excerpt 3 [Sifianou 2002: 77]

((ring))
R: Hello?
C: Were you asleep?
R: No,
C: Did I wake you up?
R: No dear.

In both examples, as in all the other excerpts in Sifianou (2002), the first few turns are taken up, at least in part, by identification and recognition work. It would appear that by the absence of identification/recognition sequences in Greek calls, Sifianou might mean the absence of announcement of names, which is a different matter. Thus, in the two excerpts above, the use of the second person pronoun 'you' and descriptions like "my love" and "dear" are just as effective in registering recognition as are the use of names.

In some other settings, conflicting accounts have been given regarding the relative importance of self-identification and other-recognition. Japan, for example, was previously thought to be a 'formal' society where callers always announce their names in their first turn. However, in a more recent account based on actual recordings, Park (2002) argues that while there is some truth in this claim, the imperative for all callers to announce their names may have been exaggerated. There are examples in her paper, particularly calls between close friends or family members, where other-recognition is clearly assumed and achieved in preference to self-identification. Park also shows that where self-identification occurs, it is often used as a way of prefacing a main request, e.g., a switchboard request or a request for permission to conduct some business by someone calling in the capacity of a representative for a company or organization – situations where, even in 'informal' societies such as the USA, callers regularly identify themselves.

2.3. Greetings

Similar to the summons-answer sequence, the exchange of greetings appears to be a highly robust component within the canonical framework. But unlike the summons-answer sequence, which is 'obligatory', the exchange of greetings, like the

'how are you' sequence, may be absent under particular kinds of conditions. One of the most common situations where greetings are regularly absent is in the opening of 'business calls', where callers tend to respond to answerers' self-identification (organization name with or without personal name) by saying 'Yes' and then goes directly into 'business' (reason-for-call). For reasons of urgency or 'recentness' (i.e., calls made soon after a previous call made by the same caller), greetings may also be omitted. This applies equally to 'business' and 'non-business' calls.

As mentioned above, Sifianou (2002) argues that Greek openings contain only two sequences: summons-answer and how-are-yous; greetings, like identification/recognition sequences, are regularly absent. But then again, when one examines the data excerpts presented in her paper, numerous examples of greetings can be found. To cite just two:

Excerpt 4 [Sifianou 2002: 63]

((ring))
R: Yes
C: George?
R: Hi
C: Hi
C: Hi

Excerpt 5 [Sifianou 2002: 54]

((ring))
R: Hello?
C: Mary.
R: Good morning.
C: How are you my love?

It is true that greeting sequences may not always be played out in full, as in the second example above, but they are far from being absent. Incomplete greeting sequences have been reported in other settings too, and they can usually be accounted for by reference to the nature or particularities of a call, as we shall see later in this chapter.

2.4. How-are-yous

Interestingly, while how-are-you sequences figure prominently in American and Greek calls and are accountable when absent, they appear to be regularly missing in other settings (e.g., Lindström 1994 on Swedish, Luke 2002 on Cantonese), without any accompanying signs that their absence is oriented to by participants.

The absence of how-are-you sequences in Swedish and Hong Kong calls means that the first topic is often introduced right after identification/recognition, at a relatively 'early' position (compared to American and Greek calls), which gives them a 'formal' or more 'business-like' character. This tendency may be explained in terms of formality and informality in the case of Swedish calls, and possibly economy and efficiency in the case of Hong Kong. The fact that some of the participants may be frequently in touch with each other on the telephone may also go some way towards explaining the tendency to forego initial inquiries. This is an area on which much further research can be done.

It would seem from the above survey that the canonical model, when understood as a template or heuristic, has held up fairly well in the face of data from a range of linguistic and cultural settings. It also seems that the template does admit of considerable variation, some of which may be attributable to cultural differences, while others may have more to do with situation types, role relationships, or other local contingencies. It must be stressed, however, that these impressions are based on a relatively limited number of languages and cultures, ones on which publications are available. It will be necessary to extend investigations of this topic to a much wider range of languages, cultures and settings before a fuller picture of the scale of variation could emerge.

In the rest of this chapter we will review studies that have been carried out in settings beyond family and friends: from emergency calls and calls to help lines to service calls and inter-organisation calls.

3. Openings in calls for help

The overwhelming majority of studies into the openings of telephone calls in settings other than family and friends have concentrated on calls for help. The interest in 'calls for help' probably harks back to Sacks' work on calls to a psychiatric service. These calls also have an intrinsic interest in that calling for help and providing it are both accountable and reflexive matters.[2] In addition, recent decades have seen a proliferation of help lines[3] in both developed (Firth, Emmison and Baker 2005) and developing economies (Márquez Reiter 2009). Edwards (2007: 2) describes help line interactions as representative of "a range of goals and purposes even within the broader but still generally specifiable character of telephone interaction". Help line interactions are also representative of the generally specifiable character of institutional (telephone) interactions. In calls for help, the participants' overarching goal is to ask for help and to provide it. The calls display a role differentiation between the caller, in this case the help-seeker, and the call-taker, in this case the help-giver. The vast majority of calls for help start with the help-seeker providing a description of her/his problem.

The earliest studies of calls for help are represented by the work carried out on calls to emergency services (see, for example, Zimmerman 1984; Whalen and Zimmerman 1987, Whalen, Zimmerman and Whalen 1988, Frankel 1989, Zimmerman 1992, Whalen 1995, Wakin and Zimmerman 1999). Besides the analytic interest in various aspects of the calls such as membership categorisation and their general structure, among others, these studies were also the first to shed light on the role of technology[4] in mediated (over the phone) work practices which are characterised by high intensity and a potential for fatal mistakes. Two decades later have seen an exponential growth in studies on calls for help, from studies into warm lines[5] (see, for example, Pudlinski 2005) to various privately and publicly funded hotlines in countries beyond the English-speaking world, as attested by the publication of an edited volume (Baker, Emmison and Firth 2005) and a special issue (Edwards 2007) on the subject.

3.1. Emergency calls

Zimmerman (1984, 1992) showed that emergency calls typically comprise an opening which involves identification and acknowledgment, a request phase with a series of questions aimed at obtaining the necessary information for the service to be delivered, an institutional response and a closing. As far as the opening is concerned, Whalen and Zimmerman's (1987) study of citizen calls to emergency services has paved the way for subsequent studies of openings in a variety of institutional calls in a range of settings and in a number of cultures. Their study has also served as a further conversation analytic point of comparison. Concretely, subsequent conversation analytic studies of institutional calls in different settings have examined their results on the basis of how the talk investigated departs from the patterns of ordinary talk and the extent to which it displays similar patterns as those reported by Whalen and Zimmerman (1987).

Based on an analysis of calls to an urban emergency number in the midwest of the United States of America and to an emergency communications centre in a county situated in the southwest of the country where ethnographic data was also collected, Whalen and Zimmerman (1987) observed that the calls display both specialisation and reduction of the sequential machinery of ordinary telephone openings (Schegloff 1986). Specialisation refers to "the regular use of specific utterance types in particular sequential locations" whereas reduction is displayed by "the omission of elements of some standard sequence" (Wakin and Zimmerman 1999: 411). Excerpt 6 below is typical of the calls in their corpus:

Excerpt 6 [MCE/21–9/12/simplified – from Whalen and Zimmerman 1987: 174, D= dispatcher, C= caller]

01	D:	Mid-City Emergency	*Answer/Identification*	**Opening**
02	C:	Um yeah (.) somebody jus' vandalized my car,	*Acknowledgment/Reason for Call (request for help)*	
03	D:	What's your address.		**Contingency questions**
04	C:	Thirty three twenty two: Elm		
05	D:	Is this uh house or an apartment		
06	C:	Ih tst uh house		
07	D:	Uh-your las' name.		
08	C:	Minsky,		
09	D:	How do you spell it.		
10	C:	M.I.N.S.K.Y.		
11	D:	Wull sen' somebody out to see you		**Response**
12	C:	Than' you		**Closing**
13	D:	Umhm bye.		
14	C:	Bye.		

The call-taker, in this case the radio-dispatcher, responds to the summons (telephone ring) by providing categorical identification (Schegloff 1986) or organisational identification, that is, by offering the name of the institution where the caller got through ('Mid-City Emergency'). The authors note that in answering the summons with organisational identification, the call-taker, who is an institutional agent, 'treats incoming calls as appropriate to the number (even though, in some number of cases, they may not be)' (p. 180). They also add that the selection of an answer type such as organisational identification 'turns on the status of the anticipated callers of that number' and 'the status of the number itself' (p.180) as institutional.

Reciprocal greetings and identifications are either partial or omitted and the exchange of 'how are yous' is absent. Additionally, the reason for the call ('somebody jus' vandalized my car') is offered at the first available opportunity, that is, once it has been ascertained that the caller had got through to the right place and the recipient's communicative ability established, as evidenced by the preceding acknowledgement token ('yeah') at line 2. The absence and/or partial presence of greetings and identifications signals that the accountable action – the reason for the call – is the only motive why the participants are in contact with each other. In other words, institutional reasons replace everyday reasons for the social ex-

change. Also, in providing an account of the problem an interactional asymmetry[6] between the conversational participants is first established. Specifically, the caller puts herself/himself in the position of help-seeker while at the same time she/he helps to position the call-taker as helper. The interaction is thus framed from the start as institutional rather than everyday.

The authors also note that the main business of the calls consists of a 'request-response' adjacency pair. The caller makes the request for service at the start of the call and the call-taker provides the required response at the end of the call, as shown at lines 2 and 11, respectively. They also observe that between the request and the response there are question-answer sequences, as illustrated between lines 3 and 11. These insertion sequences are known as interrogative series or contingency questions given that they relate to the contingencies of the response. They are initiated by the call-taker in order to obtain the necessary information before the second pair part of the adjacency pair (request-response) is uttered.[7]

Following the line of calls to emergency services is the work of Frankel (1989) on calls to an American Poison Control Centre. Frankel was primarily interested in the intersection between writing and speaking, more substantially on how written records are created during calls to a Poison Control Centre where the call-taker has to provide a diagnosis of the problem over the phone. Although he did not focus on the openings of the calls *per se,* a substantial part of the study explores the way in which callers establish their problems (the reason for the call) at the beginning of the calls. The results of his study, based on recorded calls, ethnographic observation and access to official documents, provided further support for Whalen and Zimmerman's (1987) findings on the openings of calls for emergency assistance and, more generally on the structure of emergency calls. Specifically, the calls start with organizational identification ('Poison control') followed by an offer of assistance ('Can I help you'), as illustrated at line 1 in excerpt 7 below:

Excerpt 7 [Transcript 6 – from Frankel 1989: 303, PC= Poison control agent, call taker]

1	P.C.:	Poison control can I help yo:u,	*[organizational identification + offer of assistance]*
2	Caller:	Uh yes- Uh-my liddle boy took uh- a heartworm preventative pill? f-fer my do:g?	*[acknowledgment + problem statement]*

Callers respond with an acknowledgement token ('yes') followed by a statement of the problem. Frankel observes that in these calls, greetings are substituted by acknowledgment tokens. The production of an acknowledgment token by the caller signals that she/he has reached the appropriate institutional target. There is thus quick alignment of appropriate identities (help-giver v. help-seeker) and the im-

mediate pursuit of the business at hand in the sense that the accountable, that is the reason for the call, is offered at the first available opportunity. In line with Whalen and Zimmerman's (1987) data, this is then followed by an interrogative series aimed at gathering the necessary information to deliver the service. Frankel's (1989) opening sequences are unlike those of Whalen and Zimmerman's (1987), and in particular the answer to the summons comprises a two turn construction unit, namely organisational identification followed by an offer of assistance ('Can I help you?', 'How can I help you?'). Although Frankel (1989) does not dwell on the presence or absence of offers of assistance, a closer look at the extracts provided in the article suggest that they are recurrent though not necessarily canonical. First, they are not present in all the examples. Second, when present, they are sometimes uttered with continuing intonation or latched onto the previous turn construction unit (namely, organisational identification) thus indicating that they are contingent on caller's uptake.

Calls to the Swedish Poison Information Centre have recently received some attention. Landqvist (2005) explored the construction and negotiation of advice in calls to this Centre and, in so doing, provided a brief analysis of the overall structure of the calls including the openings. The findings which are based on recorded calls to the Centre and field notes, coincide with those reported by Zimmerman and colleagues. The opening of the calls start with the call-taker, in this case a pharmacist, identifying the institution to which the caller got through followed by her/his own identification as a professional pharmacist on duty ('Poison information pharmacist on duty'). The caller responds with a greeting ('.hh Yes hello') and proceeds to the reason for the call (2005: 212). The author does not elaborate on whether the professional self-identification by the call-taker is an essential element or not given that the unfolding of the openings was not the focus of the article. Likewise, he does not specify whether the uttering of a greeting such as 'hello' after the acknowledgment token ('.hh Yes') by the caller is recurrent in the calls within the corpus or not. However, upon examination of the call on which these observations are made one can see that in the original Swedish transcription professional self-identification ('pharmacist on duty') is preceded by a micropause, thus possibly suggesting that this element may not be canonical.

Emergency calls have recently received further attention by Raymond and Zimmerman (2007). Although the authors were primarily interested in how the distribution of rights and responsibilities are displayed in the talk of callers and call-takers, the analysis of yet another corpus of American emergency calls, demonstrates a reduction and specialisation of openings of institutional calls relative to ordinary calls, as put forward more than two decades ago by Zimmerman and colleagues.

Similarly, Meehan (1989), Tracy (1997), Tracy and Anderson (1999) and Tracy and Agne (2002) concur in reporting a reduction and specialisation of Schegloff's (1986) canonical model based on their analyses of calls to the police. While the

main objective of these studies was not the examination of openings, to a greater or lesser extent they have indirectly dealt with them. The results provide further evidence in support of Zimmerman and collaborators' account of the overall organisation of a species of service calls, namely the emergency call. Specifically, the greeting sequence and the 'how are yous' are absent in these calls and, when the latter are present they have been reported to indicate that "what the caller is about to say is not [police] business as usual" (Tracy and Agne, 2002:81, our brackets), as shown in excerpt 8 below:

Excerpt 8 [Tape 9, call 562 male C, male CT – from Tracy and Agne 2002: 81]

1 CT Citywest 911, Agent Geltner
2 C Hi how are you?
3 CT I'm well sir, how can I help?
4 C I had uh theft in my family house, my uh ex-wife

In line with the results reported so far into emergency calls, this call starts with organizational identification ('Citywest 911') followed by self-identification by the call taker ('Agent Geltner'), as illustrated at line 1. Self-identification by the call-taker is an optional element. Strictly speaking, it is not an essential element for the service to be delivered, is absent in some of the examples provided by the authors and, in excerpt 8 above, is offered after organisational identification was uttered with continuing intonation. It thus indicates a possible transition relevance place and makes its occurrence contingent on caller's uptake. Tracy and Agne (2002) explain that this opening is at odds with the kinds of reports usually received by the service. They also claim that by opening an emergency call with 'hi how are you', the caller is implicitly framing the call as not serious (p. 81). Indeed, as the call unfolds, it become clear that it is not an emergency call in the usual sense but a call about theft by an ex-member of the family. This would account for the framing of a conversational footing (Goffman 1979) which is untypical of emergency calls.

3.2. Calls to help lines

With respect to the partial presence or omission of greetings and 'how are yous' in the studies discussed so far, Danby, Baker and Emmison (2005) and Emmison and Danby (2007) examined the openings of calls to an Australian children's help line and found that just as in ordinary calls greetings are exchanged. Moreover, they report that the 'how are you' sequence, though not canonical, is evident in many calls within the corpus and that prior to offering the reason for the call, the caller produces an announcement of the problem that concerns her/him or a third party. The trouble is announced in a narrative format which is ordered as a series of events, as illustrated at lines 6 to 8 and 10 to 12 in excerpt 9 below. This is acknowledged by the call-taker and followed by the reason for the call, as shown at lines 14 and 15

respectively. Information seeking questions are then initiated by the call-taker in order to deliver the service.

Excerpt 9 [item Kids Help Line Call 1_1_3 – from Emmison and Danby 2007: 70]

1		(Phone rings)	*Summons*
2	CT:	Hi there Kids Help Line,	*Answer/identification*
3		(0.6)	
4	C:	Hello um	*Greetings*
5		(0.4)	
6		My friend? just got kicked out of	
7		Home and she's got like <u>no</u>where to	
8		<u>sta</u>(hh:)ay.	
9	CT:	Mmm,	*Troubles announcement*
10	C:	And um (0.6) she doesn't and she wants	*and Minimal Receipt*
11		to make a few phone calls but she's	
12		got <u>no money</u> on her <u>pho:ne</u>	
13		(1.0)	
14	CT:	Right,	
15	C:	And we don't know what to <u>do</u>	*Reason for Call*
16		(1.0)	
17	CT:	Okay,	
18		(0.8)	
19	CT:	Whereabouts are you,	*Information seeking*

A few observations may be in order. First, Danby et al (2005) and Emmison and Danby's (2007) studies are based on calls to help lines in which the provision of help primarily entails the offering of verbal advice by a call-taker, in this case counsellors, as to how to manage or handle a given problem. The description of the problem is announced in the form of a narrative before help (the reason for the call) is (in)directly requested. On the other hand, in emergency calls the description of the problem constitutes the reason for the call, is typically urgent and immediate and hence given at the first available opportunity. Moreover, the help provided is translated into the dispatch of a particular service (e.g., ambulance, police) and both the problem and its solution are managed on line (Edwards 2007).

Second, it seems to us that the presence of greetings and 'how are yous' may also be tied to the nature of these calls,[8] which are non-immediate and, generally speaking, lacking in urgency when compared to those made to emergency services. Additionally, the callers' age ranges from 5 to 18 years old and as demonstrated by research into the language of teenagers, youth talk is, among other things, typically informal and colloquial (see, for example, Stenström, Andersen and Hasund 2002; Rampton 1995). Therefore a conversational footing (Goffman 1979) such as 'hi, how are you' by these young callers should not come as a surprise. As for the lan-

guage of young children (5–11 years old), work in developmental pragmatics and our own experience as conversationalists suggest that the pragmatic competence needed to successfully engage in mediated institutional talk of the kind discussed so far may not be achieved until later in life. This, in turn, may explain the formulation of the answer to the summons ('Hi Kids Help Line', 'Hi there Kids Help Line', 'Hello Kids Help Line'). Such a turn design reflects potential accommodation (Giles, J. Coupland and N. Coupland 1991) to the users of the service and gives rise to an informal greeting return by the caller.

Greetings such as 'hi' and 'hello' are informal compared to other greetings such as 'good morning', 'good afternoon' and 'good evening'. Therefore, the preference for 'hi' or 'hello' adds an element of friendliness to the call right from the start. Additionally, the choice of the word 'kids' over 'children' as part of the organisational identification is also telling in this respect. While the authors do not expand on these matters, one cannot help but speculate that the projection of an informal and friendly attitude at the onset of the call may be in line with the objectives of the institution and perhaps even the result of call-taker training and/or their experience of seeing other colleagues answering the phone. If training is indeed a factor in the formula, then calls to some help lines and service centres may well furnish further examples of the relevance of 'prescriptive norms' as discussed above in the context of the history of 'the Dutch opening', as reported in ten Have (2002).

Another recurrent feature of the openings of calls to help lines which is missing from the calls to the Kids Help Line is the presence of an offer of assistance in the design of the answer to the summons. Emmison and Danby (2007: 74) explain that the absence of an offer of assistance from the opening turns of the calls shows that call-takers, in this case counsellors, do not presuppose that the callers want help[9] and that its omission gives callers more choice as to how to enter into the talk. Whilst we agree that in doing so callers are less 'constrained' by the preceding discourse, the role of help-giver is, nonetheless, instantiated and reflected by the help line's name which contains the word 'help'.

With regard to the presence of an offer of assistance in the opening turns of institutional calls, Baker, Emmison and Firth (2001) examined the openings of calls to a software help line and report its regular presence. Concretely, the call-taker opens with an offer of assistance ('how can I help you?', 'what can we do for you this morning?', 'what seems to be the problem?') and the caller begins her/his first turn with a lead-in to the problem description such as an in-breath ('.hh') or an acknowledgment token ('okay'), thus indicating that she/he is about to produce an extended turn at talk (p. 49). This is then followed by a narrative which comprises an initial description of the problem such as 'I've just bought x' and a specification of the aspect of the product which is causing difficulty. After which, callers describe what they have attempted to do to solve the problem without technical assistance. The call-taker offers minimal uptake during the initial problem descrip-

tion before she/he offers a diagnosis via substantive insertions, that is, contingency questions (p. 52). Baker et al (2001) describe the sequential structure of the openings as follows though they alert the reader to the fact that some components are contingent on others:

Table 1. Sequential structure of the openings of calls to a technical support help line [from Baker et al. 2001: 53]

CT	[how can I help you]
C	[.hh erm]
C	[I've been installing product x]
CT	[+/- yeah, okay]
C	[and + the specific domain of y]
CT	[+/- yeah, okay]
C	[and/but]
C	[something is happening that should not happen]
	[something is not happening that should happen]
CT	[+/- substantive comment or question]

If there is no CT uptake at this point (no substantive comment or question), then:

C	[elaboration: diagnosis, restatement, and so forth]
CT	[issuing of first substantive comment or question]

In line with the studies so far discussed greetings and 'how are you' exchanges are also absent in these calls and the reason for the call, in this case a narrative, starts at the first available opportunity.

4. Openings of general service calls

Unlike the telephone conversations examined so far, callers may telephone centres to make general inquiries. The inquiries range from seeking confirmation that a given service has been booked or a specific item is ready for collection to checking the company's opening hours. Thus, in these conversations callers do not seek emotional or technical help but general information.

As far as the presence and/or absence of offers of assistance and greetings in the openings of institutional calls are concerned, the work of Márquez Reiter (2006, 2008a) is of interest. She examined the openings of calls to a carer giver company and to a service repair company in Uruguay which operate a telephone service centre for customer services. The results of her studies show that while offers of assistance are absent in both sets of calls, both data sets contain a high incidence of greeting exchanges. At the structural level, the vast majority of the calls in the two corpora reveal similar patterns to those observed in English service calls. Call-takers respond to the summons by formulating a multiunit turn which

comprises organisational identification followed by a greeting ('good morning'/'good afternoon') and in some cases self-identification by the call-taker ('Juanjo speaking'), as illustrated at line 1 in excerpt 10 below. Callers' first turns consist of the display of recognition formulated by an acknowledgement token ('Um') or the affirmative particle 'yes' followed by the reason for the call. The author observes that in many of the calls within the datasets, callers offer a greeting return before they proffer the reason for the call. She points out, however, that the reciprocation of a greeting in the callers' first turn is triggered by the production of a first pair part in the call-taker's first turn, and adds that the greeting exchanges observed cannot be separated from the identification/recognition sequence in that they all serve to signal recognition/acknowledgment (p. 23).

Excerpt 10 [item 7 – from Márquez Reiter 2006: 22–23, grammatical glosses have been omitted]

1 CT: *CSC Coordinación de Servicios buenas tardes (.) habla Juanjo*
CSC Service coordination good afternoon (.) Juanjo speaking
2 C: *Ah hola (.) buenas tardes=mirá para pedir un servicio para el CASMU*↑
Um hello (.) good afternoon look to request a carer for the CASMU

The author attributes the relatively high incidence of greetings in service calls between strangers who are unlikely to be in touch with one another again to the expression of politeness. From a pragmatics perspective, she argues that the presence of greeting exchanges display an orientation towards closeness in interaction or interpersonal connectedness (Fitch 1991) between participants in otherwise neutral/formal settings. She further adds that 'the proffering of (appropriate) greetings is seen as a sign of politeness, whereby the speaker shows interest in the addressee, an essential component of *simpatía*' (2006: 27). Similarly, albeit without necessarily engaging in a microanalysis of the calls, Gabbiani (2006) investigated the openings of calls to a public utility in Uruguay and compared her results with those of Márquez Reiter (2006). Gabbiani (2006) concurs in reporting an overwhelming presence of greeting exchanges in these Uruguayan calls and notes that offers of assistance were infrequent and only uttered in the calls taken by one of the agents. Though she does not dwell on this, her results suggest that the offers of assistance observed are a non-essential element and possibly the result of the agent's style.

Palotti and Varcasia (2008) conducted a cross-cultural pragmatic study of the telephone openings of service calls in five European languages – English, French, German, Italian and Spanish – in a range of institutional settings including bookstores, travel agencies, hairdressers, language schools, libraries, student halls and university departments. The authors provide a detailed pragmalinguistic analysis of the verbal elements found in the turns typically associated with Schegloff's (1986) four core sequences for ordinary telephone calls. Even though the authors make clear that there is variability in the way in which speakers of a given lan-

guage open a telephone call, their data shows the presence of greeting returns in all the excerpts provided for French, German, Italian and Spanish. On the other hand, some of the English excerpts contain the first pair part of a greeting in the first turn by the call-taker but no second pair part by the caller. Unfortunately the authors do not expand on this. Instead, they note that there is 'a tendency for Spanish speakers, and to a certain extent for the French, to produce greetings in separate turns' (Palotti and Varcasia 2008: 22). Put differently, it would seem that in the Spanish calls published in this article, greetings may constitute an element of the answer to the summons. In these cases one might be more likely to expect a greeting return by the caller in her/his first turn followed by the reason for the call. On the other hand, when greetings are absent from the answer to the summons, as illustrated in excerpt 11 below, callers proffer a greeting after an acknowledgment token ('hola') as shown at line 2 below. This, in turn, triggers a greeting response by the call-taker before the caller gets down to business. Although the objective and analytic perspective is different from that of Márquez Reiter (2006) and Gabbiani (2006), the reported findings appear to highlight the presence and pragmatic importance of greetings in yet another variety of Spanish and in languages other than English.

Excerpt 11 [Ex. 7- from Palotti and Varcasia 2008: 8, C= caller, R= receiver/call-taker, our line numbers]

0 ((ring))
1 R: sí dígame
2 C: hola buenos días
3 R: buenos días
4 C: mire que estoy buscando para comprar la película
5 American beauty [y he preguntado a otro videoclub y:
6 R: [sí
7 C: dice que no

((ring))
R: yes hello
C: hello good morning
R: good morning
C: look I am looking forward [sic] *to buy the movie*
American beauty [and I asked to [sic] *another videoclub and*
R: [yes
C: they say no ((they don't have it))

Palotti and Varcasia (2008) also report a strong tendency for German callers to offer self-identification in their first turns as shown in excerpt 12 below.

Excerpt 12 [Ex. 18 from Palotti and Varcasia 2008: 12, C= caller, R: receiver, our line numbers]

0 ((ring))
1 R: mittagtisch thiel katy grimm?
2 C: ja>schönen guten tag mein name ist astrid huber
(.) ich habe eine frage<

((ring))
R: canteen thiel katy grimm?
C: yes>good morning my name is astrid huber
(.) I have a query

At first glance, and from a conversation analytic perspective, one could argue that the caller's self-identification by means of her first name and surname is triggered by the fact that the call-taker has also provided self-identification in the same way. However, the authors cite a call in which the answer to the summons consists of a mere lexical greeting ('guten tag') and, in spite of this, the caller offers self-identification (see line 2 in excerpt 13 below). They claim that this conversational behaviour is particularly salient when compared to 'the frequency with which Italians, French and Spaniards answer the phone with a simple 'hallo'' (p. 22).

Excerpt 13 [Ex. 32 – from from Palotti and Varcasia 2008: 21, C= caller, R: receiver, our line numbers]

0 ((ring))
1 R: guten tag
2 C: >guten tag mein name ist Schmidt und ich wollte fragen was sie
für öffnungszeiten haben<?

((ring))
R: good morning
C: >good morning my name is Schmidt and I wanted to ask you
what times of opening you have<

5. Openings of calls to and from call centres

Up until now we have provided a précis on the research undertaken into the openings of intra-cultural service telephone calls, that is to say, calls between parties who share the same language. We have also considered openings cross-culturally by reporting the findings of a study whose objective was to compare the results of intra-cultural openings in service calls across five European languages. It is, therefore, time to turn our attention to those studies that have to varying degrees focused on the openings of inter-cultural service calls. Illustrative of the latter is the emerg-

ing research into communication at call centres (see Cameron's (2000) seminal book on the subject).

Telephone conversations to/from multinational call centres, in particular interactions between callers (customers) and call-takers (customer service representatives) who do not necessarily share the same language, have been granted relatively little attention considering their recent proliferation (Márquez Reiter 2009). Applied linguists working from a primarily systemic linguistics perspective have explored various aspects of intercultural communication at outsourced call centres; that is, call centres which have been migrated from their home countries, generally those where English is a first language (like the USA) to countries such as India and the Philippines where English is deployed as a *lingua franca.* Specifically, they have focused on inbound call centres, those centres where customers, in this case Americans, telephone in for services and their calls are taken by non-native speakers of English. Forey and Lockwood (2007) examined the problems faced by Philippine call-takers and American customers in calls made to an insurance company whose on-line operation for their American clientele is now delivered from the Philippines. One of the study's main goals was to shed light on the reasons behind reported communication breakdowns between the conversational parties and to explore the role of English in the outsourcing industry. In order to do so, they embarked upon a generic description of some of the calls received at this centre. Their findings include an analysis of the obligatory and optional (Halliday and Hasan 1976) elements within the overall call and hence of the openings. According to the authors, an inbound call centre transaction comprises six generic stages: opening, purpose, gathering of information, establishing purpose, service and closing, as shown in Table 2 below (see next page).

While Forey and Lockwood's (2007) analysis is mainly based on systemic linguistics rather than on a microanalysis of the calls, aspects of Zimmerman and colleagues' sequential organisation of a service call (see excerpt 1) are evident here too. Conversationalists seem to be engaging in similar tasks as those described by CA scholars despite differences in the settings (i.e., outsourced call centre where communication is intercultural rather than intracultural) and analytic framework. Substantially, the answer to the summons comprises organisational identification followed by an offer of assistance (see point 1 in Table 2 above). This is then followed by the proffering of the main business of the call by the caller. The call-taker then gathers relevant transactional information (contingency questions) (see point 3 in Table 2), before a response (point 5 in Table 2) is given. Finally, the parties enter into the closing stage (point 7 in Table 2) of the call. One feature of these calls appears to be a high degree of use of politeness patterns by the Philippine service providers as exemplified in the use of deferential titles and formulas, which makes them look different from intra-cultural service calls.

Call centre's outbound calls, those made by call centre agents – in this case the callers – to clients – in this case the recipients – have also received some attention

Table 2. [Table 2, Generic stages of a call centre discourse – from Forey and Lockwood, 2007:317, CSR= customer service representative, CSR2= a different customer service representative; C= customer, C2= examples taken from a different customer, utterances marked by * are not authentic, our numbering]

	Generic stage	Function of stage	Example
1	Opening (obligatory)	Greetings used with appropriate phonological features; offering assistance	CSR: *Customer Services, how may I help you?*
2	Purpose (optional)	To identify the purpose of the customer's call	C: *I was calling to see whether or not this policy was still … wasn't cancelled*
3	Gathering information (obligatory)	Collating information; checking information is correct; asking for clarification; explaining reasons for gathering information; expressing problems with the information provided	CSR: *OK what's the policy number Maam?* C*: MT 0013860* CSR: *and how can I help you with this policy?*
4	Establishing the purpose (obligatory)	Clarifying points; probing for further information; empathizing, apologizing	C2: *Is this policy still not cancelled yet, 'cos I'm late in sending out the payment*
5	Servicing the Customer (obligatory)	Providing clear explanations and descriptions; apologizing; empathizing; asking for further information; giving good and bad news; agreeing and disagreeing	CSR2: *Yes, you're late sending out payment but you're still under the grace period, so you can still send in your check as long as we receive payment by 18th, policy's OK.* C2: *OK, I'll send it out today.*
6	Summarizing (optional)	Summarizing, restating key points	CSR*: *If you could send it out today that would be fine*
7	Closing (obligatory)	Closing	C: *Thank you* CSR*: *Not a problem, glad to be of assistance. Thank you and have a good day.*

lately. Márquez Reiter (2009, in press) investigated manifestations of face and sociolinguistic and pragmatic aspects of calls made by Latin American telephone agents to (potential) Latin American clients at a primarily Spanish-speaking call centre. The calls examined represent a primary occasion for contact between members of different cultural groups and are thus intercultural. Although the conversational participants have a broad language in common (i.e. Spanish) they come from different Spanish-speaking nations. Hence, they are likely to speak different

varieties of Spanish and potentially interpret pragmatic meaning differently. In spite of the fact that Márquez Reiter (2009, in press) did not focus on the unfolding of the openings of the calls *per se*, her results based on recorded calls, non-participant observation, interviews and access to the call-centre's in-house style for making and placing calls, provides us with a window into the openings of telemarketing calls. Her findings indicate that callers, that is, customer service representatives, blatantly flout the call centre's rules for placing calls. The recommended code of behaviour for placing calls indicates that callers should offer a multiunit turn in response to the answer to the summons. The callers' first turn should consist of a greeting, followed by self-identification and organisational identification. Thereafter they should provide the answerer with the reason for the call. She also reports that callers, that is, call centre's agents, are reluctant to offer both organisational and self-identification at the onset of the calls. Instead, their first efforts are directed at ensuring that they are talking to the right person, that is, the called rather than the mere answerer.[10]

Callers thus start by attempting to identify the answerer as shown in excerpt 14 below:

Excerpt 14 [from Márquez Reiter, in press, C: called, T= telemarketing agent]

1. *C: Aló↓*
   'Hello'
2. *T: Buenas tardes↓ hablo con el doctor Segundo X↑*
   'Good afternoon↓am I speaking to doctor Second X↑
3. *C: Con quién ha:blo:↑*
   'Who is speaking↑
4. *T: E:::h le está hablando (nombre de pila y apellido) de (nombre de la cia.) (.) desde (país donde está ubicado el call centre) ↓(.) cómo está usted docto:r↑(.)*
   'Um (first name and surname) is speaking from (name of the company) (.) from (country where the call centre is located) ↓how are you doctor↑'
5. *C: Bie:n señora↓*
   'Well Mrs'
6. *T: Cómo ha pasado:↑*
   'How have you been'
7. *C: Bie:n↓ bien bien↓*
   'Well↓ well well↓'
8. *T: Están descansando ya que es día festi:vo:↑*

(Stretch of small talk initiated by the telephone agent from lines 9–22)

23 *T: Señor Segundo↓ permítame uno:s e:ste::↑ unos minutitos para poder confirmar con usted algunos datos personales↓*
   'Mr Second↓ allow^{u} me a few um↑ a few minutes to confirm with you^{u} some personal details↓'

24 .(2)
25 C: [Ahá:↓]
[Aha↓]

Márquez Reiter (2009, in press) observes that call centre agents tend to provide organisational identification after it has been requested by the answerer, as illustrated at line 3 in excerpt 14 and/or after the exchange of greetings or the production of at least the first pair part of a 'how are you' exchange, as shown at line 24 in excerpt 15 below.

Excerpt 15 [(5) Continuation of call – from Márquez Reiter 2009: 68]

21. C: *Holá:*↓
'Hello'
22. T: *Holá señor Roberto:*↑
'Hello Mr Roberto'
23. (.)
24. C: *Sí* ↓
'Yes'
25. T: *Cómo le va*↑ *Leticia Matos de X Latinoamérica le habla:*↑
'How are you Leticia Matos from X Latin America speaking'
26. C: *De quién*↑
'From who'
27. T: *De X Latinoamérica*↑
'From X Latin America'
28. (.)
29. C: X↓ [a:h↑]
30. T:[H::m:↓]
31. T: *Cómo está uste:d]*
'How are you'
32. C: *Y a hasta ahora bien*↓=
'And until now well'
33. T: =*me ale:gro*↓ *(riendo)*
'I'm glad (laughing)'
34. C: *Qué le pasa*↑
'What is up with you'
35. T: *E ::: h m :: quería contarle cuál es el motivo de mi llamada*↓ *(.) Usted tiene*↑ *bueno*↓ *tiene una propiedad verda:d*↑ *en la hostería del Y*↓
'Um m I wanted to tell you the reason for my call (.) You have well a property right in hotel Y'

The author argues that the fact that neither organisational nor self-identification is given until the call centre agent has established that she/he is talking to the right person should not come as a surprise given the telesales aspect of this kind of calls

where an element of surprise, at least from the call centre agent's perspective, is welcome. Furthermore, she argues that the presence of 'how are yous' and other features of casual talk such as small talk, represent a case of synthetic personalisation (Fairclough 1993) by which agents attempt to convey a likeable image of themselves in the hope of keeping the called on line for longer.

6. Openings of inter-organisation calls

With respect to the presence of discourse elements usually associated with casual talk, such as 'how are yous' and small talk, studies of inter-organisational telephone calls, that is calls between members of different organisations rather than, as we have seen so far, calls between an institutional representative and a customer, have also reported their occurrence. Firth (1995b) examined the overall structure of calls in which the sale of commodities is negotiated. The calls in question were made by a Nordic company to various companies including those in the Middle East and were conducted in English. Unlike the calls that we have considered so far, Firth examines calls which were triggered by a prior activity, namely a written 'offer-non acceptance' or 'offer-counter offer' sequence by the companies involved. The author thus explains that the observed casual talk (e.g. 'how are yous', small talk) in the initial sections of these calls 'connects' the call to a specific preceding activity, in this case to a written offer. Firth found two types of openings in this corpus: '(1) the 'switchboard request' (Schegloff 1979) and (2) a 'modified core sequence'. He adds that "[I]t is the latter sequence which is analogous to Schegloff's 'canonical core sequence'" (1995b: 190). In the switchboard request type of openings, the answer to the summons does not comprise organisational identification or self-identification. Instead, a single 'hello' is uttered, as shown at line 1 in excerpt 16 below. The author observes that one of the interactional consequences of such an answer is the need by the caller to confirm that she/he has reached the right destination, as illustrated at line 2. Upon confirmation, the caller offers organisational identification followed by a switchboard request, as shown from lines 4–6.

Excerpt 16 [(1) from Firth, 1995b:190, H= caller, A= answerer]

((ring))
1 A: ello?
2 H mpt yes hello uh saudi royal import company,
3 A ye:s
4 H it's uh michael hansen uk melko dairies speak↓ing
5 (0.8)
6 could I speak to mister gupta please?
7 A moment

The 'modified core sequence' is similar to that observed in American calls. Specifically, both parties check that the channel is open, disclose and recognise each other's identities, and exchange greetings and 'how are yous' after which the reason for the call is introduced, as illustrated in excerpt 17 below:

Excerpt 17 [from Firth 1995b: 192]

((ring))
1 Y ello:
2 A yes hello it's anna from melko?
3 Y yes hi↓ how're you anna
4 A fine, an' you?

This modified core sequence is thus almost analogous to the openings of everyday calls owing to the fact that the parties are somehow acquainted with each other and the actual business at hand starts to be negotiated after greetings and 'how are yous' are out of the way.

Amthor Yotskura (2002) explored the reporting of problems and offering of assistance in calls between different Japanese organisations, an example of which is reproduced below:

Excerpt 18 [adapted from Amthor Yotskura 2002: 139–140, C= Kansai Import, A= Kobe Shipping, grammatical glosses have been omitted]

1 ((ring))
2 A: *kobe Unyu desu*
'Kobe shipping'
3 C: *kochira, Kansai Yunyuu no Yamamoto desu=*
'This is Yamamoto of Kansai Imports'
4 A: *=hai, osewa [ni natt' orimasu:.*
'Thank you for your continued patronage.'
5 C: *[doomo, osewa ni natte orimasu:.*
'Thank you for your continued assistance.'
6 *e:to:, hassoo no Kanedasan, onegaidekimasu ka?*
'Um, may I have Mr Kaneda of the dispatch (section)?'

Her results are similar to those reported by Firth, although the author does not make any reference to his work (Firth 1995b). This is probably because her main interest lies in the examination of the rhetorical strategies displayed in the calls and her approach is more discourse analytic than conversation analytic. The author notes that the calls start with identification by both parties and that this is mandatory, as illustrated at line 2 in excerpt 18. After this there may be an exchange of greetings and a request for identification confirmation. These two sequences are optional. Then, there is the mandatory exchange of business salutations as shown at lines 3 and 4, followed, where necessary, by a switchboard request to speak with

a different person, as illustrated at line 6. Thereafter there is a transition to the discussion of the business transaction.

7. Concluding remarks

Beginning with Sacks' and Schegloff's pioneering studies in the 1960s and 1970s, research on the structure of telephone calls in general, and telephone openings in particular, have come a very long way. From a handful of studies of American calls, the repertoire has been expanded to include studies of more than a dozen speech communities and an increasingly wide range of settings. While there is still disagreement about the scope of application of some of Schegloff's findings – in particular, the extent to which they are culture-specific – the usefulness of the methodology is not in doubt. Indeed, most of the research done since the 1970s has been carried out using CA or CA-inspired methods.

Schegloff's analytical framework has served as an indispensable platform for all subsequent studies. On the whole, as mentioned in Section 2 above, the canonical format has held up surprisingly well in the face of a growing body of data from a variety of settings. Purported deviations from the summons-answer sequence ('answerer speaks first') and exchange of greetings have largely turned out to be based on misinformation (as in the case of who speaks first in Japanese openings) or misunderstanding (as in the case of greetings in Greek openings). At the same time, there are strong indications of cultural variation with respect to some sections of the canonical opening, particularly the identification/recognition sequence and exchange of how-are-yous. Thus, it seems clear from available evidence that, unlike the United States, where other-recognition is preferred over self-identification, in some communities, such as Sweden, the Netherlands and Germany, the opposite would seem to be the case. To be sure, there is considerable variation within each community too, so that one will always be able to find a full range of possibilities, from mutual recognition achieved minimally (as in calls between intimates) to early self-identification (as in 'business calls' or 'switchboard requests'). Nevertheless, to the extent that it is possible to identify norms governing ordinary calls in any given community (e.g., calls between acquaintances), it would seem that communities do differ in terms of these norms. Thus, while self-identification is a 'marked' option in some communities, it may be 'unmarked' in others. It is in this sense that one can speak of cultural variation.

One way of picturing that variation would be to use, following Schegloff (2007), a scale that ranges from 'minimal forms' at one end to 'full forms' at the other. The most minimal form will be 'zero', i.e., the non-use of any names for the purpose of identification and recognition. The 'fullest' form will be a full name (both first and last names). In between these two ends, there can be several possibilities, including last names, longer and shorter versions of first names, nick-

names, etc. Different communities can then be placed on different points along the scale, depending on which forms are the most unmarked. In this way, it will be possible to chart cultural variation in terms of the parameters provided by Schegloff's universalist framework.

It is clear from the many studies reviewed in Sections 3 to 6 that telephone openings also vary in terms of setting. Zimmerman's (1984, 1987) studies have provided an account of 'institutional telephone openings' which seems generally applicable to calls to help lines, call centres and service providers. Zimmerman's focus on the specific ways in which Schegloff's canonical format gets modified in institutional settings has given rise to a very fruitful line of research.

Differences found in the presence of certain elements within sequences (i.e. offers of assistance in the answers to summons) and in the presence or absence of given sequences (i.e. greetings and 'how are yous') can be explained by the kind of calls examined. For instance, the Kids Help Line calls have in common the fact that callers are seeking emotional help and support whereas calls to a technical support line may only require factual information, thus an offer of assistance ('How can I help you?') will not necessarily offend any of the parties, in particular the help-seeker. In the same vein, Whalen and Zimmerman's (1987) 911 calls for help are different in that no advice or support is needed as such but rather what is needed is an urgent emergency dispatch. This helps to explain the absence of offer of assistance. Also, and as noted by Edwards (2007: 3), "in emergency calls, problem descriptions (occurring initially as *reasons for calling*) typically attend to urgency and immediacy. Similarly, the timing of help provision (dispatch) is a business whose urgency is shared by both parties to the call, although not always visible to both (Whalen, Zimmerman and Whalen 1988). The seriousness/urgency of a problem and its solution are matters managed in situ, on and for each occasion, by both parties to the call."

While the last forty years have seen more and more research done using data from a variety of communities and settings, still, in absolute terms, only a relatively small number of languages and cultures are represented in this sample. We must therefore end this survey not with any firm conclusions about the structure of telephone conversation openings, but with a plea for more in-depth analysis of telephone calls in as wide a range of languages, cultures and settings as possible.

Notes

[1] Notable exceptions can be found in the research carried out by Zimmerman (1984); Whalen, Zimmerman and Whalen (1988); Zimmerman (1992) and Firth (1995b).

[2] The ethnomethodological notions of accountability, reflexivity and indexicality underpin CA. Methods of reasoning are 'accountable' in the sense they are 'observable' and 'reportable' in social interaction (Firth 1995a). Actions are 'reflexive' as they help to construct the context of which they are an intelligible-accountable-part (Firth, 1995a:273).

Actions are also indexical in that the meaning of what conversational participants 'say and do is dependent on the context in which their doing and saying occurs' (Psathas 1998: 291).

3 Firth, Emmison and Baker (2005:1) define helplines as "telephone-based services that offer callers help, advice or support in a wide range of areas, most commonly in areas relating to health and medicine, the law, finance, psychological wellbeing, interpersonal relationships, various forms of addiction, and computer technology".

4 The introduction of new technology in the workplace such as computerised based systems vis à vis traditional paper based systems, meant that the information gathered from the caller had to be entered into a computer by the call-taker. Following this, the call-taker had to transmit the information electronically to a radio dispatcher. This new technology coincided with changes in work organisation and resulted, among other things, in a role differentiation between call-takers and radio-dispatchers (see, for example, Zimmerman 1992; J. Whalen 1995 and J. Whalen and Vinkhuyzen 2000).

5 According to Pudlinksi (2005:109) warm lines are run by clients of the community mental health system. They offer pre-crisis services and are designed to provide social support.

6 Cameron (2008:153) notes that all kinds of service talk are cases of "asymmetrical discourse" in that at least one party is institutionally responsible for its conduct.

7 The authors further observe an important sequence type within the interrogative series: the confirmation sequence where one of the parties, more often the call-taker than the caller, given the potential for life or death nature of the calls in question, seeks confirmation that the caller has clearly received a piece of information.

8 It should be pointed out that from CA perspective the presence of a greeting exchange is explained by context-endogenous reasons. For instance, the fact that the design of the answer to the summons typically comprises a greeting token ('hi') makes the presence of a greeting return by the caller ('hello') conditionally relevant on the proffering of the first pair part of the greeting.

9 te Molder (2005) in a study of calls to a Dutch emotional support help line found that callers might challenge an offer of assistance such as 'How can I help you' by stating they just need to talk to someone.

10 Sacks (1992, vol. 2: 544) notes that in answering the telephone '"any, and only, possible calleds answer the phone"' in that the person who picks up the telephone and provides the answer to the summons may turn out to be the answerer but not necessarily the called, that is, the person with whom the caller intended to talk to when she/he made the call.

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4. Intercultural (im)politeness and the micro-macro issue

Michael Haugh

> A solution must be found to the analytic problems which obstruct the conversion of intuition, casual (however well-informed) observation, or theoretically motivated observation into demonstrable analysis. For without solutions to these problems, we are left with 'a sense of how the world works,' but without its detailed explication. (Schegloff 1991: 48)

1. Introduction

The relationship between politeness and culture has been the focus of a vast amount of research in the past thirty years. This research has been undertaken in a number of different fields within pragmatics that are concerned with culture. For the most part politeness phenomena in interactions between members of a single languaculture have been investigated, for example, analyses of how politeness arises in (Mandarin) Chinese, (British, American, Australian) English, Greek, Japanese, Turkish and so on (*intracultural politeness*), and then subsequently compared with how these strategies or perceptions differ (as well as overlap) with those in other languacultures, for instance, comparing politeness strategies in Chinese and British English (*cross-cultural* or *contrastive politeness*). Much less commonly, researchers have also focused on perceptions of (im)politeness and politeness strategies in intercultural interactions, where the participants have different (socio)cultural backgrounds (*intercultural politeness*).[1] The delineation of these fields of interest within pragmatics is not without controversy, with Kraft and Geluykens (2007: 9), for instance, arguing that the term "cross-cultural" should be used as "a cover term for the study of [all] pragmatic phenomena relating to cultural differences", and proposing that the term "contrastive pragmatics" be used instead for studies involving "comparative analysis of linguistic phenomena across cultures." Yet while the terms cross-cultural and intercultural are sometimes used interchangeably in the literature, as both Gudykunst (2002a: 175) and Kecskes (2004: 1) note, consistent with the approach in this volume, cross-cultural politeness research is used here to designate comparative cultural studies of politeness where "data [is] obtained independently from different cultural groups" (Spencer-Oatey 2000: 4; cf. Gudykunst 2002a: 175–176), while intercultural politeness re-

search is defined as the study of (im)politeness arising in intercultural interactions, in other words, where "data [is] obtained when people from two different cultural groups interact with each other (Spencer-Oatey 2000: 4; cf. Gudykunst 2002a: 175–176).[2] While there have been numerous reviews of cross-cultural politeness research (Eelen 2001; Fraser 1990, 2005; Kasper 1990; Watts 2003), there has been little specific attention paid to studies of intercultural politeness, which is thus the primary focus of this chapter.

Before reviewing research to date on intercultural politeness, however, it is worth considering why researchers have overwhelmingly opted to undertake intracultural or cross-cultural studies of politeness (where there are literally thousands of published studies, including dozens of monographs), as opposed to studies of intercultural politeness (where there are less than twenty or so full-length studies). It is worth pointing out, first of all, that no specific theory of *intercultural* politeness has yet been developed. The major theories of politeness proposed to date have been primarily focused on explicating how politeness arises in intracultural interactions, and then making comparisons across cultures (e.g., Brown and Levinson 1987; Leech 1983, 2007; Watts 2003). This overwhelming focus on theorizing politeness cross-culturally has arguably led to the relative neglect of (im)politeness in intercultural settings to date. And while theories of intercultural interaction in closely-related areas of research, such as Rapport Management Theory (Spencer-Oatey 2000, 2005, 2009, this volume) or Face Negotiation Theory (Ting-Toomey 1988; Ting-Toomey and Kurogi 1998), might inform such a theory, they in themselves cannot lay claim to being theories of intercultural politeness either, as they make no attempt to define politeness itself. Spencer-Oatey (2000: 2), for instance, explicitly rejects the notion of politeness in favour of rapport management, since "the term is so confusing." (2000: 2). Yet it is worth pointing out that although terminological debates have indeed dogged politeness research over the past thirty or so years, such debates ultimately reflect the contested nature of politeness, the fact that we do not necessarily agree on what is polite, impolite, over-polite, and so on (Eelen 2001; Haugh 2007; Mills 2003; Watts 2003). Thus, if we as researchers do not consider the evaluations of ordinary speakers of particular interactions as "polite" or "offensive", among other things, then we are neglecting an area of very real concern to such speakers. This is not to argue against the important and illuminating work that has been carried out under the banner of theories of "rapport management" or "facework", but simply to point out that such theories do not necessarily lead researchers to a better grasp of the dynamics of intercultural (im)politeness per se.

A second reason for the neglect of intercultural politeness is the widespread assumption that such research necessarily presupposes a firm grounding in cross-cultural (politeness) research (Gudykunst 2002a: 176). In other words, in order to understand (im)politeness in an intercultural setting, it is presumed that we first need to understand how (im)politeness arises in intracultural settings. But as

Bargiela-Chiappini and Harris (2006: 12–13) have recently argued, research on (im)politeness in intercultural interactions has more to contribute than simply being the application of insights from cross-cultural research in intercultural settings. In other words, it may be through studying (im)politeness in intercultural settings that we may gain insight into methodological and theoretical issues troubling the field of politeness research. Indeed, a greater focus on intercultural politeness may yield important insights for intercultural and cross-cultural pragmatics more generally.

One of the key issues in politeness research in pragmatics, for instance, has been a methodological one, as questions about the kind(s) of data collected and the way in which the analyst treats this data have come to the fore (Arundale 2006; Eelen 2001; Mills 2003; Haugh 2007; Hutchby 2008). Debates about the relative merits of spontaneously occurring speech data as opposed to data collected in controlled settings in pragmatics more generally (Beebe and Cummings 1996; Golato 2003; Kasper 2006), for example, have recently found their way into politeness research (Holmes and Schnurr 2005; Holmes, Marra and Schnurr 2008). Another key issue that has been troubling the field is the way in which culture itself has been conceptualised, with some arguing that it has often been (implicitly) essentialised or reified in pragmatics research (Blommaert 1998; Mey 2004). This latter controversy has also found its way into politeness research, where the focus has largely moved from the universality versus culture-specificity debate (Janney and Horst 1993; Watts 1992[2005]), to the question of how to define culture in the face of the inherent variability and argumentivity of perceptions of (im)politeness that can arise even in intracultural interactions – let alone intercultural interactions – if indeed it can be defined at all (Eelen 2001; Locher and Watts 2005; Mills 2003; Pizziconi 2006; Watts 2003, 2005).

It is suggested here, however, that underlying these albeit important methodological and theoretical debates is a more fundamental epistemological and ontological issue, namely, the difficulties inherent in reconciling micro and macro perspectives on language, interaction, and culture (Blommaert 2007; Ellis 1999; Levinson 2005; Schegloff 1987a, 2005). The micro perspective encompasses the study of interactions between individuals, and the cognition underlying those interactions, while the macro perspective focuses on establishing norms of and expectations about language use distributed across social groups and cultures. The issue facing researchers in pragmatics is, on the one hand, in attempting to move from the micro to the macro level of analysis the researcher can become vulnerable to accusations of over-generalisation (Peräkylä 2004; Schegloff 1987b), while, on the other hand, in trying to move from the macro to the micro level of analysis the researcher may fall into the trap of imposing "analytic fictions" on the data at hand (Maynard and Wilson 1980; Schegloff 1987a, 1988, 1991, 2005; Wilson 1991). While some researchers have argued that these levels of analysis are complementary perspectives which are best kept distinct (Levinson 2005), it is argued here that

a more active focus on integrating micro and macro perspectives is critical to the continued advancement of research in (intercultural) pragmatics research.

Research into intercultural politeness arguably has the potential to lend useful insight into this broader debate, as it cuts across the micro-macro debate in two ways. First, while intercultural politeness researchers implicitly assume some kind of macro-level in positing that the interactants make recourse to their different "cultures", much if not most of the research is actually carried out at the micro-level of analysis. Exploring the different ways in which intercultural politeness researchers have attempted to justify positing cultural influences (macro) on interactants (micro) in their analyses may thus prove fruitful. Second, (im)politeness itself arguably lies within the micro-macro nexus, as while it involves interactionally-grounded evaluations occurring at the level of individual cognition (what A thinks B shows B thinks of A), it also involves normative expectations that are assumed to be shared by others across a particular sociocultural group (what A thinks B should show B thinks of A) (Haugh and Hinze 2003). In other words, (im)politeness is both *constituted in* interaction in the form of evaluations (micro) and *constitutive of* interaction in the form of expectations (macro) (Haugh 2007, 2009). The ways in which intercultural politeness researchers have approached such analytical quandries may also lend insights that prove instructive to the broader micro-macro debate in intercultural pragmatics.

In this chapter, the different ways in which intercultural politeness has been approached and the key findings to have emerged from this research are first discussed. The implications of the broader micro-macro debate for intercultural politeness research are next considered, with a particular focus on critically comparing the different ways in which researchers have warranted the links they make (or assume) between the micro-details of interaction and broader macro-level (socio)cultural norms. The implications of this discussion for (intercultural) pragmatics more generally are then briefly considered.

2. Intercultural (im)politeness[3]

In early work in the field, Janney and Arndt (1992[2005]) argued that intercultural tact or politeness involves "much more than simply translating politeness formulas from one language into another" (p. 21), in pointing out "the importance of shared cultural assumptions in people's ability to predict each other's reactions, imagine potential conflicts, and avoid these by being tactful"(p. 36). In other words, (im)politeness in intercultural encounters involves not only an understanding of the language(s) being used in the interaction, but an appreciation of the cultural background of the interactants. They claimed that intercultural tact/politeness may occur in either positive or negative frames of communication. The former occurs when interactants replace their respective cultures with another frame of reference:

> This ad-hoc frame of reference, which is roughly prescribed by the partner's immediate interests, activities, or goals, temporarily replaces their respective cultures as the nonnegotiable basis of communication. For the purposes of sustaining conversation, the partners tacitly agree to become members of a common, transcendent positive-reference group. (Janney and Arndt 1992[2005]: 38–39)

They suggest that this temporary set of assumptions functions to "make behaviour more predictable" and to "create a sense of affiliation" between interactants (Janney and Arndt 1992[2005]: 39). In this way, "many kinds of behaviour that might offend or disturb people in their own cultures may thus be ignored or forgiven" (p. 39). In the case of a negative frame of communication, however, it is assumed by interactants the others are "members of a negative-reference group" with whom "they share neither common cultural assumptions nor common interests" (p. 40). In viewing their interactants as cultural "others", they make their inappropriate behaviour more understandable, but also "create a sense of separation" (p. 40), which can lead to feelings of discomfort or offence.

While this distinction between a positive and negative frame of communication has since been largely borne out in subsequent research on intercultural (im)politeness, it has also emerged that a complex array of factors, ranging from micro (e.g., lexical transfer) through to macro (e.g., differences in socio-historical ideologies), underpin such interpretive frames. Much of the research effort has been concentrated on deepening our understanding of the reasons for intercultural *im*politeness, in which interactants from other cultural backgrounds are perceived as rude or impolite, or where efforts to be polite are unsuccessful. Such negative perceptions of the other interactant(s) are not limited to passing feelings of offence, but may result in a situation where the "mismatch in politeness orientations can have a self-reinforcing, spiralling effect that exaggerates differences in politeness style as [the] interaction continues" (Bailey 1997: 352), and consequently result in interactional and relational asymmetry (p. 344). In reviewing findings from such studies, it becomes apparent that there are three main ways in which cultural divergence may lead to perceptions of intercultural impoliteness: divergent speech practices, divergence in situation-specific expectations, and diverging sociocultural values.

Many, if not most, studies dealing with intercultural impoliteness have focused on the ways in which divergent speech practices (Bailey 1997; Bjørge 2007; Clyne 1994; Günthner 2000; Haugh 2005; Holmes, Marra and Schnurr 2008; House 2000; Lee-Wong 2002; Miller 1995, 2000[2008]; Murphy and Levy 2006; Nakane 2006, 2007; Ting-Toomey 2009; Tyler 1995) and situation-specific expectations (Bailey 1997; Clyne 1994; Miller 1995, 2000; Ting-Toomey 2009; Tyler 1995) can give rise to interactional discomfort or offence. In early work on communication in multicultural workplaces in Australia, for instance, Clyne (1994) shows how the deployment of small talk for the purpose of establishing relational closeness or solidarity can give rise to confusion:

Excerpt 1

(Giao, who is Vietnamese, shows some broken parts to the shop owner Lisel, an Austrian)

1 L: hallo Giao
2 G: [hallo Lisel]
3 L: [I haven't seen you] for ages
4 (2.0)
5 L: what's wrong?
6 (2.0)
7 G: ( ) so like this
8 L: ooh they're breaking?
9 G: yeah see (2.0) I beg your pardon what you want?
10 L: I haven't seen you for a long time (Clyne 1994: 148)

In this excerpt, while Lisel indicates an orientation towards establishing solidarity with Giao by showing interest in what she has been doing recently (line 3), Giao's subsequent silence (line 4) leads Lisel to assume there may be some problem (line 5). Giao then continues to talk about the broken parts (line 7), to which Lisel responds in turn (line 8), before orienting back to Lisel's initial question in line 9, where her confusion about what is being asked (and possibly why) is evident. Such confusion arises from situation-specific expectations, namely, that Giao does not apparently expect small talk in the workplace (at least with her boss), in contrast to Lisel.

Divergence in speech practices and expectations is typically assumed to arise from pragmatic transfer, where particular lexical items, syntactic structures or pragmatic routines from one languaculture are (not) used in another. In the following excerpt from Tyler's (1995) analysis of an audiovisual recording of an extended interaction between a Korean tutor and an American student, for instance, an attempt to signal modesty, and thus politeness, through a particular lexical item from Korean ultimately led to divergent interpretations of their respective participant roles/status, and "the judgment on the part of each of the interlocutors that the other was uncooperative" (Tyler 1995: 129):

Excerpt 2

(An American student (S) is getting help from a Korean tutor (T) in an introductory computer programming course)

1 S: we have to write a program that scores bowling right?
2 T: mhm
3 S: the game of bowling And he wants us to be able to put in
4 like how many pins
5 Well do you know how to score the game?
6 T: Yeah approximately

7 S: OK cause he has a little thing that tells you how
8 ((shows pages on handout)) see I don't know how to score
9 T: Oh you don't know how to score the bowling game?
10 S: unhuh I'm like just I've played Like I've scored a couple of
11 times but I'm not too good on it (Tyler 1995: 149)

That this attempt at intercultural politeness fails in this excerpt is apparently due to the transfer of a particular lexical item from Korean, namely *com* ('a little'), in line 6. The Korean tutor responds to the American student's question about his knowledge of scoring games (line 5), by claiming he has only approximate knowledge (line 6). This is interpreted as a hedge signalling he is not fully knowledgeable about the procedures for scoring by the American English speaker. The Korean tutor, on the other hand, claimed in an post-recording interview that "approximately" is interpretable as signalling "modesty", since "it would be considered rude to baldly state that one is an expert in an area" (Tyler 1995: 136). In other words, the divergent interpretations of their respective participant roles/status arises from "the Korean tutor's transfer of a Korean conversational routine, which he defined as involving polite speaker modesty, to the U.S. English context" (p. 129).

Perceptions of intercultural impoliteness have also been related to the transfer of particular syntactic structures and pragmatic routines. In the following excerpt, for instance, recounted by a "native speaker" of English (J) the Singaporean sales assistant (S) is considered to be "impolite and uncooperative" according to the informant (Lee-Wong 2002: 84):[4]

Excerpt 3

(Counter transaction between J and S at a shop in Singapore)
1 J: Have you got any more stamps, 100 thirty-cent stamps?
2 S: No more, come back after 5 o'clock.
((J returns later at 5.15pm and asks again for the stamps))
3 S1: Come tomorrow.
4 J: But you told me to come after 5, and I've come.
5 S: Still not here.
((S1 checks with another sales person at the back of the shop))
6 S: Come tomorrow. (Lee-Wong 2002: 84)

Lee-Wong suggests that J's perception that S is impolite arises from the use of bald imperatives, namely, "come back after 5 o'clock (line 2), and "come tomorrow" (lines 3 and 6), a classic face-threatening act according to Brown and Levinson (1987: 94–95). Apart from the use of bald imperatives, however, it is also notable that S makes no apology, despite J implying that S did not fulfil her promise that the stamps would be available after 5pm (line 4). Lee-Wong (2002) suggests that the lack of an apology "may be attributed to culture and language socialization" (p. 87),

arguing that the Chinese equivalent of *sorry*, which is *duibuqi* (lit. 'not being able to look somebody in the eye'), is reserved for substantive rather than ritualistic apologies (p. 86). In particular, she suggests that in service encounters where the customer is not known, politeness strategies, including apologies, may be considered "irrelevant" (p. 87).

Divergent speech practices leading to intercultural impoliteness may also involve a lack of knowledge of other interactants' speech practices. In the next excerpt, taken from Bailey's (1997) broader study of interactions between African-American customers and Korean shop cashiers/owners in Los Angeles, the cashier and owner respond minimally to the customer's joke:

Excerpt 4

(An African-American customer is discussing details of his life after making a purchase from a Korean cashier, with the Korean owner also being present)

1	Cust:	Yeah. so after that- because I had a (.) knee operation
2		(4.2) ((rolls up pant leg to show scars))
3	Cust:	I had a total knee so my company is retiring my- old black
4		ass at fifty-four
5		(0.6) ((smiles and gazes at owner))
6	Own:	(mmh) ((shakes his head laterally and gazes away at customer))
7	Cust:	And they give me some money
8	Cash:	Huh ((bares his teeth briefly in a smile))
9	Cust:	So I'm spending my money at your store on liquor
10		heh heh heh heh hah hah hah hah hah ((laughs animatedly,
11		turning towards the owner, who does not smile, but who
12		continues lateral headshakes as he takes a few steps to the side))
13	Own:	You still can work? (Bailey 1997: 347–348)

In this excerpt, Bailey (1997) argues that while the cashier and owner have previously attempted to show an interest in the customer by asking how he finds living in the area, their responses to the customer's extended telling of why he has come to the area (because he has been forcibly retired due to an injury) are only minimal (lines 6 and 8). In particular, the customer's joking claim that he is "sharing the proceeds of his disability payments with them" (p. 348), followed by a smile and laughter which "invites" the cashier and owner to share the joke by laughing in lines 9–10 falls somewhat flat. Not only do they not join in this laughter, the owner actively opposes this move to a humorous frame by asking a serious question (line 13). Bailey suggests that the owner's "question proves his comprehension of the customer's prior talk, but displays no affective alignment or solidarity with the customer's humour" (p. 348). In other words, the customer's attempt to build solidarity, and so politeness, is not reciprocated by the cashier or owner. However, while Bailey suggests that such incidents of intercultural impoliteness contribute

to ongoing "tension between immigrant Korean retailers and their African American customers" (p. 352), he also argues that such tensions are related to broader sociohistorical factors (i.e., the social, economic and racial inequality of African-Americans in the United States) (p. 353).

The link between divergent speech practices/expectations and broader sociohistorical factors is also explored in Nakane's (2006, 2007) study of silence and (im)politeness in university seminars. In the following excerpt, Nakane (2006) claims that the Japanese student's repeated silences in response to the Australian student's questions about backchannelling in Japanese would imply (for Japanese at least) that the former does not know the answer. The Australian student, however, persists in asking essentially the same question three times (lines 69–75, 77–79, 133–135) despite being met with silence on three separate occasions (lines 76, 80 and 136), thus apparently not interpreting such silences in the same way as the Japanese student:

Excerpt 5

(Miki, a Japanese student, has just given a presentation on backchanneling about which Molly, an Australian student, is asking a question)

```
 69  Molly:  L- like um (0.4) um? hu(h)h (0.2) li- do we
 70          (0.2) instead of um:: li- >I don't know< we
 71          have pauses instead of um: (0.6) I don't know
 72          we have pauses instead of (0.5) um (0.2)
 73          the: (0.2) those (  ) you know saying
 74          something with: nodding or whatever, (.) do
 75          we fill it in instead? (0.2) more?
 76          (3.6)
 77  Molly:  Er the are the:se backchannel:s (0.4) um (0.2)
 78          after: like specifically a:fter sentences but
 79          the person keeps (.) the speaker keeps talking?
 80          (1.2)
             ((Lecturer makes a comment on the concept of backchanneling))
133  Molly:  But that- it- like how- >I don't know,< (.)
134          i- is there: (0.4) do Westerners do you find
135          Westerners do that?
136          (4.2) ((after 2.5, Miki shakes her head))
137  Miki:   I really don't (know) (  ).
138          ((looks down on the paper
139          Molly nods 4 times- 1.2))
140          (6.0)
141  Lect:   It's really (quite a) dramatic difference,(.)
142          (those) (  ) (Nakane 2006: 1826)
```

Nakane (2006) suggests that the silence on the part of Miki in response to Molly's questions politely hints (in Miki's view) that she does not know the answer, and thereby attempts to avoid losing face.[5] The long, presumably uncomfortable, silences that follow her questions, particularly the 6 second silence (line 140) that follows Miki explicitly admitting she does not know (line 137), indicate that Molly has caused serious loss of face for Miki. Her persistence in pursuing a response from Miki is thus interpretable as impolite (from Miki's perspective at least). Nakane goes on to argue that the interpretation of silence as a polite/face-saving way of indicating one does not know the answer by Japanese students, which contrasts with the way it is interpreted by Australian students and lecturers as indicating a lack of interest in actively participating, reflects broader sociohistorical factors, namely their respective educational backgrounds.

> The politeness orientations of the Japanese and Australian participants appear to go hand in hand with the ideology of education and the educational practices they bring to class with them. In a Japanese educational context, silence does not seem to be a face-threatening and obstructive behaviour, as knowledge tends to be transmitted from the teacher and proof of learning does not require verbal performance. Silence thus becomes a conventionalized politeness strategy in Japanese classrooms. In contrast, the assessment of talk as face-enhancing rather than face threatening behaviour in the Australian educational context appears to mean that certain types of FTA cause less face-threat here than they do in other settings. (Nakane 2006: 1832)

In other words, divergence in the interpretation of silence (a speech practice) in these intercultural university seminars is ultimately related to the different practices employed by teachers in questioning students in their respective education systems.

While diverging speech practices and expectations have been found to give rise to intercultural impoliteness or offence, recent work has also found that divergences in underlying sociocultural values may also give rise to perceptions of impoliteness in intercultural settings (Haugh 2008a; Nakane 2006, 2007; Spencer-Oatey 2000, 2002, 2005, 2007, 2009, this volume; Spencer-Oatey and Xing 2000, 2003). In a study of the furore over comments made in a sermon given by Sheikh Taj al-Din al-Hilali in a mosque in Sydney, specifically the understanding of the majority of Australians (at least as represented in the mainstream media) that the comments in questions implied women who dress inappropriately deserve rape, Haugh (2008a: 221–222) suggests that the interpretation of Hilali's comments and the subsequent widespread offence, was due, in part, to differences in underlying sociocultural values.[6] A spokesperson for Hilali, Keysar Trad, claimed in a radio interview following the initial furore, for example, that Hilali's comments could not have implied that women who dress "inappropriately" deserve rape, since he could safely assume that his audience would know rape is a serious crime in Islam: "It's a specific message to a specific audience that already understands that our religion condemns sexual violence in the strongest possible terms" ('Sheikh Hilaly

issues statement through spokesman', *The World Today*, ABC Radio, 27 October 2006).

Underlying this claim, however, are yet further sociocultural values, namely, the view that dressing modestly (e.g., wearing the hijab) is forced upon Muslim women (in Australia) versus the view that dressing modestly is part of the rights of (Muslim) women to dress in the manner of their choosing. In the wake of the (reported) widespread offence at Hilali's remarks, a number of programmes were broadcast where such sociocultural values were debated. In the following heated exchange between a senator from the Upper House of Parliament, Bronwyn Bishop, and Keysar Trad's daughter, Sanna Trad, that occurred as part of a broader discussion about perceptions of Muslims in Australia, such values rise to the fore:

Excerpt 6

('Good Muslim/bad Aussie?', *Sunday*, Channel 9, 12 November 2006)

```
 1  ST:  So for- so I don't- I'm sick of everybody thinking
 2       that Muslim women (.) are prisoners,
 3       we're liberated. I GET TO CHOOSE
 4       who looks at ↑me ((gestures at herself))
 5       [a lot of people don't
 6  BB:  [If you if YOU beli:eve tha:t, in a sla:ve
 7       society a slave can believe they're [↑free
 8  ST:                                     [So you're calling
 9       me a slave now?
10  BB:  (                    )
11       ((voices in background arguing))
12  ST:  I LIVE IN A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY.
13       I LIVE IN A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY.
14       I was BORN here, I was rai:sed here. I
15       went to an Austra:lian school=
16  BB:  =But you [choose to limit your freedom
17  ST:           [<I LIVE IN A DEMOcratic> socie↑ty.
18       My BEST friends are from Anglo-Christian-European
19       backgrounds. (Haugh 2008a: 223)
```

While Sanna Trad invokes her right to choose to dress as she wishes (lines 3–4), Bishop responds by implying that Trad is blind to the restrictions on her freedom imposed by Muslim values (lines 6–7), to which Trad responds angrily (lines 8–9). Trad then goes on to align herself with mainstream Australian society, implying that she is as free as everyone else in Australia (lines 12–15), to which Bishop responds in line 16 by arguing Trad is restricted by Muslim values in relation to dress (albeit at her own choice). While Trad attempts to establish "common ground" in that whether one chooses to dress modestly or not is up to the woman in question,

and so reflects a similar orientation to the importance placed on individual choice in Australian society, Bishop's repeated denials block this attempt to find common ground. The way in which this particular discussion of the sociocultural values underpinning evaluations of the (im)politeness or offence (or not) of Hilali's comments reaches a stalemate points to the fact that incidents perceived as impolite or offensive may not always be easily resolved. Drawing from Rancière's (1995) work on disagreement, then, we might say that intercultural impoliteness does not necessarily always involve "simple misunderstandings" relating to differences in speech practices/expectations. Instead, we find such perceptions of impoliteness arise at a deeper level:

> It frequently happens that one person does not understand what the other is saying, not because the words are not clear or the phrasing ambiguous, but simply because the one interlocutor doesn't *see* what the other is talking about, or because she or he interprets that which the other is talking about as something entirely different. (Mey 2001: 217, citing Rancière 1995: 12–13)

In other words, the ongoing dispute over what was implied by Hilali's comments may be symptomatic of a deeper level of misunderstanding where those who were offended by Hilali's comments were not able, or refused, to see how such comments could be inoffensively interpreted as implying a message of modesty and abstinence, and vice-versa (Haugh 2008a: 220). The study of intercultural (im)politeness, then, can involve issues of very real import for wider society, particular in intercultural contexts where there are serious ongoing tensions (Bailey 1997; Reboul 2006), and therefore cannot be divorced from the wider sociohistorical setting in which it arises.

While most research effort has been directed towards the analysis of intercultural impoliteness, giving rise perhaps to the unwarranted impression that intercultural interactions overwhelmingly involve miscommunication (Ryoo 2005: 79–80), there has also been a smaller amount of research that has found interactants may attempt to accommodate themselves towards the diverging speech practices and expectations of the cultural other, thereby giving rise to smoother, more relationally successful communication (Bubel 2006; House 2008; Miller 1995, 2000; Ryoo 2005, cf. Bailey 1997). Intercultural politeness, for example, may arise when interactants display implicit agreement by joking, or alternatively complaining together, thereby creating a sense of solidarity (Miller 1995: 141). In the following excerpt taken from recordings of interactions between Japanese and American employees in an advertising firm in Tokyo, for instance, Smith (an American employee) jokes with Mori and Asai (Japanese employees) that the personal call he has received is unimportant:

Excerpt 7

1 M: Smith?
2 (0.2)

3 M: Eddie's on
4 S: Oh (.) okay=
5 A: =Eddie
6 S: *nanda otoko ga ii yo matteru yo* once [that means]
'so what? It's okay if that guy waits'
7 M: [hhehehheh]
8 S: [heehheh]
9 hehhe (*otoko*) *ga* [*kankei nai de* heh]
'he doesn't have anything to do with it'
10 M: [hehhhe] *kawaisoo*
'poor guy' (Miller 1995: 155)

After it is established that it is Eddie who is calling, Smith claims his friend Eddie does not deserve his immediate attention, thereby making fun of him (line 6). That this is to be interpreted within a joking frame quickly becomes apparent as both Mori and Smith go on to laugh (lines 7–8). Mori also responds with "counterfeit empathy" in suggesting he is to be pitied (line 10), evident in the laughter that accompanies her assessment of Smith's initial claim (Miller 1995: 155). Miller argues that it is by "finding something they can agree on as humorous, [that] they exhibit a sense of co-membership and alignment" (p. 154), thereby giving rise to politeness.

Recent work on politeness in English lingua franca (ELF) interactions, that is, where all the participants are second language users of English, also challenges the view that intercultural interactions inevitably involve perceptions of impoliteness or offence (House 2008). In a tutorial discussion conducted in English amongst university students from the Netherlands, Germany and Hungary, for example, House observed that the students did not "appropriately preface disaffiliative action", as seen in the following excerpt, which would standardly be interpreted as impolite in such a context (p. 354):

Excerpt 8

(D, G, H are Dutch, German and Hungarian native speakers respectively role playing a discussion between member states of the European Union)
1 D1: okay you were also discussing Austria because if we are uh
measuring Germany with
2 H3: what about Italy
3 D1: so some criteria ( ) for Austria
(2.0)
4 G: but uh
5 D4: no I think it's good one that the I think it's a good reason that she said
6 D1: no but
7 D4: that the no because Austria I uh I think there is not a real

8 D1: no no
9 D4: argument their argument it's just their their policy I t hink it's a good one
10 D5: but I don't think it's for Germany (House 2008: 354)

However, she claims that such L1 linguaculture-specific norms are irrelevant in the context of ELF communication, and that the observed lack of polite prefacing to disagreement is quite "appropriate to this communicative situation" (p. 355). While House (2008: 355) goes on to suggest that such a finding indicates that ELF interactants "simply act as individuals" rather than seeking to adjust to real or imagined norms of interaction, it is arguably more plausible to suggest that rather than proceeding without reference to norms altogether, such ELF interactions involve situation-specific or locally occasioned norms of interaction.

Such a position would be consistent with Miller's (1995) earlier emphasis on the analyst paying close attention to the understandings and perceptions of the participants themselves. In examining the ways in which (im)politeness (and more broadly rapport) arises in interactions between Japanese and American workers in an advertising firm in Tokyo, she cautions against the assumption that all differences can be attributed to cultural influences:

> Rather than assume that specified cultural values and traits will have a pre-existing, a priori influence on what will happen in the workplace, we need to begin with the local, on-the-scene situation and look for meanings and inferences to which participants themselves seem to be orienting. (Miller 1995: 157–158)

In emphasising the ways in which evaluations of (im)politeness may be locally or situationally occasioned, then, the question of how the analyst can establish not only that (im)politeness has arisen, but that such evaluations are a result, in part at least, of differences in cultural background arises. In the following section, the ways in which researchers have attempted to warrant or justify their analyses of intercultural (im)politeness are discussed. It is suggested that such questions reflect the underlying micro-macro issue that troubles (intercultural) pragmatics research more generally.

3. The micro-macro issue: Warranting analyses of intercultural (im)politeness

Research on intercultural politeness has focused almost exclusively on analysing interactional data, primarily in the form of recordings of spontaneous face-to-face interactions, but sometimes also gathered through ethnographic methodologies, such as (non)participant observation, reflective journals, and interviewing informants. This concentration on interactional data is perhaps a natural reflection of a

field whose primary focus is on encounters between people with different sociocultural backgrounds. However, in focusing on interactional data, intercultural politeness researchers face challenges raised in broader debates about the micro-macro link and its implications for pragmatics (Levinson 2005; Schegloff 1987a, 2005).

One challenge arises in relation to attempts to link micro features of interaction, such as an evaluation of a particular behaviour as (im)polite on a specific occasion, to the macro level, the assumption that such evaluations would be shared in some way across members of the same culture (the problem of generalizability in moving from micro to macro). In a telling critique of work on face(work) and politeness, Schegloff (1988), for instance, argues that Goffman's "focus on ritual and face provides for the analytic pursuit of talk or action in the direction of an emphasis on *individuals* and their *psychology*" (p. 95). In other words, analyses of politeness are overly centred in the cognition of individuals. He then goes on to question whether invoking face or politeness in this psychologised manner can adequately account for interactional order (p. 98).

Another challenge arises in regards to attempts to link the politeness orientations (or at least expectations) that are assumed to be shared by members of a particular culture to the ways in which individuals in interaction evaluate behaviour on particular occasions (the problem of the, albeit unwitting, imposition of the analyst's own perspective in moving from macro to micro). In a recent critique of the field of politeness research, for instance, Eelen (2001), in line with the broader postmodern/post-structuralist movement, has problematised the notion of culture, and in particular, the way in which researchers have often presumed rather than demonstrated that cultural norms somehow underlie politeness phenomena. The issue of cultural heterogeneity (Bargiela-Chiappini and Harris 2006: 13), and the inevitable variability in evaluations of (im)politeness by members of supposedly the same culture also raises serious questions for analyses of intercultural (im)politeness.

An examination of the different ways in which intercultural politeness researchers have dealt both explicitly and implicitly with such issues proves instructive in considering these broader questions. One common method in objectivist social psychology that has been adopted in a number of studies of intercultural politeness is what can be broadly labelled "observer coding of interaction:"

> A coding system is established in advance on the basis of theory or research, and the observer decides which code applies to each utterance or behaviour without regard to evidence of the interactants' understanding of their acts. (Arundale 2009: 40)

In this way it is the theorists, for instance, Brown and Levinson (1987), who determine whether a particular behaviour is polite, impolite and so on. However, while developing a theory of (im)politeness is evidently necessary if we are to legitimately identify and generalize patterns of linguistic behaviour across sociocultu-

ral groups (Holmes and Schnurr 2005: 122–123; Holmes, Marra and Schnurr 2008: 195), if such a theory leads the analyst to impose an interpretation that is inconsistent with the understandings of ordinary speakers then we are in very real danger of losing our grasp on what it is we originally set out to analyse, as succinctly argued by Eelen (2001):

> A situation in which the scientific account contradicts informants' claims and dismisses them as being 'wrong' does not represent a healthy situation. Such a practice immediately leads to a rupture between scientific and commonsense notions, causing the theory to lose its grasp on the object of analysis. In an investigation of everyday social reality informants can never be 'wrong', for the simple reason that it is their behaviour and notions we set out to examine in the first place. (p. 253)

Analyses which are grounded in theory-based observer-coding, then, can fall into the ontological trap of "fishing expeditions" (Schegloff 1987a), where the analyst spots (im)politeness phenomena with little heed paid to whether such labels reflect how the participants themselves understand the interaction at hand.

While some of the studies of intercultural politeness have arguably engaged (uncritically) in such observer-coding of interaction, others have paid more attention to the perspective of the participants themselves. One approach in this move towards including, at least in some way, the perspective of the participants themselves has been to ground the analysis in the ways in which participants themselves orient to particular actions or utterances in interaction as polite, impolite, and so on (Arundale 2006, forthcoming; Haugh 2007; Hutchby 2008; MacMartin, Wood and Kroger 2001). Márquez-Reiter (2009), for instance, examines how (im)politeness and facework arises in intercultural service calls made between Uruguayan and Argentinian speakers of Spanish. In the following excerpt, the Uruguayan caller has started the conversation with his Argentinian client by (formulaicly) inquiring after his well-being:

Excerpt 9

(A call centre agent, T, has just started talking to the client, C, after first talking with the client's wife)

31 T: *Cómo está uste:d*
'How are you^{U}'
32 C: *Y a hasta ahora bien*↓=
'And until now well'
33 T: =*me ale:gro*↓ *((riendo))*
'I'm glad ((laughing))' (Márquez-Reiter 2009: 68)

At this point in the excerpt, when it has been established that the call centre agent is indeed talking to the right person, the agent repeats 'how are you' (line 31) to which the client responds in turn (line 32). However, Márquez-Reiter (2009) argues that the client's response is dispreferred:

> Rather than respond to the 'how are you' with an expected second pair part, that is, a routine politeness formula, the client responds ironically with *Y hasta ahora bien* ('and until now well') at line 32. The client's response is a metapragmatic act … In the case of this call, the client, who is the dominant party in as much as it is up to him to renew his membership or not, markedly conveys that he is aware of the possible reason for the call and that he does not welcome it. (p. 69)

While the client's dispreferred response is responded to in turn with a routine formula (line 33), the agent's subsequent laughter indicates that the client's response in line 32 was "unforeseeable" according to what would be routinely expected in such situations (Márquez-Reiter 2009: 69). In other words, the client's response is interpretable as impolite, as he exploits the routine nature of such greetings to establish his dominance in the interaction.

However, as Spencer-Oatey (2007: 654, 2009: 152) points out, a focus on the orientings of participants in interaction is not always sufficient in itself to establish that (im)politeness has arisen. As a number of scholars have argued, (im)politeness involves the cognitive processing of individuals as they make evaluations of (linguistic) behaviour as polite, impolite, over-polite and so on (Arundale forthcoming; Haugh and Hinze 2003; Spencer-Oatey 2005: 97; Xie 2008). Such evaluations may surface in interaction in the form of metapragmatic comments (Haugh 2007; Hutchby 2008), or through paralinguistic or non-verbal cues (Culpeper 2005; Haugh and Watanabe 2009). But such cues are not always apparent or transparent in interaction. Thus, while the analysis in example (9) above establishes that the agent is orienting to the disruption in the flow of the interaction occasioned by the client's ironic response, it does not in itself fully warrant the conclusion that impoliteness has arisen here, since the evaluative status of the laughter is arguably non-transparent or equivocal. However, this leaves the analyst in the position of only being able to label to the incident as *interpretable* as impolite. Although such a move is affirmed in the discursive approach to (im)politeness (Locher 2006: 263; Locher and Watts 2005: 17; Watts 2003: 143), it leaves the analyst in an ambivalent position. As Haugh (2007: 303) argues in a critique of the discursive approach, "if the analyst is not able to identify with some degree of certainty evaluations of (im)politeness that arise through a close interaction, what indeed has been accomplished?" Research on intercultural politeness has attempted to overcome the inherent difficulties in accessing participant's evaluations of (im)politeness in two key, not necessarily mutually exclusive, ways.

The first approach has involved triangulation between analyses of recordings of interactional data and interviews with participants after their interactions have been recorded (post-event interviews) (Günthner 2000; House 2000, 2008; Márquez-Reiter 2009; Nakane 2006, 2007; Spencer-Oatey 2005, 2007, 2009; Spencer-Oatey and Xing 2000, 2003; Tyler 1995). Such interviews may also involve the participants viewing the recordings themselves and being prompted to make comments. The advantage of such comments is that they may point to areas of interest

in the interactional data not initially noticed by the analyst, they may provide confirmatory evidence for inferences made by the analyst from the interactional data, and the withholding of certain actions or reactions can also be investigated (Pomerantz 2005: 102). However, it is important to note that such reflective data does not necessarily represent the evaluations made by the participants at the time of interaction (Pomerantz 2005: 110; Spencer-Oatey 2007: 644, 2009: 152). Indeed, in reconstructing their evaluations with the interviewer, the participants may engage in yet further relational work to avoid undesirable imputations of impoliteness on their part or to maintain their own face and the like, as Spencer-Oatey (2007: 654) acknowledges. Moreover, if one takes seriously the view that consulting participants through post-event interviews creates "another text, another conversation, only this time the interaction is with the analyst" (Mills 2003: 45), then such interview data should be analysed in the same manner as the original recordings of interactions, that is, the *interviewer* should be treated on par with the interviewees as another participant in the interaction, and not simply as a neutral elicitor of comments (Antaki, Billig, Edwards and Potter 2003; Haugh 2008b; Potter and Hepburn 2005).

What this means for the analyst is that the triangulation of interactional analyses that focus on participant orientings to (im)politeness concerns with post-event interview data where participants may display their evaluations of (im)politeness *post facto* is a much more complex undertaking than might appear at first glance. The way in which post-event interviews may involve multiple layers for interpretation can be illustrated with reference to Spencer-Oatey's (2009: 145–147) recent (re)analysis of a welcoming meeting hosted by a British company for a Chinese delegation, and the comments made by members of the Chinese delegation in video-stimulated interviews after the meeting. Spencer-Oatey (2009: 145–146) first notes that the Chairman of the British company made a number of comments about the company in his welcoming speech, which could be interpreted as boasting. She then reported comments by members of the Chinese delegation in the post-event interviews in regards to the British Chairman's speech, concluding that "clearly, the Chairman's presentation of the strengths of his company was regarded as completely acceptable" (p. 146). However, no reference is made to how this topic was first broached in the interviews. For instance, was the interpretation of the Chairman's comments as boasting first made by the interviewer or the Chinese delegation? If the boasting interpretation was first broached by the interviewer, then the interviewer and interviewees are actually jointly constructing an understanding between them that boasting was involved. Moreover, the way in which members of the Chinese delegation position themselves vis-à-vis the researcher through their comments about the Chairman's boasting is not fully explored. In particular, the claim that "We allow him to boast a bit on this sort of occasion" (p. 146), is arguably not simply a straightforward endorsement of the Chairman's speech as "acceptable", but rather involves an additional layer of interpretation in

relation to the politeness claims (and face) of the speaker, and possibly the Chinese delegation as a whole. It may be that allowing the British Chairman to "boast a bit" is seen as the *polite* thing to do by these participants. Certainly there is an indication that there are limits to the amount of boasting allowable (i.e., considered polite). While such points do not in any way negate the original analysis of the interview transcripts by Spencer-Oatey, it does point to the analytical richness of post-event interview data which has perhaps not been fully explored to date.

The second key way in which researchers have attempted to warrant analyses of intercultural (im)politeness is through triangulation between interactional analyses of recorded data and ethnographic work in the site where the data has been collected. Such ethnographic research can encompass interviews with members of the community in question supplemented with (non)participant observations (Bailey 1997; Haugh 2005; Haugh and Watanabe 2009; Lee-Wong 2002; Márquez-Reiter 2009; Miller 1995, 2000; Nakane 2006, 2007; Ryoo 2005), as well as journals (Spencer-Oatey 2002), and document analysis (Márquez-Reiter 2009). The advantage of such work is that it gives the researcher insight into the ways in which members of the sociocultural group construct norms of appropriate behaviour and therefore may have greater generalizability than insights garnered from post-event interviews. However, such research, particularly ethnographic interviews and participant observation, still faces the same issues of analytical complexity as discussed above in relation to post-event interviews. Moreover, the dangers of making "subjective judgements" or creating new analytical categories in an unprincipled manner in order to explain the data, are ever present in ethnographic research as Bargiela-Chiappini and Harris (2006: 21) point out.

There still remain, however, other avenues to be more fully explored in warranting analyses of intercultural politeness. In particular, while it is often assumed that cultural norms underlie evaluations of diverging speech practices as (im)polite, researchers often take an ambivalent position as to the degree of generalizability of their findings. There thus remains considerable work in the field to establish empirically that the incidents put forward as instances of intercultural (im)politeness indeed involve *cultural* norms rather than being a result of situation-specific or locally-occasioned practices. The crux of the matter lies in establishing the generalizability of the findings of studies of intercultural (im)politeness thus far.

One approach that has been relatively under-utilised thus far involves surveys whereby larger numbers of responses can be obtained. By surveying evaluations across a sample of members from a sociocultural groups of the degree of (im)politeness of certain practices (Murphy and Levy 2006), or a particular discursive event (Chang 2008), not only the inevitable variability in evaluations of (im)politeness, but also empirically demonstrable tendencies can be uncovered. In a small pilot study, for instance, Chang (2008), asked 20 Australians and 20 Taiwanese to evaluate the degree of politeness or impoliteness of a recording of a naturally-occurring intercultural apology made on the phone (between an Australian and a

Taiwanese). While both groups exhibited variability in their responses, there was a statistically significant difference in that only 35 % of the Australian respondents considered the apology impolite, while 75 % of Taiwanese respondents evaluated the apology as impolite ($X^2 = 6.465$, $p = 0.011$, $df = 1$) (Chang 2008: 65). While the numbers involved in this survey indicate that the results should be treated with due caution, it does nevertheless point towards a way in which researchers can claim with greater confidence that their analyses of (im)politeness are indeed inter*cultural* rather than simply situation-specific or locally occasioned.

Another approach is to draw upon metapragmatic discussions of (im)politeness, for instance, in the increasing amount of online commentary relevant to issues of intercultural (im)politeness available on the Web (Haugh 2010), or from reports in the media where offence has been caused between different sociocultural groups, as discussed in the previous section (Haugh 2008a). Such approaches indicate that a solely micro or macro analysis leads to an impoverished account of incidents of intercultural (im)politeness, and thus coming to terms with the micro-macro issue remains central to the development of both intercultural (im)politeness research and the broader research program of (intercultural) pragmatics.

4. Concluding remarks

One of the key challenges in intercultural (and cross-cultural) pragmatics research is to move beyond our intuitive observations to empirically demonstrable analysis. It has been proposed in this chapter that underlying methodological debates about the kinds of data we should be collecting or how it should be analysed, and theoretical debates about the epistemological and ontological status of (im)politeness and culture, is a more fundamental issue, namely reconciling micro and macro perspectives on language, interaction and culture. It has been suggested that research on intercultural politeness has the potential to lend considerable insight into such debates, as analyses of intercultural politeness cut across the micro-macro link in two important ways. First, in warranting their analyses of particular interactions as involving (im)politeness, researchers have attempted to tease out the evaluations made by individuals (which are cognitive), relative to normative expectations they assume to be shared by other members of their sociocultural group (which are social). It has been suggested that this can be achieved by paying careful attention to the ways in which participants themselves orient to particular actions or utterances in interaction as polite, impolite, and so on, supplemented with post-event interviews and/or ethnographic research into the site of data collection. It has also been noted that the issue of warranting claims in relation to culture has been relatively neglected thus far. The potential for exploring normative aspects of evaluations of (im)politeness, and thus culture, through (online) commentary on media-reported events involving incidents of (im)politeness or offense, or through surveys has thus

also been considered. Finally, it has been suggested that analyses of (im)politeness in intercultural settings have shown the potential for such research to inform research on (im)politeness more generally. From analyses of divergent speech practices and expectations we may gain insight into the inherent variability in evaluations of (im)politeness, for instance, and through gaining a better understanding of diverging sociocultural values, we may shed more light on the inherent argumentivity of (im)politeness. Perhaps it is time that politeness researchers focused more on intercultural interactions, with the now vast literature on cross-cultural politeness being used to inform such research.

Notes

[1] It is worth noting that there is a third area of interest to politeness researchers where the focus is on (perceptions of) politeness strategies employed by second language users, and comparing these with the "norms" of their first language as well the target language (*interlanguage politeness*). While such research could be considered one type of intercultural politeness, the common assumption that the ultimate aim of L2 speakers is to approximate L1 politeness norms in such research, together with its explicit *pedagogical* focus, marks it out as a separate area of inquiry, and so it will not be considered in further detail in this chapter (but see Yates; DuFon; Martinez-Flor and Usó-Juan, this volume for a consideration of politeness issues in interlanguage pragmatics).

[2] Gudykunst (2002b: 179) points out that intercultural researchers have tended to focus on interactions "between people from different *national* cultures," thereby pointing out the relative neglect of a broader area of possible interest for politeness researchers, namely, "communication between members of different social groups" (*intergroup politeness*). As the explicit focus in this volume is on pragmatics across languages and cultures, however, such research is not considered in further detail here (but see contributions in Volume 6 of this series, *Interpersonal Pragmatics* for a more considered discussion of such issues).

[3] Although there are only a small number of studies that specifically focus on (im)politeness in intercultural settings (for instance, Bailey 1997; Clyne 1994; Haugh 2005; House 2008; Knapp-Potthoff 1992[2005]; Lee-Wong 2002; Murphy and Levy 2006; Nakane 2006, 2007; Ulijn and Li 1995), there are also a number of studies that touch upon (im)politeness issues within the context of broader studies of rapport (Bjørge 2007; Bubel 2006; Günthner 2000; House 2000; Miller 1995, 2000; Planken 2005; Spencer-Oatey 2002, 2005, 2007, 2009; Spencer-Oatey and Xing 2000, 2003), facework (Haugh and Watanabe 2009; Márquez-Reiter 2009; Ryoo 2005; Shigemasu and Ikeda 2006; Ting-Toomey 2009), and role/status (Tyler 1995). These latter studies are thus referred to in this review where considered appropriate, although this is with the proviso that not all studies cited here were necessarily originally framed as studies of intercultural politeness.

[4] Lee-Wong (2002: 83) defines a native speaker as an English speaker who comes from an inner circle country (e.g., U.S., U.K., Canada, Australia, New Zealand etc.).

[5] Cf. Günthner's (2000) study of an argumentive sequence between German and Mainland Chinese students where silence was used by the latter to try to politely hint that the current topic should be abandoned.

[6] The offending passage from the sermon was originally published in translation in *The Australian* as follows: "If you take out uncovered meat and place it outside on the street, or in the garden or in the park, or in the backyard without a cover, and the cats come and eat it … whose fault is it, the cats or the uncovered meat? The uncovered meat is the problem. If she was in her room, in her home, in her hijab, no problem would have occurred." ('Muslim leader blames women for sex attacks', Richard Kerbaj, *The Australian*, 26 October 2006).

Transcription symbols

[ ]	overlapping speech
=	latching
–	indicates a cut off of the prior word or sound
underlining	speaker emphasis
::	elongation
CAPITALS	markedly louder speech
↓	marked falling intonation
↑	marked rising intonation
(.)	micropause
( )	unclear or unintelligible speech
(( ))	extra description of paralinguistic/non-verbal features

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5. Pragmatics East and West: Similar or different?

Rong Chen

The late 1980s saw concerted efforts by students of pragmatics to investigate language use in non-Western languages, and these efforts have only been intensified since then. Out of this line of research has emerged what can be called an East-West debate: a debate about whether East and West are essentially similar or different in their respective pragmatics. This paper provides a summary of this debate, outlining the major arguments of scholars on each side, discussing the significance of this on-going exchange of ideas, pointing out, as far as I can, the directions in which this debate is headed.

In what follows, I abbreviate the view that East and West are fundamentally similar in their respective pragmatics as *the Similar Position* and the view that they are essentially different as *the Different Position.* The trend of this debate is clear – the Different Position has been held by the majority of scholars studying Eastern languages and has no doubt had the upper hand in the debate, while the Similar Position has been made explicit only recently by just a few researchers. However, this theoretical orientation has provided us viable alternative perspectives from which to view findings of empirical research and to rethink the philosophical framework under which we conduct future research.

In section 1, I provide a sketch of pragmatic studies on Eastern languages and discuss the impact of this line of research on pragmatic research in general. Section 2 discusses the Different Position and the Similar Position concerning Japanese pragmatics while section 3, on these two opposing positions – and in that order – is the East-West debate in the area of Chinese pragmatics.

In section 4, I discuss the theoretical backdrop of the East-West debate, focusing on the theoretical underpinnings and philosophical foundations of both sides. Comments will also be made about the significance of the debate for pragmatic research in general. The last Section, section 5, offers a few speculations about the directions in which the East-West debate are headed.

1. Pragmatics East and West: An overview

Surveying the field of cross-cultural pragmatics, one cannot help but be energized by the volume of work that has been amassed in the past two decades. As my citations will presently show, cross-cultural pragmatics has been the subject of study for a great number of doctoral dissertations and monographs by major presses. Papers in this research tradition have dominated the three international journals in

the general area of pragmatics: *Pragmatics, Pragmatics and Cognition,* and *Journal of Pragmatics*, the last of which increased its publication frequency from quarterly (1977) to bimonthly (1979) and then to monthly (1999). Year 2004 saw the inception of a fourth journal: *Intercultural Pragmatics*, whose name clearly indicates its focus. *The Journal of Historical Pragmatics,* created in 2000, and *The Journal of Politeness Research,* instituted in 2005, have both carried a fair amount of publication in cross-cultural pragmatics research. In addition, cross-cultural pragmatics research has made regular appearances in other, nonpragmatics-designated journals such as *language, Multilingua, Asian Pacific Communication, Language in Society, Journal of Politeness Research,* and *Australian Journal of Linguistics.*

Among Eastern languages that have received attention, Japanese and Chinese are the most privileged. Cross-cultural pragmatic research on Japanese began in the 1980s (Kitagawa 1980; S. Ide 1982; Hiro 1986; Hill *et al* 1986), saw important works coming out by Matsumoto (1988, 1989) and S. Ide (1989), and continued with a high level of activity until this day (Haugh 2005, 2007; Ohashi 2003, 2008). The Chinese language began to draw the interest of pragmaticians in the 1990s (Gu 1990; Chen 1993, 1996; Mao 1992, 1994) and, like its Japanese neighbor, has sustained that attraction (Leech 2007; Spencer-Oatey and Ng 2001; Rue and Zhang 2008). Other East and South Asian languages have likewise been investigated: Korean by Yoon (2004) and Miyahara *et al* (1998), Nepali by Upadhyay (2003), and Thai by Gajaseni (1995), to name just a few.

Recent years have also witnessed serious work on Middle Eastern languages. Eslami (2005), for instance, compares the speech act of inviting between American English and Persian, demonstrating that Persian speakers use more ostensible invitations than their American counterparts for the purpose of ritual politeness. Also investigating the pragmatics of Persian is Sharifian (2008), comparing Persian and Anglo-Australian in their compliment responding behavior. Different versions of Arabic have been the subject of study in a number of publications: Jordanian Arabic by Migdadi (2003) and Farghal and Al-Khatib (2001), Syrian Arabic by Nelson, Al-Batal, and Echols (1996), Egyptian Arabic by Nelson, El Bakary, and Al Batal (1993) and Nelson *et al* (2002) and Kuwaiti Arabic by Farghal and Haggan (2006). Lastly, Ruhi (2006) offers us insights on Turkish compliment responding strategies and Ruhi and Islk-Güler's (2007), into Turkish politeness lexemes and idioms.

This massive amount of research in cross-cultural pragmatics has produced a vast reservoir of knowledge about the pragmatics of Eastern languages. We now know far more than ever before about how a great many Eastern languages do various speech acts such as complaining, refusing, thanking, apologizing, requesting, and responding to compliments (see Chen, this volume). We are better informed about some key cultural concepts that underlie the doing of speech acts in those languages. For instance, the notion of one's place in the complicated web of social

relationship appears to be an important yardstick in East Asian languages – Japanese, Chinese, and Korean – and the constructs of modesty and care for others have been found to determine the way a number of speech acts are performed in these languages, particularly Chinese. Thanks to colleagues working on Middle-Eastern languages, we are beginning to have a grasp of the pragmatics in those cultures that had been hitherto neglected.

The discovery of the nuances in the mechanisms of language use and their underlying social norms and values is not the only significant contribution students of Eastern pragmatics have made to the field. The findings of these studies have also informed theory building in pragmatics – still a young but thriving field of investigation. Since research on the pragmatics of Eastern languages is a relatively new research area, Eastern languages have been a fertile testing ground for pragmatic theories. As the following discussions will demonstrate, the classical theories such as the speech act theory (Austin 1962; Searle 1965, 1969), the theory of conversational implicature (Grice 1975), and the respective politeness theories by Brown and Levinson (1987) and by Leech (1983), all have been scrutinized for their soundness and utility against empirical data collected from Eastern languages. New theories have been proposed either to amend an existing theory or to replace it altogether.

Cross-cultural studies of any kind, by definition, imply comparison and contract; and cross-cultural research in pragmatics is no exception. Typically, a researcher of an Eastern language will gather data on a particular pragmatic phenomenon in that language and applies a particular theory to the data set. She will then compare her findings with those about a Western language, mostly English, which can come from the researcher's own study should her work be comparative in nature or from previous research. Quite often, a claim is made based on the comparison regarding whether the studied Eastern language is similar to or different from a Western language, again English for the most part.

Obviously, the results of such comparisons are scalar in nature: researchers have situated themselves at different points on the similarity vs. difference continuum. However, if this continuum were cut off in the middle, one would find by far the majority of researchers at the difference end, holding the Different Position, hence creating what Leech (2007) calls an "East-West divide." The Similarity Position, in contract, was a muted voice from the beginning and has become a bit louder only recently. This trend is the topic for the next section when I illustrate the East-West debate with studies on Japanese and Chinese pragmatics. The choice of these two languages for my article is solely due to the fact that they are the best studied Eastern languages. As such, they seem to have been thrust into the position of representing East and have hence been time and again invoked to defend either of the two positions. I begin with Japanese.

2. Politeness Japanese and West: Similar or different?

The debate about whether Japanese pragmatics is similar to or different from the pragmatics of a Western language such as English is a good representative of the East-West debate in general. The central issue has been whether Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory is the right framework for Japanese politeness. It started out with researchers applying this theory to Japanese and finding it inadequate. They hence advance the position that Japanese is much different from Euro-American pragmatics, on which Brown and Levinson's theory is believed to be based, and propose their own theories to account for the Japanese data. This Different Position has been recently challenged, however, by a few scholars who instead argue that the apparent differences between Japanese pragmatics and Western pragmatics can be satisfactorily accounted for by existing theories or some slight revisions of these theories.

2.1. The Different Position in Japanese politeness

As indicated, the position that Japanese pragmatics is essentially different from the pragmatics in Euro-American languages have been held by many. However, the most influential scholars are Matsumoto (1988, 1989) and S. Ide (1989), who independently proposed the concept of discernment to account for Japanese pragmatics (but see Hill et al's 1986 paper, which proposes the notion of discernment a few years earlier). The spirit of their work was later carried on by Haugh (2005, 2007, among others) and Ohashi (2008). I start with Matsumoto (1989). Since Matsumoto (1988, 1989) and S. Ide (1989) share much in common, I use Matsumoto (1989) to illustrate their arguments.

Matsumoto's view that Japanese pragmatics is essentially different from Western pragmatics is based on two major arguments: the use of honorifics and the formulaic expression *yoroshiku onegaishimasu*. Matsumoto shows how the simple statement *Today is Saturday* can be said in different ways, as seen in (1) through (3):

(1) *Kyoo wa doyoobi da*
today TOPIC Saturday COPULA (plain)

(2) *Kyoo wa doyoobi deso*
today TOP Saturday COPULA (ADDRESSEE HONORIFIC)

(3) *Kyoo wa doyoobi degozai-masu*
today TOP Saturday COPULA (ADDRESSEE HONORIFIC, formal)
(Matsumoto 1989: 209)

Which of the three one uses in conversation depends on the relationship between herself and the hearer. In the sense that a Japanese speaker has no choice but pick one from the available allomorphs according to her perception of the position the

hearer occupies in the social hierarchy, Matsumoto argues that Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory of politeness does not apply, as Japanese communication depends more on the shared social norms than on the effort to mitigate the force of face threat of a given speech act.

Second, the utterance *yoroshiku onegaishimasu* is typically used upon meeting someone for the first time. Although it can be glossed as *Nice to meet you* in English, its literal meaning is analogous to *Please treat me favorably* or *Please take care of me*. As such, it is imposing, in the sense of Brown and Levinson (1987), for it is essentially an imperative. But it is not viewed by Japanese speaker as imposing. Instead, it is considered polite. This, again, is seen as evidence that Japanese politeness is a different kind of thing from Western politeness.

Based on these arguments, Matsumoto (1989) concludes that Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory, which is believed to be a theory about Anglo cultures, does not capture the essence of Japanese. Japanese politeness, Matsumoto argues, is centered on discernment (*wakimae*), defined as a "sense of place or role in a given situation according to social convention" (Matsumoto 1989: 230). This view is also defended in S. Ide (1989), who categorizes politeness into the discernment type, in the same sense as Matsumoto's, and the volitional type, characterized by speaker's own individual face needs.

Matsumoto (1989) and S. Ide (1989) are among the first to openly challenge Brown and Levinson's politeness theory and are certainly the seminal works that started the debate about whether East and West are similar or different in pragmatics. Their theory of discernment enjoyed considerable currency in the 1990s and their respective papers have become the "standard reference" (Pizziconi 2003: 1472) of Japanese pragmatics, widely cited as evidence that Japanese politeness is very different from Western politeness and – quite unwittingly, see below – as evidence against Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory of universal politeness (Wierzbicka 1985; Kasper 1990; Mao 1994; Lee-Wong 1994; Skewis 2003; Janney and Arndt 1993; Yabuuchi 2006; Chen 1993, 1996; Leech 2007).

The new millennium has seen a few more notable papers further defending the Different Position. Responding to Pizziconi (2003), who offers the most comprehensive critique of Matsumoto (1989) and S. Ide (1989) and whom I will discuss in detail in section 2.2, immediately below, Haugh (2005) strengthens Matsumoto's and S. Ide's arguments about Brown and Levinson's (1987) alleged inability to account for Japanese politeness. The use of the different allomorphs within the Japanese honorific paradigm, as illustrated in (1) through (3), above, Haugh argues, "is not a matter of showing concern for the address's desire to be free from imposition, nor does it involve showing approval for their wants" (Haugh 2005: 44). Likewise, when using the greeting expression *yoroshiku onegai shimasu*, "one is not showing concern towards the other's desire to be free from imposition, nor is one showing approval for their wants" (Haugh 2005: 44). Therefore, Haugh extends Matsumoto's and S. Ide's discernment into the notion of space "to encompass

all politeness phenomena in Japanese, rather than leaving Brown and Levinson's notion of face to deal with politeness strategies" (Haugh 2005: 45).

According to Haugh (2005), place is composed of two aspects: the place one belongs and the place one stands. The place one belongs reflects the value of inclusion: to be part of a group. The place one stands refers to distinction: to be different from others. At the next level, the place one stands is divided into one's rank, circumstance, and public persona/social standing (Haugh 2005: 48). Elsewhere, Haugh defines place "as encompassing one's contextually-contingent and discursively enacted social role and position" (Haugh 2007: 660). To Haugh, place does not only include facets of Japanese politeness that can be subsumed under Brown and Levincon's positive politeness but also those facets that are clearly negative face-based, involving imposition on other's territory:

> … what defines imposition, in relation to politeness in Japanese at least, is the place of the interactants rather than individual autonomy. That is to say, something is only an imposition when it falls outside the place (or more specifically the role) of the interactants in question. If the place of the interactant does encompass the action in question, then it does not constitute an imposition. (Haugh 2005: 59)

In other words, Haugh seems to be saying that if one insists on using imposition as a yardstick for politeness, it would have to take on an entirely different meaning, redefined in relation to the notion of face instead of "individual autonomy." Thus, Haugh's stance against Brown and Levinson is more explicit and forceful than Matsumoto's (1989) and S. Ide's (1989). Although they have been frequently cited as works against Brown and Levinson, Matsumoto and S. Ide may not have held as strong a position against Brown and Levinson as have been believed. Hill *et al* (1986), of which S. Ide is the second coauthor, for instance, indicate that the notion of discernment is proposed as complementary to Brown and Levinson, and a careful reading of the paper, a contrastive study of requests between English and Japanese, reveals that there is much support in the findings for Brown and Levinson. For instance, the authors posit that politeness, at the macro level, can be either volition-based or discernment-based. Their data suggest that American English is primarily – not entirely – volition-based while Japanese is primarily – again, not entirely – discernment-based. Similarly, Matsumoto (2003) states that her 1989 paper was not meant to replace Brown and Levinson, but to offer an alternative to it for the purpose of accounting for Japanese politeness.

While Matsumoto (1989), S. Ide (1989), and Haugh (2005) are significant works that have proposed theoretical constructs for Japanese pragmatics at the macro level, one should not ignore studies that support the Different Position using data from a particular type of communication. Ohashi (2003, 2008), for instance, discusses the credit-debt equilibrium in Japanese pragmatics: how Japanese speakers negotiate with each other to achieve a balance between credit and debt. The typical structure of such a conversation is that the beneficiary of a favor initiates

the conversation to thank the benefactor. The benefactor rejects. The beneficiary insists on thanking and asserting how much effort the benefactor must have made to do her the favor in question. The benefactor denies. Along the way, the beneficiary may even apologize (cf. Kumatoridani 1999; R. Ide 1998) for the trouble the benefactor had been put into. Such an exchange can go on for as long as a dozen turns until the balance of credit-debt is achieved, most often indicated by a change of topic in the conversation. As a result, Ohashi concludes that Brown and Levinson's definition of thanking – expression of gratitude – does not work for his data and the speech act of thanking needs to be re-examined.

2.2. The Similar Position in Japanese politeness

The dominance of the Different Position in Japanese pragmatics remained virtually unchallenged for about a decade. At the turn of the century emerged studies that advance the Similar Position, chiefly Usami (2002), Pizziconi (2003), and Fukada and Asato (2004). Fukushima (2000) could also be seen as a sympathizer with the Similar Position, although she discussed a number of differences in the output strategies for requests between Japanese and British English.

These writers have made four counter arguments against the position that Japanese is different from Western languages in its pragmatics. First, the use of honorifics has been proven to be sensitive to Brown and Levinson's three factors – the power of the hearer over the speaker (P), the social distance between the hearer and the speaker (D), and – albeit to a much lesser degree – the degree of imposition of the relevant speech act in the relevant culture (R) (Usami 2002; Pizziconi 2003; Fukada and Asato 2004). Specifically, when the addressee is a person of higher status, D and P will be given higher values, which will then lead to a higher value of W(x) (Fukada and Asato 2004; Fukushima 2000).

Second, Japanese honorifics are also sensitive to factors arising from the specific context in which they are used. It is true that the speaker in a given conversation will use or not use honorifics according to convention; she is also found to change her usage according to the dynamic change in the relationship between herself and the hearer. Fukada and Asato (2004: 1998–1999) illustrate this point with several examples: a lecturer using honorific expressions to an intern – a person of lower status – because she is asking the intern for a favor; a village chief using honorific language to a villager, also of lower status, due to the extreme formality of the context; and college professors being found to switch between honorific and non-honorific languages with each other according to the formality of the situation at hand (honorific language in formal situations and plain language in informal situations). In the sense that the use of honorifics is sensitive to the changing relationship between the speaker and the hearer at a given time, honorific expressions in Japanese are not much different from verbal strategies in a language without an honorific system such as English (Pizziconi 2003).

The third argument of the Similar Position is made by Pizziconi (2003), concerning the greeting expression *yoroshiku onegaishimasu*. Recall Matsumoto's (1988, 1989) contention that *yoroshiku onegaishimasu* is polite and imposing at the same time. But Pizziconi argues that this expression can very well be seen as "deferential begging" semantically, used to express gratitude for the exalted party, treating her as "a person of prestige and authority that has the power to bestow favors" (Pizziconi 2003: 1485). As such, it "can more intuitively be interpreted as an implicit – yet transparent – message of the speaker's appreciation of the hearer's social persona, a very clear instance of politeness strategies" (Pizziconi 2003: 1485).

The fourth argument of the Similar Position is also advanced by Pizziconi (2003). Note that most of the works defending the Different Position focus on positive face – how Japanese speakers say things in such a way as to protect the hearer's wants of being liked, appreciated, and respected. These scholars either claim or imply that Brown and Levinson's negative face plays little role in Japanese. Pizziconi, however, cites extensive literature to show that negative face is just as valid in Japanese as it is in Western cultures – that Japanese speakers are found to use euphemisms, hedging, questioning, and apologizing to signal their respect for the hearer's territory and that negative face considerations are found to "constrain the use of desideratives, emotive/affective terms, the expression of the speaker's intentions, or questions on the hearer's skills and abilities" (Pizziconi 2003: 1479).

3. Chinese and West: Similar or different?

The development of the East-West debate in Chinese pragmatics is analogous to the development that has taken place in Japanese pragmatics. That is, scholars apply classical pragmatic theories to Chinese, find them wanting in their explanatory power, and then defend the position that Chinese pragmatics is different from Euro-American pragmatics. Unlike the debate carried out in Japanese pragmatics, whereby there are a number of scholars defending the Similar Position, there has been only one researcher holding the Similar Position (Chen 2005). I start with the Different Position.

3.1. The Different Position in Chinese pragmatics

The view that Chinese pragmatics is different from Euro-American pragmatics could have started with Gu (1990) and later Mao (1994). Like those working on Japanese pragmatics, Gu finds Brown and Levinson inadequate, for their individual-based approach does not address the normative constraints society endorses on its individuals. Gu then proposes four maxims to account for Chinese politeness:

respectfulness (positive appreciation of others), modesty (self-denigration), attitudinal warmth (demonstration of kindness, consideration, and hospitality towards others), and refinement (behavior meeting certain social standards) (Gu 1990: 239).

Mao's (1994) challenge of Brown and Levinson is more direct than Gu's. Mao argues, first, that while face a la Brown and Levinson is individual-based, constant and predetermined, Chinese face "encodes a reputable image that individuals can claim for themselves as they interact with others in a given community; it is intimately linked to the views of the community," "emphasizes … the harmony of individual conduct with the views and judgment of the community," and "depends upon, and is indeed determined by, the participation of others" (Mao 1994: 460). Second, Mao proposes that Chinese face differs from Western face also in content. Whereas Euro-American face may be composed of positive and negative face, Chinese face "identifies a Chinese desire to secure public acknowledgement of one's prestige or reputation" (Mao 1994: 460).

The influence of Gu's and Mao's respective papers on the East-West debate can very well match that of Matsumoto (1988, 198) and S. Ide (1989), as they have become the flag bearers of the Different Position concerning Chinese pragmatics, being frequently cited as the key representatives of the Different Position. In the next 15 years also, research on Chinese pragmatics flourished, making Chinese the most studied Asian language. (In fact, it might be the second most studied of all languages, next only to English.) A multitude of speech acts or events have been investigated: telephoning (Sun 2004), refusing (Liao 1994; Liao and Bresnahan 1996), requesting (Lee-Wong 1994; Skewis 2003;Yeung 1997; Rue and Zhang 2008), compliment responding (Chen 1993; Spencer-Oatey and Ng 2001; Tang and Zhang 2008), inviting (Mao 1992), food-plying (Chen 1996), and gift offering and accepting (Zhu, Li, and Qian 2000).

All these works just cited – and certainly many others not cited – have taken the Different Position, albeit to different degrees. The series of works on Chinese compliment responses, for instance, have typically yielded findings that Chinese speakers tend to reject compliments and denigrate themselves when responding to compliments. Since rejection runs counter to Brown and Levinson's positive face by disagreeing with the complimenter and self-denigration threatens the responder's positive face, the compliment responding behavior has been seen as strong evidence for the position that Chinese pragmatics is essentially different from Western pragmatics (Chen, this volume).

Students of Chinese requests have likewise been aligned with the Different Position. Lee-Wong (1994) finds little evidence for indirection in her subjects' requesting behavior and comments on the Chinese dislike of circumlocution thusly: "Anything that can be expressed directly is preferred" (Lee-Wong 1994: 511). Similarly, Skewis (2003) studies directives by 18th century men using dyads from *Hong Lou Meng* "Dreams of the Red Chamber" and finds that direct imperatives

account for 90 % of all strategies in the classical novel, although he also identifies a large number of mitigating linguistic devices such as downgraders, subjectivisers, grounders, disarmers, and sweeteners – the kind of devices originally discussed in Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984). Since indirection in requests is believed to be motivated by negative face considerations, both Lee-Wong and Skewis view their findings as evidence against Brown and Levinson, particularly their concept of negative face. This general view has been shared by other researchers (Huang 1996; Gao 1999; Rue and Zhang 2008).

The strongest evidence that researchers on Chinese pragmatics have offered in support of the Different Position, perhaps, has come from studies on what can be called "benefit offering": gift giving, dinner invitation, and food-plying at a dinner, as these events all involve the speaker offering something – a gift, a dinner, or food at a dinner – to the hearer. Invitations have been investigated by Mao (1992, 1994) and Tseng (1996); gift giving by Zhu, Li, and Qian (2000), and food plying by Chen (1996). These studies have yielded similar findings about the complicated structure of the negotiation between the speaker and the hearer. Typically, the recipient would decline the offer and, along the way, state how much trouble the favor must have cost or will cost the offerer. The offerer insists on offering, emphasizing that little effort is involved in the offer. This cycle repeats itself several times until the recipient eventually accepts the offer. (But see Tseng 1996, who finds that single inviting-accepting sequence exists between speakers who are familiar with each other). The gift-giving event, for instance, displays the following structure (where A=gift offerer; B=gift recipient):

(4) The structure of gift-giving
A: Presequence (Optional)
B: Presequence (Optional)
A: Offer
B: Decline
A: Offer repeated
B: Decline repeated (Optional)
A: Offer repeated (Optional)
B: Acceptance
(Adopted from Zhu, Li, and Qian 2000)

Food-plying at the end of a dinner is found to go through the same cycle of negotiation, as is seen in (5), whereby AP=adjacency pair; T=turn; H=host, G=guest; &=repeatable; *=position not fixed; and %=optional:

(5) AP1&. TI. H: Offering ("Please eat more.")
T2. G: Refusing ("No. I've had enough.")
AP2&. T3. H: Asserting that G has eaten little ("You ate so little.")
T4. G: Asserting that G has eaten much. ("I've had a lot.")

AP3*. T5. H: Denigrating food or skill, offering ("I know I am not a good cook/
I know the food is not good. But you should have enough."
T6. G: Praising food or skill, refusing. ("You are a wonderful cook/ The food is excellent. But really I can't have any more.")
AP4%. T7. H: Offering, asserting that offence will result if the offer is not accepted ("Eat more. Otherwise I'll be offended.")
T8. G: Accepting ("Alright. I'll have a bit more, then.")
(Chen 1996)

As is seen in the skeletal structure presented in (5), the food-plying event at the end of a dinner in Xi'an, where Chen (1996) conducted his study, has at least three adjacency pairs. The longest plying event in Chen's data has six adjacency pairs (given the repeatability of AP1 and AP2). Like Mao (1992, 1994) and Zhu, Li, and Qian (2000), Chen argued that these findings constituted evidence against Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory, for, by plying guests with food (to the point of forcing food down their throats) Chinese hosts would be threatening the negative face of their guests, imposing on their freedom of action. As a result, Chen viewed the findings of the study as evidence for Gu's (1990) concept of attitudinal warmth and writes the following:

> [T]his study seems to suggest that not only is Brown and Levinson's universality claim questionable, but also that the prospect of arriving at a unified theory of politeness, one that is able to explain the politeness phenomena across cultures, is far out of sight. (Chen 1996: 153)

What seems to underlie all these studies in defense of the Different Position is the view that Chinese, being a collectivist society, values harmony and connectiveness with each other. As a result, the speech of Chinese is "assumed not to be motivated by the desire for freedom (negative face), but instead to seek the respect of the group" (M. Yu 2003: 1685). This group-orientedness is believed to have led to key notions that underlie the linguistic behaviors of the speakers. It explains the demonstration of warmth and care toward others, as is seen in benefit offering events; it explains modesty, for to denigrate oneself is to elevate others, as is seen in compliment responses; it also explains the lack of indirection in requests, as imposition is believed not to play an important part in Chinese pragmatics. All this has been treated as evidence that Chinese pragmatics is essentially different from its Euro-American counterpart.

3.2. The Similar Position in Chinese pragmatics

The Similar Position is held by one researcher: Chen (2005). Chen (2005) is an expanded version of a keynote speech delivered at China's 8th National Conference on Pragmatics (2003, Guangzhou, China). The paper, originally written in English

and translated into Chinese for publication, is little known outside China. It is therefore summarized in what follows as the lone voice defending the Similar Position in the East-West debate with regard to Chinese pragmatics.

Firstly, Chen (2005) offers a reanalysis of the findings about food-plying as reported in Chen (1996). He argues that the structure presented in (5), above, is in fact in consonance with Brown and Levinson's notion of positive face. Brown and Levinson, for instance, state that "in positive politeness the sphere of redress is widened to the appreciation of alter's wants in general or to the expression of similarity between ego's and alter's wants" (Brown and Levinson 1987: 101). These wants include the "wants to be liked, admired, cared about, understood, listened to, and so on" (1987: 120). Such positive polite strategies include offering (Brown and Levinson 1987: 125) and gift-giving (Brown and Levinson 1987: 129). In a speech community such as Xi'an before the mid 1990's, food-plying was clearly a social norm, as suggested by the rigid structure as presented in (5) and the formulaic nature of the actual utterances in the data. As a norm, both sides of the plying event would expect it to happen for the purpose of maintaining and enhancing their respective face. For the guest, it is her positive face want of being cared about that is enhanced; for the host, it is also the positive face at stake, although a different dimension of it, that of showing warmth and care for her guests. Such a norm may be very different from the norm of a Western culture in an analogous social context. But that does not suggest that Westerners do not care about being cared about or being shown warmth. In other words, the position that Westerners do not value being cared about or being shown warmth has to be demonstrated, not – as is the case in Chen (1996) – assumed.

Secondly, Chen (2005) reports a preliminary contrastive study on "white lies." He surveyed American English speakers about their judgment of what constitutes a "lie" using a questionnaire containing 13 scenarios (e.g., complimenting on someone's new hairdo without actually thinking highly of it, refusing a date invitation by saying "I have a test to study for tonight" while there is no test the next day, and telling young children that Santa Claus delivers presents to them through the chimney every Christmas eve). The results of the survey suggest that American English speakers' judgment of what constitute a "lie" depends much on whether the untrue statement is meant to be beneficial to the speaker herself or someone else, particularly the hearer. The more the statement benefits self, the more likely it is to be seen as a lie. The more it is meant to be beneficial to others, the less unlikely it is to be seen as a lie.

Chen then presents scenarios from Chinese culture to demonstrate that this general principle in the judgment of "lies" appears to apply to Chinese as well. He cites, for example, a social norm in rural Northwestern part of China whereby speakers – both doctors and family members – will conceal the news about a terminal disease from the person who has it to help her live the remainder of her life with less fear than otherwise. He argues that although that practice might be im-

possible in American culture, the motivation for it is analogous to the Santa Claus scenario: both scenarios involve telling untruth for the benefit of others; both are judged very low on the "lying – not lying" scale; and both are socially accepted norms in their respective community.

In sum, Chen (2005) argues that what have been seen as differences between Chinese and Western pragmatics may not be differences if the researcher is willing to go deeper, into the underlying motivations for such apparently different surface phenomena. In other words, the spirit of Chen (2005) is not to dispute facts that have been discovered in pragmatic research in Chinese culture, but to promote a particular lens through which to view those facts.

4. The East-West debate: Why is it important?

In the preceding sections, I outlined the two decade-long debate on whether East and West are similar to or different from each other in pragmatics, focusing on the central issue of politeness. The historical trajectory of this debate is clear: the Different Position has been the dominant position for two decades, ever since students of pragmatics began to turn their attention to non-European languages, and only recently have there been efforts to defend the Similar Position, by just a few researchers. Besides the few works that I have discussed – Pizziconi (2003), Fukada and Asato (2004), and Chen (2005) – defending the Similar Position, there is also Leech (2007), who has been omitted from my discussion simply because he does not defend the Similar Position by evaluating existing evidence or providing new empirical evidence. In this paper, Leech provides a background for Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory and his own Politeness Principle (Leech 1983). He then proposes a Grand Strategy of Politeness – the speaker says things that place a high value on others and a low value on herself – so that East and West can be housed in the same umbrella theoretical framework. He illustrates how this framework can explain a host of seemingly disparate pragmatic phenomena in both Eastern languages – Chinese, Japanese, and Korean – and English.

In one sense, any cross-cultural pragmatics study entails comparison and/or contrast. You look at a particular pragmatic phenomenon in language X and you are almost bound to compare your findings with those from a different language. What makes the East-West debate special is the fact that East, typically presented by Chinese, Japanese, and Korean, has been perceived to be the opposite of West in pragmatics. This should not be surprising, though, as East and West have long been seen as opposites in other disciplines of the social science such as sociology, anthropology, and psychology. Note, for instance, that the kinds of categories East and West are placed under are either two sides of a dichotomy or the two extreme ends of a scale: collectivism vs. individualism, high context vs. low context, shame culture vs. guilt culture, vertical vs. horizontal, among others.

The unique position that research on the pragmatics of Eastern cultures occupies in the general area of pragmatics has made it the source of doubt about the existence of universal theories for language use. Granted, researchers like Matsumoto (1989), S. Ide (1989), Haugh (2005), and Gu (1990) do not explicitly deny the possibility of a universal theory of politeness or of pragmatics – they only argue that Brown and Levinson's theory does not account for their data. But they have been frequently cited as if they did (Janney and Arndt 1993, citing S. Ide 1989 and Matsumato 1989; Ohashi 2008, citing Gu 1990, Haugh 2005, S. Ide 1989, and Matsumoto 1989; Mao 1994, citing Gu 1990, S. Ide 1989, and Matsumoto 1989; Watts 1992 and 2003, citing S. Ide 1989 and Matsumoto 1989; among others). The skepticism of universality in pragmatics, in part fueled by the Different Position discussed in this paper, is prevalent. Witness Coulmas (1992: 321): "The concept of politeness itself needs to be redefined from culture to culture"; Janney and Arndt (1993: 15): "More problematical … is the unanswered question of whether the universality hypothesis itself is a useful guiding assumption in comparative cross-cultural research"; Ohashi (2008): "'Face', therefore, is culture-specific"; Watts (1992: 43): "I should like to raise the problem of claiming universality for the diverse linguistic and non-linguistic phenomena to which scholars have attached the label 'linguistic politeness'."

The East-West debate is also a product of the research development in pragmatics in general. Oxford ordinary language philosophers – Austin and his students Searle and Grice in particular – made pragmatics a viable field of study beginning from the 1960s. Their theories, most notably the theories of speech act and conversational implicature, led to Leech's (1983) Politeness Principle and Brown and Levinson (1987) politeness theory. Being theories of language, these works are necessarily meant to capture language use in all cultures. However, systematic attacks on these theories began to be launched from the mid-1980's by scholars like Fairclough (1989, 1992, 1995) and Wierzbicka (1985, 1992, 2003, see below), which helped the revival of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, lending a great deal of currency to linguistic relativity (Janney and Arndt 1993) and creating serious doubts about rationality as an underlying principle of human thought (Kopytko 1995). The East-West debate has therefore done more than its share in this significant movement in general linguistics and philosophy.

One can also discern connections between the linguistic relativity movement in linguistics and the movements in other fields in the humanities. In literary theory, for instance, cultural studies has been the approach of the day, which, among other things, denies the stability of meaning and promotes the diversity of human experience. In rhetoric, particularly in North America, ideology, identity and power have taken the center stage in the research programs of many. All this is, in turn, the result of the post-modern thought that has permeated a world in which multiculturalism has become more and more popular.

How about the Similar Position, then? Those who view East and West as fundamentally similar in pragmatics are clearly not proponents of Euro-centrism.

These researchers do not, for instance, dispute empirical findings by their colleagues who happen to hold the Different Position. They differ from the Different Position mostly in the ways they interpret these findings and in their bent on discovering general principles that underlie language use in all human cultures. A major characteristic of researchers in this camp is their efforts to look beneath surface differences and come out with statements about similarity at a higher degree of generalization, as is seen in Pizziconi (2003), who sees the use of Japanese honorifics as being governed by similar face constraints as those that govern verbal strategies in a non-honorific language such as English; Chen (2005), who views his Chinese subjects' repeated plying of food at a dinner as being explainable by Brown and Levinson's (1987) notion of positive face; and Leech (2007), who revises his own politeness principle so that it is general enough to account for politeness across languages and cultures.

5. Research in pragmatics East and West: Whereto?

I hope that previous discussions have demonstrated the impact of the two decade-long East-West debate in cross-cultural pragmatics. Obviously, this debate will continue to occupy the center stage in the field. It will not end any time soon, for the same reason that the debate about the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis has been going on for more than half a century and promises to carry on well into the future. What is important for the entire field of cross-cultural pragmatics investigation is not who would win the debate but the fact that the debate is there, serving as a platform on which researchers of different theoretical orientations carry out their work to collectively make knowledge for pragmatics research in general.

The continuation of the East-West debate, specifically, may lead the entire field of pragmatics into a few specific promising directions. The first is theory testing. Pragmatics research has been dominated by the speech act theory, the theory of conversational implicature, and Brown and Levinson's politeness theory. But dissatisfactions with various aspects of these classical theories have led to a number of competing theories, such as Sperber and Wilson's (1987) Relevance theory, Leech's (2007) newly proposed Grand Politeness Thoery, and Wierzbicka's (1992, 2003; see also Goddard and Wierzbicka 2004) Natural Semantic Metalanguage and cultural scripts theory. All these theories are claimed to be universal and some of them seem to be making inroads into cross-cultural pragmatics research. Wierzbicka's theory, for instance, has been gaining popularity among researchers in recent years. Witness Wierzbicka's (1996) application of the theory to Japanese; Goddard's (1997, 2002), to Malay; Ye's (2004), to Chinese; Yoon' (2004), to Korean; and Wong's (2004), to a contrastive study between Anglo English and Singapore English. Given the unprecedented activity in cross-cultural pragmatics research, investigations into language use in non-European languages provide a

futile ground to reveal to us which theories have the greatest utility and hence staying power in the next decade or two.

The second direction – which is the corollary to the first – that the East-West debate may lead us in is the marriage between classical theories with newer theories. On account of its versatility, pragmatics has benefited greatly from research in other disciplines, both those in linguistics – most notably functional linguistics, semantics, and language philosophy – and those outside linguistics such as sociology and psychology. But efforts are beginning to be made to introduce different strands of cognitive linguistics (Watts 2008, on blending; N. Yu, 2001, on conceptual metaphor), critical discourse analysis (Gee 2005; Shi-Xu 2005), and insights from cultural studies (Koyama 2003) into pragmatics. These new theories will undoubtedly further inform cross-cultural pragmatics through new perspectives, offering us deeper and more nuanced understanding of cultures and languages.

The third direction for the East-West debate would be that there eventually emerges a consensus that, despite all the differences in pragmatics between East and West, there should be some universal principle that can explain these differences or, at least, can help us capture and measure them. The prospect of this possibility is in fact greater than it seems. Although many students of pragmatics deny the existence of a universal theory of pragmatics – as cited earlier – there are others, albeit small in number, who do not, including some of the leading researchers who have advanced the Different Position in the East-West debate, such as Gu (1990), Haugh (2005), S. Ide (1989), and Matsumoto (1989). Besides, one is even more heartened to see Wierzbicka's efforts in this regard. While she rejects the speech act-based approach to language and its corollary politeness theory on grounds that these theories are Eurocentric, she contends that there must be (other) ways to capture the universality of human experience and of language use that is intricately related to that experience. Her proposal of a set of semantic primes – concepts that are believed to be present in all cultures – stems directly from her belief in universalism (see also Wierzbicka, this volume). In the sense that Wierzbicka has been a champion for linguistic relativity who has been among the most critical of Oxford ordinary language philosophers, her work suggests that the Different Position and the Similar Position of the East-West debate may converge in at least some aspects. This partial convergence will not end the debate itself, obviously, but will lead to further exploration in the merit of competing theories and even to proposals of new theories.

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6. Intercultural competence and pragmatics research: Examining the interface through studies of intercultural business discourse[1]

Helen Spencer-Oatey

1. Introduction

Intercultural competence is extremely important in today's globalised world, and there is growing interest in what such competence actually entails. A number of conceptual frameworks have been developed in several different disciplines, particularly in communication studies, international business and management, and foreign language education. In nearly all of these frameworks, communication is highlighted as being of crucial importance, yet there is very rarely any mention in these other disciplines of pragmatics research into intercultural interaction, despite the large amount that has been carried out. Conversely, pragmatics research into intercultural interaction almost never refers to frameworks of intercultural competence, and typically focuses on detailed linguistic analyses. In this chapter, I try to bring the two together. I consider the extent to which pragmatics research can inform and illuminate the multidisciplinary frameworks of intercultural competence, and perhaps help them to become more truly interdisciplinary. I also discuss the need for pragmatic research to take a competency approach and relate findings to conceptualisations of intercultural competence. In doing this, I focus on pragmatics research (and more broadly, discourse analytic research) into intercultural business interaction, restricting my analyses to studies that are based on authentic (rather than simulated or questionnaire-based) data.

2. Conceptualising intercultural competence

2.1. Defining intercultural competence

A number of different terms are used in the literature for the broad concept of intercultural competence, including *intercultural competence, transcultural communication competence, intercultural effectiveness* and *intercultural communication competence.* There does not seem to be any consistent distinction between these various terms, and the concept itself is variously defined, as the following quotations illustrate:

> Intercultural competence is the ability to communicate effectively in cross-cultural situations and to relate appropriately in a variety of cultural contexts.
>
> Bennett and Bennett 2004: 149

> Transcultural communication competence (TCC) refers to an integrative theory-practice approach enabling us to mindfully apply the intercultural knowledge we have learned in a sensitive manner. Specifically, it refers to a transformation process connecting intercultural knowledge with competent practice.
>
> Ting-Toomey 1999: 261

> We conceive of intercultural communication competence as 'the ability to effectively and appropriately execute communication behaviors to elicit a desired response in a specific environment.' This definition shows that competent persons must not only know how to interact effectively and appropriately with people and environment, but also know how to fulfil their own communication goals using this ability.
>
> Chen and Starosta 1998: 241–2

> Intercultural communication competence is the effective identity negotiation process between two interactants in a novel communication situation.
>
> Ting-Toomey (1993: 73), cited by Gudykunst et al. 2005: 18.

In this chapter I use the term 'intercultural competence' as an umbrella label that refers to all aspects of the competence needed to interact effectively and appropriately with people from other cultural groups, and to handle the psychological demands that may be associated with this.

2.2. Frameworks of intercultural competence

Scholars in a range of disciplines have developed frameworks for conceptualising intercultural competence. Communication studies scholars in the USA have paid particular attention to this, and they, as well as scholars in business and management, foreign language education, and applied linguistics, have developed a number of frameworks. Here I review several of the most well known ones and/or those most relevant for discourse/pragmatics studies of intercultural interaction.

2.2.1. Gudykunst (1998)

Gudykunst is a communication studies scholar who is extremely well known within his discipline (as well as in social psychology) for his work on intergroup communication. He has written at length about this, dealing with topics such as social identities, intergroup attitudes, attributing meaning to strangers' behaviours, and cultural differences in language use. He approaches competence from a perception perspective, discussing what it means to be perceived as a competent communicator in intergroup encounters. He identifies three major components: motivation, knowledge and skills:

> *Motivation* refers to our desire to communicate appropriately and effectively with strangers. *Knowledge* refers to our awareness or understanding of what needs to be done in order to communicate appropriately and effectively. *Skills* are our abilities to engage in the behaviors necessary to communicate appropriately and effectively.
>
> Gudykunst 1998: 208

Gudykunst argues that we all have fundamental needs, such as needs for group inclusion, for predictability, for security, and for sustaining of our self-concepts. When these needs are not met, we typically suffer from diffuse anxiety, and this can affect our motivation for interaction. He maintains that, in order to optimise our motivation for interaction, we need to manage our level of anxiety so that it is neither too high nor too low. He also maintains that to achieve this, we need to be mindful (which he identifies as a skill – see below).

Optimal motivation needs to be accompanied by adequate knowledge. Gudykunst (1998: 215) explains that "Generally speaking, the greater our cultural and linguistic knowledge, and the more our beliefs overlap with those of the strangers with whom we communicate, the less the likelihood there will be misunderstandings." He identifies the following four types of knowledge as particularly important:

- Knowledge of how to gather information;
- Knowledge of group differences;
- Knowledge of personal similarities;
- Knowledge of alternative interpretations.

Clearly, knowledge of how to gather information is extremely important, because in intercultural interaction people frequently lack relevant knowledge. Knowledge of group differences is more controversial, though. Gudykunst draws heavily on national-level dimensions of cultural difference, such as individualism–collectivism, high–low context communication styles, high–low power distance, and high–low uncertainty avoidance, and argues that "Broad generalizations like those isolated here can help us understand the differences between ourselves and strangers from another culture if the strangers are relatively typical members of their cultures" (1998: 200). Of course, this assertion begs a key question: how can we know whether or not strangers are relatively typical members of their cultures? It is inappropriate to treat group-level dimensions (such as individualism–collectivism) as accurate predictors of individual behaviour, and this must be guarded against. Nevertheless, Gudykunst acknowledges this, and so stresses the importance of maintaining a mindful approach when interacting with strangers. He also suggests that mindfulness can help us seek out and identify similarities, which can be helpful for relationship building. Moreover, he stresses the importance of becoming aware of alternative interpretations, by distinguishing between three different cognitive processes: descriptions, interpretations and evaluations of what people say.

Skills are the third component of Gudykunst's framework. These are essential for handling the motivational and knowledge-based challenges that arise during intercultural interaction, and Gudykunst identifies six of them:

- Ability to be mindful;
- Ability to tolerate ambiguity;
- Ability to manage anxiety;
- Ability to empathise;
- Ability to adapt communication;
- Ability to make accurate predictions and explanations.

Ability to be mindful is the skill that Gudykunst mentions most frequently, and he states explicitly that he regards it as "the most important aspect of communicating effectively with strangers" (1998: 226). Drawing on Langer's (1997) work, he elaborates the concept in terms of openness to novelty, alertness to distinctions, sensitivity to different contexts, and (implicit) awareness of multiple perspectives.

Mindfulness is vital when there are cultural differences in language use, because people need to be open and attentive towards such differences. Gudykunst (1998) describes a number of ways in which language use can vary across cultures, and these include features such as volubility–taciturnity, directness–indirectness, low- and high-context communication style, patterns of topic management and turn-taking, and persuasive strategies. For example, Gudykunst explains low- and high-context communication as follows:

> High-context communication can be characterized as being indirect, ambiguous, and understated with speakers being reserved and sensitive to listeners. Low-context communication, in contrast, can be characterized as being direct, explicit, open, precise, and being consistent with one's feelings. As indicated earlier, these patterns of communication are compatible with collectivism and individualism, respectively.
> Individuals use low- and high-context messages depending upon their relationship with the person with whom they are communicating. To illustrate, people in the individualistic culture of the United States use low-context communication in the vast majority of their relationships (Hall 1976). They may, however, use high-context messages when communicating with a twin or their spouse of 20 years. In these relationships it is not necessary to be direct and precise to be clearly understood. People in Asian, African, and Latin collectivistic cultures, in contrast, tend to use high-context messages when they communicate most of the time.
>
> Gudykunst 1998: 180

Unfortunately, Gudykunst gives virtually no examples of language use to illustrate the various differences across cultures in language use, and this is typical of his approach. Throughout his extensive writings, he almost never uses discourse examples to illustrate his explanations, and any brief examples that he very occasionally does include do not seem to be authentic. His aim is to provide generalised descriptions of the communication process, to point out the different ways in which

people from different cultural groups may handle these processes, and hence to identify the key issues that people need to attend to if they are to communicate effectively across cultural groups.

2.2.2. Ting-Toomey (1999)

Ting-Toomey is also a communication studies scholar and she is particularly well known for her writings on communication across cultures. She proposes that intercultural competence comprises three main components: knowledge blocks, mindfulness, and communication skills.

Like Gudykunst (1998), Ting-Toomey (1999) identifies knowledge as an important component of intercultural competence. She explains in detail a number of different elements of knowledge that are relevant to intercultural interaction, and summarises her approach as follows: "Overall, the knowledge blocks in this book focus on how individualists and collectivists negotiate communication, conflict and relationship differences via distinctive verbal and nonverbal communication styles" (1999: 266). Her emphasis on individualism–collectivism is similar to Gudykunst's, and she uses this dimension to explain a large number of cross-cultural differences in language use and interactional behaviour. While fundamental values such as these are likely to influence social conventions to a certain extent, including language use, contextual factors (such as the communicative event and participant relations) are likely to have an equally (if not more) important impact. Yet Ting-Toomey, like Gudykunst, pays little attention to these, except in so far as they are mentioned in passing as a feature of mindfulness (see below).

A second component of intercultural competence that Ting-Toomey identifies is mindfulness. She attaches even greater importance to it than Gudykunst, in that she makes it one of the three main constituents of intercultural competence. She defines mindfulness as "attending to one's internal assumptions, cognitions, and emotions, and simultaneously attuning to the other's assumptions, cognitions, and emotions (1999: 267)". Again drawing on Langer (1997: 111), she expands it as follows:

> … to act mindfully we should learn to (1) see behaviour or information presented in the situation as novel or fresh; (2) view a situation from several vantage points or perspectives; (3) attend to the context and the person in which we are perceiving the behaviour; and (4) create new categories through which this new behaviour may be understood.
>
> Ting-Toomey 1999: 268

Ting-Toomey's (1999) third component of intercultural competence is communication skills. She identifies four key elements, and once again emphasises the importance of mindfulness: mindful observation, mindful listening, identity confirmation, and collaborative dialogue. To unpack the first element, mindful obser-

vation, Ting-Toomey (1999: 269) uses the acronym O-D-I-S (observe – describe – interpret – suspend evaluation). She explains this process as follows:

> Rather than engaging in snapshot, evaluative attributions, we should first learn to *observe* attentively the verbal and nonverbal signals that are being exchanged in the communication process. We should then try to *describe* mentally and in behaviourally specific terms what is going on in the interaction (e.g., "She is not maintaining eye contact when speaking to me"). Next, we should generate multiple *interpretations* (e.g., "Maybe from her cultural framework, eye contact avoidance is a respectful sign) to "make sense" of the behaviour we are observing and describing. We may decide to respect the differences and suspend our ethnocentric evaluation. We may also decide to engage in open-ended evaluation by acknowledging our discomfort with unfamiliar behaviors (e.g., "I understand that eye contact avoidance may be a cultural habit of this person, but I still don't like it because I feel uncomfortable in such interaction). By engaging in a reflexive dialogue with ourselves, we can monitor our ethnocentric emotions introspectively.

The second element of competence within communication skills that Ting-Toomey (1999) identifies is mindful listening. This entails interlocutors double-checking whether they have really understood what the other person has said, such as by paraphrasing or querying what they have said. Her third element is identity confirmation. This means paying close attention to people's identity affiliation preferences in particular contexts by, for example, using terms of address that they prefer or by using inclusive language and behaviour. Ting-Toomey's fourth communication skill element is collaborative dialogue. She explains that this entails discovering common ground with others, and using dialogue strategies that people feel comfortable with.

Like Gudykunst (1998), Ting-Toomey describes a number of differences in language use across cultures, arguing that knowledge, mindfulness and communication skills are vital if such differences are to be handled competently. She pays particular attention to communication styles (or verbal interaction dimensions, as she labels them) and elaborates on the following:

- Low-context and high-context communication;
- Direct and indirect verbal interaction styles;
- Person-oriented and status-oriented verbal styles;
- Self-enhancement and self-effacement verbal styles;
- Beliefs expressed in talk and silence.

For several of these, she provides some simple dialogues to illustrate the different points on the dimension. For instance, in relation to low- and high-context communication she gives the following examples, quoting the second from Naotsuka et al. 1981: 70:

Example 1

JANE *(knocks on her neighbor's open window)*: Excuse me, it is 11 o'clock already, and your high-pitched opera singing is really disturbing my sleep. Please stop your gargling noises immediately! I have an important job interview tomorrow morning, and I want to get a good night's sleep. I really need this job to pay my rent!

DIANE *(resentfully)*: Well, this is the only time I can rehearse my opera! I've an important audition coming up tomorrow. You're not the only one that is starving, you know. I also need to pay my rent. Stop being so self-centred!

JANE *(frustrated)*: I really think you're being very unreasonable. If you don't stop your singing right now I'm going to file a complaint with the apartment manager and he could evict you …

DIANE *(sarcastically)*: OK, be my guest … do whatever you want, I'm going to sing as I please.

Example 2

Mrs. A: Your daughter has started taking piano lessons, hasn't she? I envy you, because you can be proud of her talent. You must be looking forward to her future as a pianist. I'm really impressed by her enthusiasm – every day, she practices so hard, for hour and hours, until late at night.

Mrs. B: Oh, no, not at all. She is just a beginner. We don't know her future yet. We hadn't realized that you could hear her playing. I'm so sorry you have been disturbed by her noise.

Ting-Toomey 1999: 101–2

Ting-Toomey provides disappointingly few of these interchanges to illuminate the cultural differences in communication styles that she proposes. Such samples certainly convey the differences in style that may occur, and yet they do not seem to be authentic. Ting-Toomey does not provide any information as to whether these interchanges are reconstructed from authentic interactions, or whether they are artificially constructed to illustrate certain points. They would be more convincing to linguists if they were more obviously authentic.

2.2.3. Byram (1997)

Byram is a scholar who works in the field of foreign language education and who is very well known for his writings on culture and language learning. His focus of interest is the development of intercultural competence in foreign and second language education, especially at secondary school level. He draws a distinction between intercultural competence and intercultural communicative competence,

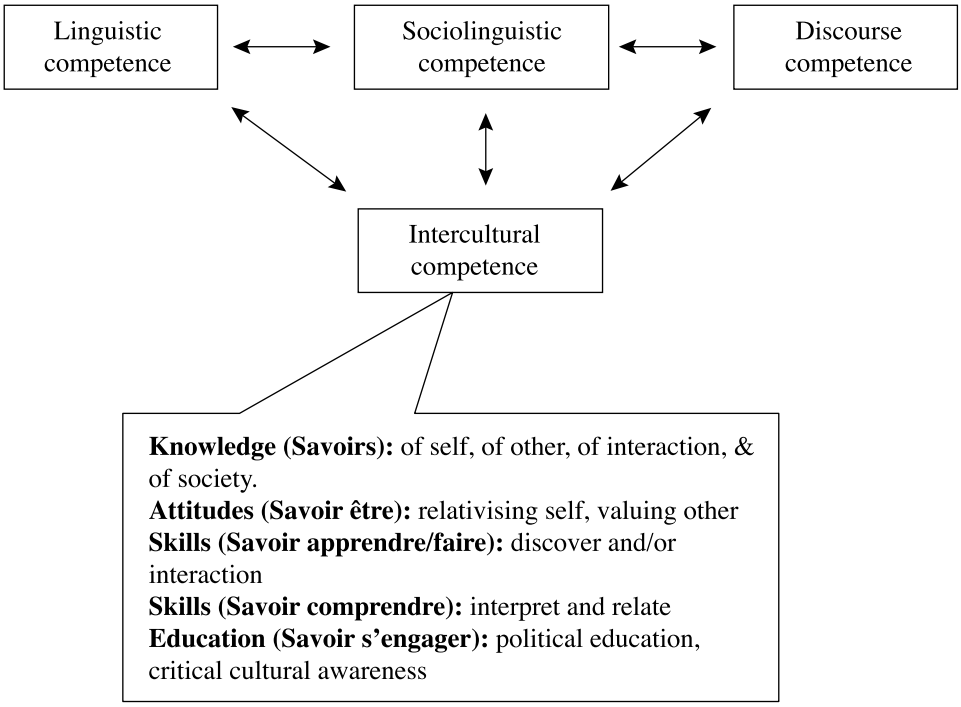

Figure 1. Byram's conceptualisation of intercultural communicative competence (adapted from Byram (1997: 73)

using the latter term as the broader concept. He proposes that intercultural communicative competence comprises four main components, as illustrated in Figure 1 and as explained in Table 1.

Byram's (1997) model draws heavily on van Ek's (1986) model of 'communicative ability'. He utilises van Ek's concepts of linguistic competence, sociolinguistic competence, and discourse competence, and adds a fourth one, intercultural competence. As can be seen from Table 1, several of the components of intercultural competence are similar to, or have resonances with, the elements proposed by Gudykunst (1998) and Ting-Toomey (1999), including attitudes (compare mindfulness), knowledge, and skills of discovery (cf. Gudykunst's knowledge of how to gather information). However, Byram adds some additional elements, and in addition, expands each of them in terms of objectives for teaching, learning and assessment. For example, in relation attitudes, he identifies the following objectives and explains them as follows:

Table 1. Byram's (1997) description of the components of intercultural communicative competence

Linguistic competence		The ability to apply knowledge of the rules of a standard version of the language to produce and interpret spoken and written language.
Sociolinguistic competence		The ability to give to the language produced by an interlocutor – whether native speaker or not – meanings which are taken for granted by the interlocutor or which are negotiated and made explicit with the interlocutor.
Discourse competence		The ability to use, discover and negotiate strategies for the production and interpretation of monologue or dialogue texts which follow the conventions of the culture of an interlocutor or are negotiated as intercultural texts for particular purposes.
Intercultural competence	Attitudes	Curiosity and openness, readiness to suspend disbelief about other cultures and belief about one's own.
	Knowledge	Knowledge of social groups and their products and practices in one's own and in one's interlocutor's country, and of the general processes of societal and individual interaction.
	Skills of interpreting and relating	Ability to interpret a document or event from another culture, to explain it and relate it to documents from one's own.
	Skills of discovery and interaction:	Ability to acquire new knowledge of a culture and cultural practices and the ability to operate knowledge, attitudes and skills under the constraints of real-time communication and interaction.
	Critical cultural awareness/political education	Ability to evaluate critically and on the basis of explicit criteria perspectives, practices and products in one's own and other cultures and countries.

Objectives:

- Willingness to seek out or take up opportunities to engage with otherness in a relationship of equality; this should be distinguished from attitudes of seeking out the exotic or seeking to profit from others;
- Interest in discovering other perspectives on interpretation of familiar and unfamiliar phenomena both in one's own and in other cultures and cultural practices;

- Willingness to question the values and presuppositions in cultural practices and products in one's own environment;
- Readiness to experience the different stages of adaptation to and interaction with another culture during a period of residence;
- Readiness to engage with the conventions and rites of verbal and non-verbal communication and interaction.

> … It is the curiosity and wonder expressed in constant questions and wide-eyed observations, in the willingness to try anything new rather than cling to the familiar.
>
> Byram 1997: 50

This is not the same as mindfulness, but there are elements of similarity between the two, as well as some links with motivation (cf. Gudykunst 1998, discussed above).

Unlike Gudykunst (1998) and Ting-Toomey (1999), Byram (1997) does not include any discussion of differences across cultures in language use. In fact, he says very little about language use at all. Even though he includes linguistic, sociolinguistic and discourse competence within his overall conceptualisation of intercultural communicative competence, he does not expand on them at all. This is presumably because national foreign language curricula deal with them extensively, and Byram's (1997) aim is to provide insights into a less familiar component – intercultural competence.

In relation to 'Skills of interpreting and relating', Byram does mention misunderstanding: "An intercultural speaker will notice how two people are misunderstanding each other because of their ethnocentrism, however linguistically competent they might be" (Byram 1997: 52). It would have been interesting if he had included a sample of discourse to illustrate how ethnocentrism can result in misunderstanding, and how an interculturally sensitive person might notice this. Nevertheless, his theorising has had a major impact on intercultural thinking in Europe, and many people have drawn on his conceptualisation, including Prechtl and Davidson Lund.

2.2.4. Prechtl and Davidson Lund (2007)

Prechtl and Davidson Lund (2007), like Byram, are foreign language education scholars. They were members of a European collaborative project known as INCA, and members of this project argued that there was an urgent need for a framework of intercultural competence that could underpin training and assessment in this field. They collaborated with companies in the engineering sector, who had expressed an urgent need for such training, and so were able to test their theory and practice in this context.

The INCA team devised a framework that comprises six components: tolerance for ambiguity, behavioural flexibility, communicative awareness, knowledge dis-

covery, respect for others, and empathy. They based these six components to a large extent on Kühlmann and Stahl's (1998) research. However, they added Byram's (1997) 'discovery' skill, because they rightly recognised that it is important to be able to enlarge one's sphere of knowledge when engaged in intercultural interaction, and especially one's knowledge about other cultures. Moreover, they incorporated a threefold perspective for each of these six components: motivation, skill/knowledge and behaviour (cf. Gudykunst's 1998 three components of motivation, knowledge and skills), which resulted in a rather complex 6 × 3 matrix of competences. Two of the six components and three perspectives are shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Communicative awareness and Knowledge discovery in the INCA model (extracted from Prechtl and Davidson Lund 2007: 472)

	Motivation	**Skill/Knowledge**	**Behaviour**
3. Communicative awareness	Willingness to modify existing communicative conventions	Ability to identify different communicative conventions, levels of foreign language competencies and their impact on intercultural communication	Negotiating appropriate communicative conventions for intercultural communication and coping with different foreign language skills
4. Knowledge discovery	Curiosity about other cultures in themselves and in order to be able to interact better with people	Skills of ethnographic discovery of situation-relevant cultural knowledge (including technical knowledge) before, during and after intercultural encounters	Seeking information to discover culture-related knowledge

An INCA document (INCA 2004) provides further information on communicative awareness and explains that it incorporates the following elements:

- Dealing with different communicative conventions;
- Dealing with the effects of different communicative conventions;
- Dealing with communicative difficulties, by adapting to different levels of foreign language competence;
- The use of meta-communicative strategies that address the discourse situation, such as by checking understanding of words or clarifying speaker intentions.

There are brief explanations of each of these, but no discourse examples to illustrate them.

A follow-up to the INCA project has recently been completed in the UK – the development of National Occupational Standards (NOSs) for Intercultural Working. National occupational standards are detailed statements of the skills,

knowledge and understanding needed in employment across the UK. They inform vocational qualifications and can be used for a range of purposes including benchmarking, recruitment, training, assessment and course design. More information on the NOSs for Intercultural Working can be found online at http://www.cilt.org.uk/standards/intercultural.htm [accessed 15 August 2009].

2.2.5. Spencer-Oatey and Stadler (2009)

Spencer-Oatey and Stadler (2009), who are applied linguists with a multidisciplinary orientation, present an intercultural competency framework that they developed as part of the Global People Project. As a foundation, they used the competencies identified by WorldWork (n.d.) (a company who provide consultancy to people working in business and non-governmental organisations), and also incorporated research findings from their analyses of data from a major international collaboration known as the eChina-UK Programme (http://www.echinauk.org/). This resulted in the Global People Competency Framework (Spencer-Oatey and Stadler 2009), which is a framework that is particularly relevant for those involved in international projects or intercultural partnerships of some kind.

The Global People Competency Framework comprises four competency clusters: Knowledge, Communication, Relationships and Personal Qualities/Dispositions. Two of these (Knowledge and Communication) have been identified in one or more of the frameworks discussed above. The other two have links with certain aspects of some of the other frameworks. For example, one of the competencies listed in the cluster Personal Qualities/Dispositions is Spirit of Adventure, and this corresponds to a certain extent to Tolerance of Ambiguity in Gudykunst's (1998) and Prechtl and Davidson Lund's (2007) frameworks.

For each of the competency clusters, Spencer-Oatey and Stadler (2009) specify a number of component competencies, and systematically explain what they mean by each of them. The component competencies for communication and relationships are shown in Table 3.

Spencer-Oatey and Stadler (2009)'s seem to pay less attention to the process of intercultural interaction than some of the other theorists do; for example, there is less mention of processes such as mindfulness. On the other hand, they include competencies within the Communication cluster that are omitted elsewhere, such as Communication Management. This was found to be of critical importance during the eChina-UK Programme, and so it forms a significant element of the communication cluster.

Unlike any of the other frameworks discussed above, Spencer-Oatey and Stadler (2009) provide authentic examples from the eChina-UK Programme to illustrate each of the competencies in their framework. Some of these are interview quotations or extracts from project reports; others are transcriptions from meeting recordings. In the latter cases, it is possible to access the audio recordings of the

Table 3. The Global People competency framework: Competency clusters for communication and relationships (Spencer-Oatey and Stadler 2009)

Competency cluster: Communication	
Communication management	• Attends to the choice of working language(s) • Chooses modes of communication that suit the particular communicative purpose • Establishes suitable communication networks • Establishes and agrees communication protocols • Takes steps to deal with communication problems
Language learning	• Motivated to learn and use other languages, and willing to invest time and effort in this • Confident in ability to pick up and use foreign languages • Tries out words and expressions in unfamiliar languages
Language adjustment	• Adapts use of language to the proficiency level of the recipient(s) so as to maximise comprehensibility • Pays attention to, and adapts where necessary, aspects such as: – Speed – Frequency and length of pausing – Complexity of sentence structure – Complexity of vocabulary – Use of idioms and colloquialisms – Use of local accents and dialects
Active listening	• Listens attentively • Signals that listening is taking place • Regularly checks and clarifies the meaning of important words and phrases, to ensure that all participants attach the same meaning to them, even when they are well known • Notices potential misunderstandings and seeks clarification/ negotiates meaning until common understanding is reached
Attuning	• Adept at observing indirect signals of meaning, such as intonation, eye contact and body language, and at picking up meaning from them • Pro-actively studies indirect signals of meaning, asking about them in order to deepen their knowledge at a conscious level • Learns to interpret indirect signals appropriately in different cultural and communicative contexts
Building of shared knowledge and mutual trust	• Discloses and elicits background information that is needed for mutual understanding and meaningful negotiation • Structures and highlights information by using discourse markers to 'label' language, by using visual or written aids, and by paying attention to the sequencing of information • Exposes own intentions by explaining not only 'what' s/he wants, but also 'why' s/he wants it

Table 3. (continued)

Competency cluster: Communication (continued)	
Stylistic flexibility	• Pays attention to the different styles of communication (e.g. formal/informal; expressive/restrained) that people may use • Builds a repertoire of styles to suit different purposes, contexts and audiences • Uses different language styles flexibly to suit different purposes, contexts and audiences
Competency cluster: Relationships	
Welcoming of strangers	• Interested in people with different experiences and backgrounds • Pro-active in approaching and meeting new people • Build a wide and diverse network of friends and acquaintances
Rapport building	• Shows warmth and friendliness in building relationships • Builds connections on a personal as well as professional basis • Shows care and genuine concern for the other person's welfare
Sensitivity to social/professional context	• Pays attention to hierarchy and power relations, and how they may influence behaviour in different contexts • Understands how given role relationships operate in different contexts, and the rights and obligations associated with them • Understands how decisions are made in given contexts
Interpersonal attentiveness	• Pays attention to people's personal sensitivities and avoids making them 'lose face' • Encourages and builds people up by complimenting them appropriately and 'giving them face'

extracts from the Global People project website, http://www.globalpeople.org.uk/. For instance, in relation to the competency 'Language adjustment', the following case study example is given, and there is an audio file of the extract on the website.

Case study example: Language adjustment at the start of a meeting

Adjusting one's use of language to the proficiency level of the recipient(s) is vital for effective communication; however, it is sometimes easier said than done. Consider the following interaction that took place at one of our meetings:

Chair: *I'm going to ask everybody to speak very clearly and uh without heavy accents if possible*

Everyone: *Laughter [as the Chair speaks with a Scottish accent]*

Chair: *and we may take some pauses just to make sure everybody uhm uh is keeping up with the conversation cause we can sometimes each of us speak very quickly when we get excited. Uh this afternoon is a chance for us really to explore the research issues ## tell each other*

what we're doing ## tell each other what we hope to achieve what we're aspiring to ### and it would be wonderful if we could perhaps focus on the use of technology in learning ## if that was of interest to you ##### so what I I'd like to do is I think it would be very helpful for one of our colleagues to volunteer to <as we say in Scotland: start the ball rolling cause we really love football>. Uh I think I think it would be fair to ask one of our colleagues to start the ball rolling and [name of British colleague] if you would like to kick off for us.

This excerpt demonstrates a number of adjustment practices. The Chair clearly shows a high level of awareness of this competence, by asking participants to speak clearly, to avoid accents, to avoid fast speech and to pause regularly in order to ensure that all participants have the chance to follow the conversation. The Chair then goes on to put her insights into practice, speaking slowly and clearly, by pausing regularly (signalled by #) and trying to avoid the use of a heavy Scottish accent. However, only seconds later she speeds up (signalled by < >), falls into a heavy Scottish accent, uses an idiomatic expression ('to start the ball rolling') which leaves all but one of the Chinese participants with blank faces, and then goes on to repeat the idiom and to use complex vocabulary ('kick off'), which is unlikely to be understood and could easily have been replaced by a more simple word, such as 'start' or 'begin'.

Spencer-Oatey and Stadler 2009: 21

Several follow-up projects are now being conducted by Spencer-Oatey and colleagues at the University of Warwick. The main focus at present is to review the framework in the light of data from additional sources, including input from a wider range of international managers, and in terms of its applicability to university curricula.

2.3. Discussion

The work by these scholars offers a much needed focus on the conceptualisation of intercultural competence which, despite the extensive literature on the broader concept of communicative competence, is largely absent from linguistic research. They do not limit themselves to language use (i.e. to discourse), but rather build communication across cultures into the bigger picture of interaction across cultures. For instance, all five frameworks identify the importance of knowledge, and suggest some competencies associated with this, such as the ability to discover knowledge effectively. This is extremely important in any interaction because effective communication is dependent on shared knowledge. Various strategies can

be used to acquire knowledge, and of course one way is through verbal interaction. So building shared knowledge can interlink with communication, as indicated in Spencer-Oatey and Stadler's (2009) framework.

Another strand that runs through most of the frameworks is the importance of certain attitudinal characteristics, which are variously labelled as mindfulness, openness and flexibility. This strand helpfully draws attention to the process of interaction, and the impact that individuals' personal qualities or dispositions can have on the 'success' of the interaction. This raises a challenging question, though – how can people become more mindful, open and flexible?

Another core competence that all five frameworks identify is communication. This is probably the most difficult component to conceptualise, because it covers so many elements. Some theorists (e.g., Gudykunst 1998 and Ting-Toomey 1999) focus on communication style, whereas others (e.g., Byram 1997) include ALL elements of language use in their full framework, but only elaborate on the pragmatics of interpretation when discussing intercultural competence. So in certain respects, the communication component of these various frameworks is the least satisfactory. It needs to be dealt with in greater detail, and also to incorporate a stronger discourse approach. With the exception of Spencer-Oatey and Stadler (2009), none of them provide sufficient (or even any!) detailed descriptions or analyses of authentic intercultural interaction, and their descriptions of the competencies are typically decontextualised and difficult to apply to real life. This is clearly an area where pragmatic research has much to offer, and where some interdisciplinary interaction could be of significant benefit.

3. Pragmatics and discourse studies of intercultural business interaction

I turn now to linguistic research on intercultural communication, focusing on studies that take a pragmatic and/or discourse perspective. I consider the range of topics that these researchers select for analysis, and explore the extent to which there is any synchrony with the conceptualisations of intercultural competence reviewed above.

In view of the large amount of pragmatics research into intercultural interaction, I limit the discussion in two respects. Firstly, I concentrate on business discourse, since intercultural competence has been a focus of interest and concern in this field for a long time. I use Bargiela-Chiappini and Nickerson's (2002: 273) definition of business discourse: "talk and writing between individuals whose main work activities and interests are in the domain of business and who come together for the purpose of doing business." Secondly, I restrict the discussion to studies that have gathered authentic discourse data. In other words, I have not included any studies that used questionnaires or simulated activities to gather information on intercultural communication; I only included studies that made video or audio re-

Table 4. Discourse studies of authentic intercultural business interaction

Author(s)	**Data source**	**Analytic focus**
Bilbow (1997)	Audio and video recordings of meetings at a large Hong Kong-based airline. Chinese and Western participants	Directive speech acts, and Western and Chinese metapragmatic assessments of speaker authoritativeness.
Bilbow, G. (2002).		Use of commissive speech acts: analysis of their realisation, factors influencing their use, and possible impact of cultural differences on commissive speech act use.
Cheng, W. & Mok, E. (2008)	Text data and observation data from a civil engineering consultancy firm in Hong Kong	Descriptions of the nature and patterns of professional communication, and communication profiles of novice and expert professionals.
Cheng, W. & Warren, M. (2007).	Hong Kong corpus of spoken English	How people check understanding (whether the speaker checks whether the hearer understands, and how the hearer checks whether the speaker understands.
Du-Babcock, B. & Babcock, R. D. (1996).	Interviews with American and Chinese business people working for multinationals in Taiwan.	The verbal communication systems, processes and interactions of expatriates with local staff.
Fung, L. (2007).	The business sub-corpus of the HKCSE and business meetings at a HK based airline.	Examines instances of self-repetition in naturally occurring business discourse between NS and NNSs of English in HK.
Gimenez, J. C. (2002).	'Typical' faxes and emails between a European head office and Argentinian subsidiary – randomly selected by staff. Interviews conducted after data had been analysed.	Head office communicative practices (code selection, transmission patterns and translation conventions) and their impact. Considers the communication conflicts that arose from divided corporate identities.
Li, W., Zhu, H. & Li, Y. (2001).	Conversational exchange between one British businessman & 3 English-speaking Chinese counterparts.	Examines the closing stage of a business negotiation and attempts to reveal how the participants' cultural beliefs and values inform their conversational styles.

Author(s)	Data source	Analytic focus
Louhiala-Salminen, L. (2002).	A one day observation of a Finnish business manager working for a multinational corporation. Most discourse activities were audio recorded, copies were taken of written materials, observation protocol and interviews.	The discourse activities – the communication environment, flow and nature of the activities. What are the salient features? (Status of English, intertextuality, parallel and mixed use of spoken and written language, and decisive role of email as a communication medium.)
Marriott, H. E. (1990).	Video recording of a negotiation between an Australian and a Japanese businessman, plus follow-up interviews.	Analyses the stages of the interaction, what each hoped to achieve, expected to hear etc., and how each evaluated the interaction.
Marriott, H. E. (1991).	Video recordings of various different Australian-Japanese business situations, plus follow-up interviews.	Analyses terms of address, reference to other people, avoidance of reference, business card usage.
Marriott, H. E. (1995).	Video recording of a negotiation between an Australian and a Japanese businessman, plus follow-up interviews.	Focuses on deviations: propositional deviance, correction deviance, performance deviance, and discord deviance.
Miller, L. (1995).	Audio and video tape recordings of conversations between Japanese and Americans who worked together at 3 firms in Tokyo.	How interactants gave and interpreted instructions, and how they managed rapport.
Miller, L. (2008).	Audio and video tape recordings of conversations between Japanese and Americans who worked together at two advertising agencies in Tokyo.	Negative assessments.
Poncini, G. (2002).	Audio recordings of an Italian company's meetings of its international distributors	Analyse the discourse to show how language use by participants reflects and construes the business relationship.
Poncini, G. (2003).		Factors that affect language choice and the effect of selecting and switching between different languages.

Author(s)	Data source	Analytic focus
Poncini, G. (2004).		Analyses a range of linguistic and interactional features to examine the discursive use of language in business meetings.
Poncini, G. (2005)	Emails and letters in English and Italian connected to the organisation of an international event in Italy.	Analyses the data in terms of language used, main purposes of the messages, and organisation and/or professional roles of the senders.
Rogerson-Revell, P. (2007).	Audio recordings of internal management-level meetings in a large international airline corporation in SE Asia.	Use of humour in the meetings.
Rogerson-Revell, P. (2008).	Meetings of a European organisation: some were audio or video recorded; others were attended and field notes taken.	Participation and performance in the meetings.
Siegfried (2003)	Telephone business conversations between German and Swedish native speakers.	Manifestation of cultural-self and cultural-other in authentic business data.
Spencer-Oatey, H. & Xing, J. (1998).	Video recordings of Chinese–British business meetings + post-event interviews + field notes	Strategies for managing relationships and building rapport.
Spencer-Oatey, H. & Xing, J. (2003).		A comparison of two welcome meetings to examine why one was perceived negatively by the Chinese visitors and the other was perceived positively.
Spencer-Oatey, H. & Xing, J. (2004).		Mismanagement of rapport and the reasons British and Chinese gave for its occurrence.
Spencer-Oatey, H. & Xing, J. (2005).		Talk and non-talk in some Chinese–British business meetings.
Spencer-Oatey, H. & Xing, J. (2008).		Face issues in a Chinese–British business meeting.

Author(s)	Data source	Analytic focus
Sunaoshi, Y. (2005).	Fieldwork in a wholly owned Japanese manufacturing company operating in the USA. Video taped interactions between Japanese & American workers on the production floor, interviews and observation.	The ways in which interlocutors co-constructed meaning, despite severely limited knowledge of each other's language.
Vuorela, T. (2005).	Audio recording of two meetings: a company-internal strategy meeting, and a client negotiation.	How a sales team achieves goals in intercultural business negotiations.

cordings of meetings, gathered observation and/or interview data of authentic interactions, and/or collected original texts such as emails or faxes. These are relatively limited in number, as it is not easy to negotiate access to authentic business data. Table 4 lists the main studies that meet these criteria.

As can be seen from Table 5, the analytic foci of the studies are very wide ranging. Some studies (e.g. Cheng and Mok 2008; Gimenez 2002; Louhiala-Salminen 2002) had a broad aim – to describe the patterns and processes of intercultural business communication in given contexts. Other studies (e.g., Bilbow 1997, 2002; Cheng and Warren 2007; Rogerson-Revell 2007) had much more specific foci, such as how a given speech act is used, or the use of humour in meetings.

The conceptual frameworks used in the studies are also very variable. However, none of the researchers have taken an intercultural competency approach, and none of them mentions any conceptualisations of intercultural competence. Nevertheless, quite a number of their findings can be related to the frameworks described above, as the following sections explain.

3.1. Choice of language/use of different languages

Quite a large proportion of the studies analysed the choice of language and/or use of different languages. For some studies (e.g., Cheng and Mok 2008; Louhiala-Salminen 2002; Miller 1995, 2008; Sunaoshi 2005) this formed just one component of their research. For others, this was (one of) the key foci of their study. For instance, Du Babcock and Babcock (1996) examined the use of Chinese by expatriate staff working for multinationals in Taiwan, exploring the impact that level of competence had on communication processes and effectiveness. Poncini (2003) analysed her meeting data for switches to languages other than English and considered the strategic roles that such switches played. Rogerson-Revell (2008) investigated whether non-native speakers of English were disadvantaged in their participation and performance in international business meetings compared with native speakers.

Findings from these studies indicate (not surprisingly) that knowledge of the language of other interlocutors, choosing which language to use, and the effective switching between languages all affect communicative success. For instance, Poncini (2003: 30) concludes as follows:

> The use of languages other than English, then, can facilitate communication and goal achievement. By responding to immediate situational needs, such language use allows the discourse to proceed in line with objectives. Switching languages can also help manage participation and construe roles in the business relationship, and it can build solidarity and common ground. The use of different languages thus represents a strategic resource.

However, as Du Babcock and Babcock (1996: 159–160) found, proficiency in a foreign language can be a two-edged sword:

> … expatriate second language competence almost always aided effective communication if confined to social situations for speaking and listening and in business situations for listening. Expansion of the use of Chinese to business situations carried with it the potential of improved communication but also the potential pitfall of miscommunication and cultural alienation.

These studies indicate, therefore, that competence in using different languages affects communicative success, and suggests that skill in doing this could form a component of intercultural competence. None of the frameworks reviewed in section 2 refer to this, except Spencer-Oatey and Stadler (2009), who include it within the competency that is labelled 'communication management'.

3.2. Achieving understanding of the message

A large number of studies (e.g. Cheng and Warren 2007; Du Babcock and Babcock 1996; Fung 2007; INCA 2004; Marriott 1995; Miller 1995, 2008; Rogerson-Revell 2008; Sunaoshi 2005) examined the strategies used in intercultural interactions for achieving understanding of the message, and any difficulties that occurred in this process. Strategies that they identified (although not always labelled like this) include:

- Language adjustment (e.g., in speed, syntactic complexity)
- Active listening (e.g., summarising of prior information, asking for clarification)
- Attuning (e.g., drawing inferences)
- Use of multimodal resources (e.g., gaze, body position and physical objects)
- Use of interactional mediators.

Gudykunst (1998), Ting-Toomey (1999) and Spencer-Oatey and Stadler (2009) each include 'achieving understanding of the message' within their intercultural competency frameworks, and refer to competencies such as active/mindful listen-

ing and attuning. The studies of intercultural business discourse listed here could enhance those frameworks by providing some useful illustrative data. For instance, Gudykunst (1998: 164) and Ting-Toomey (1999: 112) both refer to paraphrasing as a form of active listening, yet they include no authentic examples; the following example from Marriott (1995: 254) could be used to illustrate these strategies:

Extract 1

(After clarifying details relating to the size of the product, the Japanese businessman writes a note in his notebook.)

1 J Right. ((lays his pen down)) ((10 second pause))
2 And he ah so you you don't have any propriety of eh the license of
3 the- or another patent, but you have ah know-how how to make this
4 ((glances at first page of his notes))
5 A Yeah, yeah, there's many people who have tried to make it
6 ((continues))

3.3. Communication style

One of the studies, Li, Zhu and Li (2001), focuses on communication style. The authors analyse the closing stages of a negotiation meeting between three Chinese business people and one British. At the end of the meeting, the British business person was uncertain whether the meeting had gone well and whether another meeting was planned, yet each of the Chinese participants felt the atmosphere was warm and friendly and that everything had gone very well indeed. Li and his colleagues argue that this is due to differences in communication style – that the Chinese were using a high-involvement style, whereas the British person was expecting a low-involvement style.

Gudykunst (1989) and Ting-Toomey (1999) both describe differences in communication style (albeit different dimensions from the one proposed by Li et al. 2001), and Spencer-Oatey and Stadler (2009) list 'stylistic flexibility' as one of their intercultural competencies. However, there is considerable variation in the dimensions of communication style identified by different authors, and it is unclear which ones have the most widespread applicability. For example, Ting-Toomey (1998) lists low-context/high context, direct/indirect, person-oriented/status-oriented, and self-enhancement/self-effacement; Ting-Toomey and Chung (2005) list low-context/high context, direct/indirect, complementary/animated/understated, and informal/formal; House (2003) lists direct/indirect, explicit/implicit, orientation towards self/towards other, and orientation towards content/towards addressees.

This is an area where pragmatic research could make a significant contribution. It could offer further conceptual insights into which dimensions of stylistic varia-

bility occur in different contexts, and which have the most widespread applicability. It could also provide authentic examples of differences in stylistic use so that people can grasp and recognise the differences more easily.

3.4. Management of rapport/construal of relationships

A number of the studies (e.g., Miller 1995; Poncini 2002; Spencer-Oatey and Xing 1998, 2003, 2004, 2008) paid particular attention to the management of rapport and construal of relationships. Some of them (e.g., Miller 1995; Spencer-Oatey and Xing 2003, 2004, 2008) focused on the behaviour and/or language use that gave rise to relational misunderstandings. Another (Spencer-Oatey and Xing 1998) reported strategies that British and Chinese business people used to build rapport, and yet another study (Poncini 2002) demonstrated how language use can reflect and construe the business relationship. A few other studies (e.g., Bilbow 1997; Gimenez 2002) touched on relationships and rapport in their discussions of other issues.

The management of rapport is an implicit element of many of the conceptualisations of intercultural competence, in that there is often an implicit assumption that if people breach behavioural conventions or expectations, interpersonal relationships may well be negatively affected. Moreover, Spencer-Oatey and Stadler (2009) incorporate it more explicitly in their framework, in that they include 'Relationships' as one of their competency clusters.

4. Concluding comments

This brief review of two important areas of study – conceptualisations of intercultural competence and pragmatic/discourse studies of intercultural business interaction – demonstrates that at present there is little mutual awareness of research in each other's area. This is unfortunate, because there is clearly synergy between the two, suggesting that each could benefit considerably from each other's insights.

Pragmatics research has had a tendency to focus on analyses of problematic intercultural encounters, and despite calls for a move away from this (e.g., Sarangi 1994; Ryoo 2005), there has been virtually no work on how competent intercultural interaction can be conceptualised. Frameworks in other disciplines are thus helpful in several respects – they point to the importance of considering such issues, they demonstrate the interconnection between communication and other elements of intercultural interaction, and they provide a starting point for developing conceptualisations of intercultural competence within pragmatics research. Conversely, for scholars in fields such as communication studies and foreign language education, pragmatics studies can help provide 'flesh on the bones' of their frameworks. In other words, they can provide authentic examples of intercultural inter-

action that on the one hand can illustrate the competencies identified, and on the other can help confirm or challenge the component elements of the frameworks.

Harris and Bargiela-Chiappini (2003: 158) seem to rue the fact that "the intercultural communication research agenda is largely oriented towards improving communicative competence and to addressing issues of miscommunication." They point out that the North American approach to intercultural communication research is primarily cognitive and quantitative, and they rightly argue (in my view) that a discourse approach would provide further insights.

However, Harris and Bargiela-Chiappini also maintain that too strong a focus on developing people's intercultural competence can lead to prescriptivism and 'dilution' of findings. There is clearly a risk of this, but this should be no excuse for avoiding the issue. Many researchers have attempted to apply pragmatics research to language teaching (e.g., Rose and Kasper 2001; Soler and Martínez-Flor 2008). Surely we should make an equivalent effort to make our pragmatics research findings relevant to the needs of professionals (such as business people) who work and communicate across cultures, and to try to help them prepare more effectively for such work. We need to avoid oversimplification, yet at the same time we need to be aware that large amounts of linguistic detail are difficult for non-linguists to process. We need to work collaboratively to get that balance right.

Note

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II. Interlanguage Pragmatics

7. Exploring the pragmatics of interlanguage pragmatics: Definition by design

Kathleen Bardovi-Harlig

1. Definitions of interlanguage pragmatics

In this handbook series, pragmatics is understood in a broad sense as the scientific study of all aspects of linguistic behavior. These aspects include patterns of linguistic action, language functions, types of inferences, principles of communication, frames of knowledge, attitude, and belief, as well as organizational principles of text and discourse. Pragmatics deals with meaning-in-context, which for analytical purposes can be viewed from different perspectives (the speaker's, recipient's, analyst's, etc.). It bridges the gap between the system side of language and the use side, and relates both of them at the same time.

Interlanguage pragmatics brings the study of acquisition to this mix of structure and use.[1] The principle participants are learners or speakers of second or foreign languages.[2] Interlanguage pragmatics is often defined as *the study of non-native speakers' use and acquisition of L2 pragmatics knowledge* (Kasper 1996: 145). However, the study of interlanguage pragmatics has not typically been as broad as the areas outlined by the definition of pragmatics used in the handbook.

The study of pragmatics has not always been conceptualized as broadly, either. Levinson (1983) observed that the study of pragmatics traditionally encompassed at least five main areas: Deixis, conversational implicature, presupposition, speech acts, and conversational structure. Within second language studies, work in pragmatics has often been narrower than in the field of pragmatics at large, including the investigation of speech acts and to a lesser extent conversational structure and conversational implicature. It is also broader, investigating areas traditionally considered to be sociolinguistics, such as address terms, for example (Stalnaker 1972). In fact, the line between sociolinguistics and pragmatics was not clear in the early days of interlanguage pragmatics research. Reports on speech acts often appeared under the banner of sociolinguistics in venues such as the TESOL Sociolinguistics Colloquium, where much new work was presented, and in published volumes, such as *Sociolinguistics and second language acquisition* (Wolfson and Judd 1983).

The dominant area of investigation within interlanguage pragmatics has been the speech act. The dominance of this area of investigation can be seen in the boundaries set by Kasper and Dahl in their 1991 methodological review:

> *Interlanguage pragmatics* will be defined in a narrow sense, referring to nonnative speakers' (NNSs') comprehension and production of speech acts, and how their L2-related speech act knowledge is acquired. Studies addressing conversational management, discourse organization, or sociolinguistic aspects of language use such as choice of address terms will be outside the scope of this article (Kasper and Dahl 1991: 216).

Narrowing the focus to speech acts allowed Kasper and Dahl to review the best represented area of investigation, and thus to compare approaches to data collection across many studies.

The following year brings a broader definition of interlanguage pragmatics which includes politeness in addition to illocutionary force, a concept central to the speech act framework (Kasper 1992):

> Typical issues addressed in data-based [interlanguage pragmatics] studies are whether NNS differ from NS in the 1) range and 2) contextual distribution of 3) strategies and 4) linguistic forms used to convey 5) illocutionary meaning and 6) politeness-precisely the kinds of issues raised in comparative studies of different communities … Interlanguage pragmatics has predominantly been the sociolinguistic, and to a much lesser extent a psycholinguistic [or acquisitional] study of NNS' linguistic action. (p. 205)

By 1996 Kasper and Schmidt integrate *linguistic action* into the definition of interlanguage pragmatics defining it as "the study of the development and use of strategies for linguistic action by nonnative speakers" (1996: 150). Crucial to this definition is the explicit inclusion of both *acquisition* and *use*. In the same thematic volume, Kasper (1996: 146) offers the following inventory of topics which had been covered in interlanguage pragmatics up to that time. These included "nonnative speakers' perception and comprehension of illocutionary force and politeness; their production of linguistic action; the impact of context variables on choices of conventions of means (semantic formulae or realization strategies) and forms (linguistic means of implementing strategic options); discourse sequencing and conversational management; pragmatic success and failure; and the joint negotiation of illocutionary, referential, and relational goals in personal encounters and institutional settings."

In interlanguage pragmatics the focal participants are nonnative speakers, users of a second language, a subset of whom are actively learning a language and who are referred to as "learners" in the more acquisitionally oriented ILP studies. In contrast, there seems to be less agreement in the field about the scope of *pragmatics*. The concept of *linguistic action* was never broadly adopted among American researchers or their students. In their monograph on second language pragmatic development Kasper and Rose (2002) sharpen the definition of *pragmatics* in *interlanguage pragmatics* by employing definitions offered by Mey (1993) and Crystal (1997). Mey (1993: 315) defines pragmatics as "the societally necessary and consciously interactive dimension of the study of language." As Kasper and Rose point out, Crystal's definition is compatible with Mey's, and more specific. As such, it provides additional guidance for areas of investigation in interlanguage

pragmatics. Crystal (1997: 301) defines *pragmatics* as "the study of language from the point of view of *users,* especially of the *choices* they make, the *constraints* they encounter in using language in *social interaction* and the *effects* their use of language has on *other participants* in the *act of communication"* [italics added by Kasper and Rose 2002: 2].

By focusing on *use* (Kasper and Schmidt 1996), *interactive dimension* (Mey 1993), and *social interaction* and *effects on other participants in the act of communication* (Crystal 1997), Kasper and Rose (2002) not only define *pragmatics,* but further define the field, setting a standard for research in interlanguage pragmatics. It is clear that the definition of pragmatics within interlanguage pragmatics research has evolved since the early studies. In previous and ongoing work I have been primarily concerned with the acquisitional focus in interlanguage pragmatics (e.g., *Exploring the Interlanguage of Interlanguage Pragmatics,* Bardovi-Harlig 1999b). In contrast, in this chapter I explore the *pragmatics* of interlanguage pragmatics. I will take the approach of drawing on research questions and the corresponding means of data collection to paint a picture of how pragmatics is operationalized in interlanguage pragmatics and to compare that to the definitions that the field has adopted.

Perhaps because of its hybrid origins in ordinary language philosophy, comparative pragmatics, sociolinguistics, and second language acquisition inquiry, research in interlanguage pragmatics has always explicitly discussed data collection and research design. I think that this is in part due to, on the one hand, conflicting goals and traditions among the contributing fields and audiences, and on the other hand, the lack of a prescribed or inherited method for speech act research (which dominates the field to this day). Several comprehensive reviews of research design and data elicitation exist. Kasper and Dahl (1991) provide an early comprehensive review of elicitation tasks used in the published literature up to that point. Kasper and Rose (1999, 2002) provide an acquisitional focus on pragmatic studies in general; Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford (2005) focused on the study of institutional talk in interlanguage pragmatics work. Closely allied and appearing in the same journals and edited volumes are discussions of methods of data collection that focus on native speakers. Wolfson's (1986) reflections on method provide the earliest formal discussion of pragmatics elicitation tasks. Reports of development or comparison of specific tasks, although often tested exclusively on native speakers, are also common and include Rose (1994), Rose and Ono (1995), Beebe and Cummings (1985, 1996), and Cohen (1996). Other reviews explore SLA questions such as which interlanguage pragmatics studies adopt a developmental – as opposed to a comparative – design (e.g., Kasper and Rose 1999, 2002). Rather than duplicate what colleagues have done so well, I propose a modest goal of contributing to this section on interlanguage pragmatics by examining the research questions that are asked in the field and the methods used to address them.

I suggested earlier in a discussion of pragmatics research tasks (Bardovi-Harlig 1999a) that the fit between research questions and research method is crucial. This observation is neither unique to pragmatics nor unique to me. Textbooks on research methods make this claim for research in general (see, for example, Dörnyei 2007, Mackey and Gass 2005). Because it is the questions that we ask that should determine design, this chapter focuses on the relation between research questions and the methods that we use to answer them. In my earlier review of elicitation instruments and practices in interlanguage pragmatics, I organized the tasks being used at the time by their potential contribution to four (nonexhaustive) areas of research in ILP: speech act sets, negotiation, opting out, and acquisition. Here I take a different approach and address this question: How do our actions (by which I mean our research questions and designs) accord with our stated desires (by which I mean our definitions of our field)? How do we operationalize pragmatics or pragmatic competence? And what does that tell us about our functional definition of pragmatics (rather than an ideal definition)? How do research questions in interlanguage studies define pragmatics?

2. Sampling procedure

2.1. Identifying the sources

In order to characterize the field, and include well-known and less-known work, a set of articles reporting empirical studies of interlanguage pragmatics was established. The articles come from refereed journals, serial publications, and edited volumes. First, every article on interlanguage pragmatics that appeared in one of seven journals was included. The journals from which articles were selected are all internationally distributed journals with significant readership among ILP researchers. They included two journals on second language acquisition, *Studies in Second Language Acquisition* (*SSLA*) and *Language Learning;* two on the teaching and learning of languages, *TESOL Quarterly* which focuses on English as a second or foreign language, and *Modern Language Journal,* which focuses largely on foreign and second languages other than English; and *Applied Linguistics,* a journal which covers the large and varied field of applied linguistics. The sample also included two journals in pragmatics, *Journal of Pragmatics*, which takes a broad view of pragmatics, and *Intercultural Pragmatics,* which focuses on multiple cultural perspectives, one of which is learning the pragmatics of a second or foreign language. One serial publication, *Pragmatics and Language Learning,* the selected proceedings of the conference of the same name, was also included.

Finally, ten edited volumes were included. The volumes had two or more papers on pragmatics indicating that pragmatics was an intended focus of the edi-

tors. Very often, in the earliest edited volumes there would be multiple articles on pragmatics, but considerably fewer that focused on learners.

Because submission and refereeing of edited volumes differs markedly from the same processes in journals, I wrestled with the inclusion of the edited volumes. On the one hand, they are less critically reviewed, they are published at irregular intervals, and it is not possible to include every volume as can be done with journals. On the other hand, because of the differences in review processes, edited volumes can report innovations in the field at an earlier date, they reflect periods of activity in the field (such as the number of recent volumes devoted to interlanguage pragmatics), and they represent some of the best known collections in the field including, but not limited to *Cross-cultural Pragmatics* ([CCSARP], Blum-Kulka, House, and Kasper 1989), *Interlanguage Pragmatics* (Kasper and Blum-Kulka 1993), and *Speech Acts across Cultures* (Gass and Neu 1996). In addition, while journals are typically edited by disinterested editors, edited volumes are not. Book editors often have a specific point that they would like to make, and they select contributors accordingly. This is clearly the case in Boxer and Cohen (2004) in which all contributions addressed the study of speaking in second language learning, and Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford (2005) in which all chapters reported on second language speakers engaged in institutional talk. Thematic issues in journals also have a single unifying focus. Given that the editorship of *Pragmatics and Language Learning* transfers to the hosts of the conference, editors also may be less disinterested than a standing editor. At Indiana University in 2005, the organizers of the conference (of which I was one) favored interactive data or innovative data collection techniques over DCTs except in the case where a paper dealt with a language or language group that is either un- or under-represented in the literature. The resultant volume of *PLL (volume 11,* 2006, edited by Bardovi-Harlig, Felix-Brasdefer, and Omar, all of whom use authentic or simulated conversation in their own work) has the same focus. Similarly, in *PLL volume 12* (in press, edited by Kasper, Nyugen, Yoshikawa and Yoshimi) many papers deal with microanalysis of conversation, and both the data and the analysis are reflective of work at the University of Hawaii where the 2007 conference was held.

In the end, it seemed to me that it was a greater error to not include edited collections than to omit them in an attempt to avoid irregularities in sampling. There may be other volumes that readers would have included. The actual selection may influence the general trends somewhat, but my sense is that the papers included here are representative of their particular inquiries. In order by date the volumes included are: Yorio (1979), Wolfson and Judd (1983), Blum-Kulka, House, and Kasper (1989), Eisenstein (1989), Kasper and Blum-Kulka (1993), Gass and Neu (1996), Rose and Kasper (2001), Martínez, Usó, and Fernández (2003), Boxer and Cohen (2004), and Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford (2005).

2.2. Identifying the articles

To identify individual articles, on line searches of the journals' websites were conducted when possible. *Applied Linguistics, Journal of Pragmatics, Language Learning, Modern Language Journal,* and *TESOL Quarterly* were archived and searchable at the time of the review. *Intercultural Pragmatics* is available online, but not searchable and *SSLA* was available electronically and searchable only from 1997. The acquisition, learning, and teaching journals were searched on the terms *pragmatics, politeness,* and *speech act.* The pragmatics journals were searched for *acquisition, learner, learning,* and supplemented by *student*. Electronic issues of *Intercultural Pragmatics* were individually searched. Paper copies of *Pragmatics and Language Learning* for all volumes and *SSLA* after 1997 were searched by the author. All edited volumes were also searched individually in hard copy. I did my own searches, and so to guard against missing articles, I checked the references of other reviews to catch papers that I might have missed.

The articles published in the journals and *Pragmatics and Language Learning* self-identified as being pragmatics research by virtue of the fact that they were submitted to pragmatics publications or by using *pragmatics* or a related term in the abstract. Once the candidate articles were identified, they were separated into those that dealt with learners and those that did not, such as articles that made cross-cultural comparisons of native speaker production or perception. In keeping with the definition of *interlanguage pragmatics,* only articles investigating learners or non-native speakers were included. In addition, the articles selected each reported a study that collected data. Reviews of the literature, state of the art papers, theory building or expansions, teaching proposals, arguments, and other papers which either did not present the results of a study or used interlanguage data to solely illustrate claims or argue a position were not included.

2.3. The resultant sample

This procedure resulted in a sample of 152 articles. The articles represent a number of target languages, written by authors from a range of countries, in journals with international reviewers. Table 1 provides the distribution of articles by source with relevant information about the journals. The earliest articles included in the survey are Scarcella (1979a) and Carrell (1979) from an *On TESOL* volume. The earliest articles published by a refereed journal in the sample were Cohen and Olshtain (1981) and Carrell and Konneker (1981), both in *Language Learning*. Articles in *Applied Linguistics* and *SSLA* followed in 1982. *MLJ* and *Journal of Pragmatics* also published on interlanguage pragmatics by the end of the 1980s. *Intercultural Pragmatics* is the newest journal and was first published in 2004. Understandably, given its specialized focus, *Intercultural Pragmatics* has published as many articles on ILP in 4½ years as MLJ has since the end of the 1980s, and more than

twice as many as *TESOL Quarterly.* With 12 volumes, *Pragmatics and Language Learning* accounts for 41 papers; edited volumes account for 37 papers.

Table 1. Journals and serial publications sampled, focus, and dates of sampling

Journal	Publisher	Focus	First published	Number of Articles included	% of sample
Applied Linguistics (AL)	Oxford University Press	Applied linguistics	1980	19	12.5
Intercultural Pragmatics (ICP)	Mouton de Gruyter	Pragmatics	2004	8	5.3
Journal of Pragmatics (JoP)	North-Holland	Pragmatics	1977	13	8.6
Language Learning (LL)	Blackwell	Language acquisition	1948	12	7.9
Modern Language Journal (MLJ)	Blackwell	Generally, languages other than English	1916	8	5.3
Pragmatics and Language Learning (PLL)	University of Illinois; University of Hawaii	Pragmatics	1990–1997, 1999, 2001, 2006, in press	41	27.0
Studies in Second Language Acquisition (SSLA)	Cambridge University Press	SLA	1977	10	6.6
TESOL Quarterly (TQ)	TESOL, Inc.	Teaching	1967	4	2.6
Edited Volumes (EV)	NA	Research	NA	37	24.3

Figure 1 shows the distribution of articles from all sources and from journals alone in five-year intervals. The distribution of the articles in the sample shows that edited volumes and *Pragmatics and Language Learning* (*PLL*) make a significant contribution in providing outlets for dissemination of interlanguage pragmatics research. *Pragmatics and Language Learning* was published annually from 1990–1997 (volumes 1–8), and then twice more, once in 1999, and again in 2001 before the conference for which it is named stopped meeting regularly due to the financial burden on the one university which served as the perpetual host. This was a loss felt throughout the field and the conference was revived on a rotating basis in

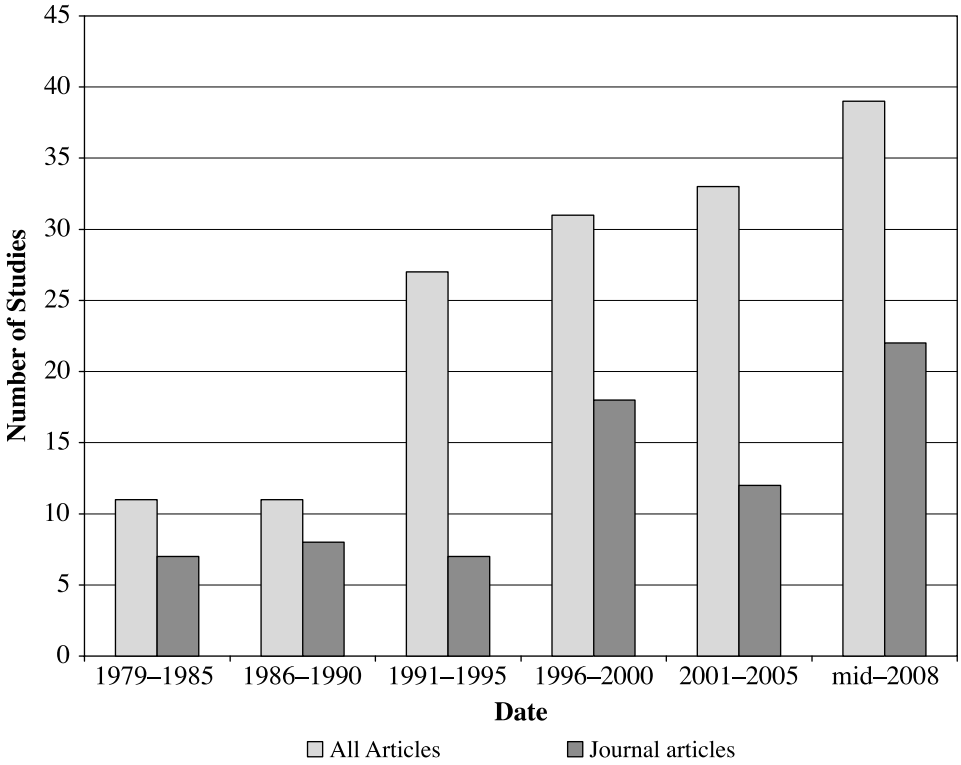

Figure 1. Number of articles in sample by date

2005 and held again in 2007. The corresponding volumes of *PLL* (11 and 12) were published in 2006 and in press, respectively. In 2007, *Intercultural Pragmatics* offered a thematic issue on interlanguage pragmatics in study abroad programs. That accounts for some of the increase in the total number of papers. The publication of edited volumes include the particularly influential collections of Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper (1989), Kasper and Blum-Kulka (1993), and Gass and Neu (1996), which were spread out in earlier years, and more recently volumes that cluster from 2001, 2003, 2004, and 2005. The number of publications in interlanguage pragmatics continues to rise. Note that the last interval from 2006 to mid-2008 covers only 2.5 years, up to June of 2008, only half the time of the 5-year intervals depicted in Figure 1, and yet had more publications. The revitalization of *Pragmatics and Language Learning* and the publication of volumes 11 (2006) and 12 (in press) contributes, as does the thematic issue on aquisitional pragmatics in *Intercultural Pragmatics* (2007).

3. General characteristics

The articles in the sample were coded for multiple characteristics: source of publication, date, research questions, data collection, number of tasks, mode of tasks, potential for replication, languages involved, and primary and secondary focus of the study. In addition, research questions and data collection techniques were coded for the feature [± interactive]. Data collection was further coded for production [± production], mode (oral/aural/written/CMC, i.e., computer mediated communication), number of tasks, and means of operationalization.

3.1. Language

In this sample, 10 target languages are represented, Danish, English (with a range of national varieties represented), French, German, Hebrew, Indonesian, Japanese, Kiswahili, Russian, and Spanish. The number of first languages represented by the learners is much greater: 24 first languages are reported (not counting national varieties in studies of learners from a single language background). These include Arabic, American Sign Language, Cantonese, Catalan, Czech, Danish, Dinka, English (American, Australian, British, and Irish), Finnish, French, German (Austrian and Federal), Hebrew, Hungarian, Italian, Japanese, Khmer, Korean, Malay, Persian, Spanish, Thai, and Vietnamese. Thirty-seven studies report mixed background learners and may have learners from additional languages. Two case studies did not report the first language of the learners.

English (and its national varieties) is the dominant target language with 106 of the 152 studies investigating the acquisition of L2 English pragmatics. 46 studies have target languages other than English as reported above. The first language of the studies is predominantly English, although 9 studies, or nearly 20 % of the 46 studies, report first languages other than or in addition to English. (However, this is only 6 % of the total sample.) As can be seen, English figures heavily in the interlanguage pragmatics literature as a target language in 106 studies (70 %) and a first language in 38 studies (25 %); in other words English is either the target or the first language in 144 studies or 95 % of the total sample. Part of the dominance of English could be due to the publications sampled, which, although international publications, are nevertheless published in English (as is this Handbook). On the other hand, this may reflect both the widespread learning and teaching of English as a second and foreign language, and the fact that English-medium universities are training graduate students to do pragmatics research. I would expect future work in interlanguage pragmatics to be characterized by an ever widening circle of languages.

From the perspective of the formulation of research questions, we should consider the relation of the choice of first language to the research question. Typically, first language is not implicated in the question, suggesting that many of the samples are samples of convenience rather than theoretically motivated. Re-

searchers are also legitimately interested in the local situation or the language that they teach. Additionally, publications in ILP suggest that the field holds the general assumption that languages and cultures and therefore languages and pragmatics differ, without a particular reason for testing any given pair of languages.

There are some exceptions to this however. Some research questions require that specific languages be investigated. Korean and two varieties of English (Australian and American) are investigated by Davis (2007) who asks: "Do Korean ESL learners in Australia prefer North American-based pragmatic routines to Australian pragmatic routines?" Tatsuki (2000) investigated whether native Japanese speakers perform differently in terms of aggression depending on whether they are using English or Japanese. Belz and Kinginger (2003) investigated the development of the T of solidarity through participation in telecollaborative language study. Any pairing of a first language that lacks T/V distinctions and a second language that exhibits them would satisfy the design requirement, in this case English and German were chosen.

3.2. Production studies vs. nonproduction studies

Production tasks are those that observe or generate conversation or simulated conversation for primary analysis. Authentic speech such as informal conversation, institutional talk, or classroom discourse, as well as elicited talk including role plays, and oral DCTs are examples of oral production; letters, computer-mediated communication (CMC), and written DCTs of various types including open questionnaires, dialog completion tasks, and dialog construction tasks are examples of written production. Nonproduction tasks are judgment tasks of various types, rating and sorting tasks, and interpretation tasks. Retrospective interviews were also classified as nonproduction tasks because they serve to interpret the primary data but do not themselves constitute the primary data in this sample (but see, for example, studies which collect native speaker accounts of speech acts such as Nelson, Al Batal and El Bakary 1996 or Boxer 1996). Studies were coded as *mixed* if they had both a production and nonproduction component. Out of 152 studies, 107 reported exclusively on production data,[3] 23 reported exclusively on nonproduction data,[4] and 22 reported on both.[5]

3.3. Potential for replication

Compared to second language acquisition work more generally, there has been a fair number of replications of studies in ILP in a relatively short time frame. One reason is the availability of the instrument used in the CCSARP and the coding manual. Another has been the desire to extend the original findings to other languages or language pairs. To facilitate replication (and here I refer to exact or approximate replications and rule out conceptual replications as being too vague to

be useful to this discussion), articles must include sufficient detail for other researchers to follow (Polio and Gass 1997; *Language Teaching* Review Board 2008). The more controlled the data collection, the more details must be provided. In the case of data elicited by means of an instrument, the complete instrument with procedures for administering it must be included.

Table 2. Number of studies that include full tasks

		N	%
Authentic Data	Elicited		
41	Yes	65	58.6
	Partial	15	13.5
	No	24	21.6
	Replications/previously published tasks	7	6.3
	Total	111	100

Of the 152 studies in the sample, 41 studies used authentic language samples exclusively. Sixty-five studies provided the full version of the elicitation tasks they used, and another 7 used tasks that were previously published. Taken together, 72 studies in the sample, or 65 %, could be replicated. Thirty-nine studies, or 35.1 %, did not give sufficient information for the task to be replicated exactly. Fifteen of those gave partial information. Interestingly, many of the studies that are coded as "partial" attempted audio-video, computer-based, or visual innovations on a standard DCT format. These often gave an example picture or screen shot, and then provided the full text of the task that was used. One of those – an audio-video presentation of scenarios that constitute a judgment task (Bardovi-Harlig and Dörnyei 1998) – was later posted on the authors' website. Not all visually enhanced studies fall into the partially replicable category, however. Takimoto (2007) posted a listening task (15 scenarios), a DCT, a roleplay, and acceptability judgment task (20 situations each) on a website at the time of publication. Rose (2000) published the COPT, the cartoon oral production task, in full in *SSLA*. These various solutions to providing full elicitation tasks show that it is possible to do so.

Authentic discourse takes place without the instigation of a researcher. Authentic discourse may be either oral or written, and monologic, dyadic, or multipartied. Conversational data constitutes the most familiar form of authentic discourse and the one most generally referred to in interlanguage pragmatics discussions of method. Can studies with authentic data be replicated? One type of authentic data certainly can be. In the framing chapter of our 2005 volume (Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford 2005), we argued that institutional talk is highly replicable. Institutional talk, which is both authentic and consequential, takes place with many speakers

over the life of an institution, or even during a reasonably short period of observation spanning days or weeks. Institutional discourse differs from ordinary conversations in three primary ways: goal orientation, constraints, and frameworks (Levinson 1983). Drew and Heritage (1992: 22) summarize them as follows:

1. Institutional interaction involves an orientation by at least one of the participants to some core goal, task or identity (or set of them) conventionally associated with the institution in question. In short, institutional talk is normally informed by *goal orientations* of a relatively restricted conventional form.
2. Institutional interaction may often involve *special and particular* constraints on what one or both of the participants will treat as allowable contributions to the business at hand.
3. Institutional talk may be associated with *inferential frameworks* and procedures that are particular to specific institutional contexts.

These three characteristics are just those which make institutional discourse suitable data for interlanguage pragmatics research: they contribute to the comparability of multiple interactions. Whereas conversations do not tend to have such constraints and so are not so easily comparable, institutional interactions often include expected norms of interaction such as turn-taking, constant social relations/roles, and asymmetrical power relationships.

Classroom discourse is another type of talk that can be replicated. Sometimes considered to be its own genre of discourse, and sometimes included in institutional talk, classroom discourse has naturally replicable structure, and it even exhibits activities that may also be performed at other sites. Class activities or related language learning activities like conversation partners often blur the line between authentic and consequential interaction and elicited data. Houck and Fujii (2006), for example, selected a topic of discussion among TESOL graduate students of a classic 1989 article on differences between adult foreign language learners and child first language learners. Nyugen (2008a, 2008b) used a peer response group (complete with composition writing to study criticism, and the Hong Kong student corpus (Fung and Carter 2007) derives from a task specifying that students are the staff of a toy company and need to submit a proposal regarding a new toy. Interestingly, one of the authentic classroom activities analyzed by Ohta (1997) is a role play.

Does that mean that authentic language use can be replicated more generally? I think that with enough samples it can be. These might be approximate replications, but the most robust findings on conversation should appear in a variety of settings.

4. Research questions

The primary research question or questions of each study were identified and included in the survey. For the articles that did not state an explicit research question, the goal statement was used instead. The portions of the questions that are relevant

to this survey are those that pose a question regarding pragmatics directly: they show what the authors believe ILP to be. Parts of research questions that deal with extra-pragmatic variables were not included, with apologies to the authors. The questions that were posed include "In interactions between NSs and NNSs of Spanish, how closely does the learners' sequential organization of politeness strategies across a refusal interaction approximate NS norms?" (Félix-Brasdefer 2004) and "Can a rating scale be developed for assessing sociocultural competence?" (sociocultural competence = cultural appropriateness and style, misuse or omission of semantic formulas, stylistic appropriateness in apologies; Cohen and Olshtain 1981). Other questions that addressed, for example, influences on pragmatic development such as proficiency, exposure, and motivation – and that are the purview of SLA – do not directly contribute to our understanding of the definition of pragmatics and were not included in the survey. These included questions such as "Is there a marked difference in understanding of the speech act by level of proficiency?" (Koike 1996); "Are there differential effects of instruction for inductive and deductive approaches to the teaching of compliments and compliment responses?" (Rose and Kwai-Fun 2001); and "Is the learner's confidence in formulating his or her request strategies influenced by the type of input condition?" (Takahashi 2001).

4.1. Framing the study

The most basic question with which to begin is "How do we frame our studies?" The means that we use to frame a study, questions, goal statements, or argumentative statements reflect the type of study that will be carried out and our analytic frameworks.

Table 3. Framing ILP research

Type of Study	Question	Statement	Total
Production	43	64	107
Nonproduction	16	7	23
Mixed	13	9	22
Total	72	80	152

Studies with tasks that do not involve production (judgment, multiple choice, ranking, reflection, or identification) tend to use a higher proportion of research questions than production studies (Table 3). Mixed studies pattern like nonproduction studies. Studies which use production tasks more often frame their inquiry with statements. Discourse analyses of authentic texts contribute to this. In contrast to researchers who may come from an experimental tradition which favors questions,

discourse analysts very often demonstrate that something happens rather than answering a question. Such research statements include "The aim of this paper is to demonstrate how bilingual friends and speakers of Japanese and English, in conversations predominantly conducted in Japanese, orient to their differential language expertise in repair and correction sequences" (Hosoda 2006) and "[We] show that the outcome of the advising session is due in large measure to students' use of language when negotiating out of status or non-congruent turns" (Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford 1990).

4.2. How is pragmatic competence operationalized in the research questions or statements?

4.2.1. Speech acts

Eighty-two studies (54 %) named "speech acts" or a specific speech act in the research question or statement. Eleven additional studies operationalized pragmatic competence in a speech act framework. In all, 99 studies, 65 % of the studies sampled, referred to speech acts (Table 4). Production studies and mixed studies (which have a production component) show greater use of a speech act framework than the nonproduction studies do. Eight of out 23 nonproduction studies (35 %) explicitly state their research question with reference to speech acts, whereas 12 (52 %) use speech acts in their design. In contrast, 74 studies of 130 production and mixed studies (57 %) refer to speech acts explicitly, and 87 studies (67 %) use speech acts in the analysis.

Table 4. Analytic Focus

	Analytic Focus					
Type of Study	Speech Acts	Non-Speech Acts				
		TSR	GLR	DS	Int	Other
Production	70	15	11	4	2	5
Nonproduction	12	0	1	0	8	2
Mixed	17	2	2	1	0	0
Total	99	17	14	5	10	7

Note. TSR = turn structure; GLR = grammatical and lexical devices including routines; DS = discourse structure; Int = interpretation.

4.2.2. What speech acts were investigated?

Seventeen different speech acts were investigated, with some studies including more than one. The 99 studies resulted in 115 sets of data on speech acts. Requests were at the top with 37 studies (43 if "directives" are included); apologies follow with 19; refusals, 13; complaints, 6; suggestions, 5; compliments, 4; advice giving, 3; disagreements, 3; responses to compliments, 2; criticizing, 2; and one each for agreements, chastisement, correction, direction giving, thanking, and advice solicitation. In percentage of speech acts studied the distributions were 32 % requests (37 % with the directive studies), 17 % apologies, 11 % refusals, and 5 % for complaints. The remaining speech acts fall between 4 % and 1 %.

4.3. Other analyses

The speech studies form a large and obvious grouping, and could be further divided into different types of analyses. In this section, I briefly survey how studies that did not use a speech act framework operationalized pragmatic knowledge. After reviewing the research questions and analyses, I divided the approaches into five main groups according to the object of study: turn structure (TSR), grammatical and lexical devices including routines (GLR), interpretation (Int), discourse structure (DS), and other (Table 4). Studies of turn structure investigate sequencing of turns, repair, and alignment and it also included four studies of greeting and one of leave taking because these studies are always concerned with turn sequencing. Studies that focused on grammar, lexicon, and routines investigated linguistic resources upon which speakers draw to realize communication, which constitute a subset of pragmalinguistic devices. Analyses included the use of modal particles in German telecolloboration (Vyatkina and Belz 2006), adverbials to set pragmatic tone (Beebe and Waring 2004), and formulas (House 1996; Tateyama 2001). Studies of discourse structure included investigations of speech events, such as a nurse trainee's talk with patients and hospital staff (Cameron and Williams 1997), and written events such as letters of recommendation (Bouton 1995). Studies that focused on interpretation included analyses of speakers' underlying knowledge including metapragmatic judgments, ranking, rating, comprehension, identification, and implicature. Finally, I used an "other" category for unique studies including a study of attitude, emotion, identity, pragmatic tone, topic, subjectivity and two studies of input.

5. How is interaction represented in research questions and design?

As we saw at the beginning of this chapter, interaction is an important component of the definition of pragmatic competence. How then is this reflected in the framing of research questions and statements on the one hand and implemented through re-

search designs/data collection on the other? To answer this question, I coded the research questions and the data collection as [± interactive]. Research questions that explicitly name interaction (turns, negotiation, delay, repair, interlocutor reaction, or a specific speech event, for example) were coded as interactive. These included questions such as "In interactions between NSs and NNSs of Spanish, how closely does the learners' sequential organization of politeness strategies across a refusal interaction approximate NS norms?" (Félix-Brasdefer 2004), "How do delay sequences in academic NS-NNS opinion-giving interactions behave?" (Houck and Fujii 2006), and "We explore what kind of teachers' third positioned feedback allows the interaction to move forward" (Hosoda and Aline, in press). Research questions that named an interactive speech event such as advising sessions (Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford 1990, 1993b) or peer-tutoring sessions (Williams 2005) were coded as interactive.

Research questions that did not explicitly refer to interaction or that specifically stated that the task related to awareness, interpretation, or judgments were coded as noninteractive. Questions used in production studies that did not refer to interaction included "What are the primary apology strategies used by Jordanian undergraduate [EFL] students in English?" (Bataineh and Bataineh 2006) and "How do Vietnamese EFL learners differ from the Australian NSs in performing the speech act of criticizing in English?" (Nguyen 2008a). Questions that focused on awareness, interpretation, or judgments included "Do L2 learners differ in accuracy and comprehension speed for different types of implied meaning?" (Taguchi 2005), "Do Japanese EFL learners notice bi-clausal request forms to a greater extent than other pragmalinguistic features in request discourse in the implicit input condition?" (Takahashi 2005), and "The purpose of this study is to establish whether relatively advanced linguistic proficiency and exposure to L2 environments lead to NNS awareness and recognition of distinctions between L1 and L2 rules of appropriateness and a willingness to follow L2 socio-pragmatic norms" (Hinkel 1996).

Research designs that resulted in language samples that involved two or more speakers communicating to each other were coded as interactive. This included face-to-face dyadic and multiparty talk, phone calls, synchronous and asynchronous computer mediated communication that included contributions of both parties, and simulations of the same in role-plays. Research designs that resulted in language samples that are monologic in nature (such as letters of recommendation or initiations of email exchanges without replies), oral DCTs, and experiments were coded as noninteractive. Tasks that were described as role plays, but that had no interlocutor other than the focal participant were treated as oral DCTs, and thus, noninteractive.

This results in four possible combinations. Research questions that explicitly address interaction with data that is interactive (I/I in Figure 2); research questions that explicitly address interaction with data that is not interactive (I/N); research

questions that do not explicitly address interaction with data that is interactive (N/I); and, research questions that do not explicitly address interaction with data that is not interactive (N/N). Of these, one combination, research questions that explicitly address interaction with data that is not interactive (I/N), do not occur in the present sample. The orientation of research questions and designs are represented by five-year intervals in Figure 2. Because all but one of the nonproduction studies were redundantly not interactive, they are not included in the figure. Only the productive data collection in the mixed studies was coded. If at least one of the research questions or at least one task or activity was interactive, the study was coded as interactive for the research question or design, respectively.

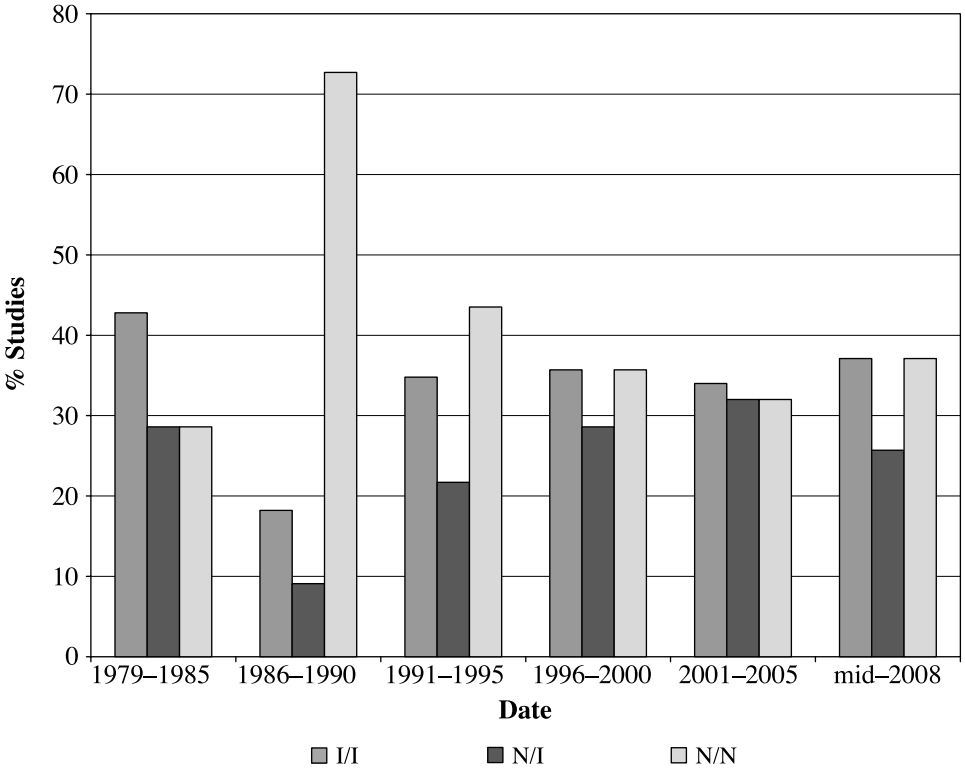

Figure 2. Research questions and design of production and mixed studies coded for interactivity by five-year intervals.

The proportion of interactive and noninteractive questions and corresponding means of data collection are illustrated in Figure 2. Greater than one-third of all studies (39.5 %) in the sample with production activities (production and mixed studies taken together) pose questions that do not address interaction and they address them with noninteractive data. These peak between 1986 and 1990 when

73 % of the studies have this orientation. Studies that collect language samples that are interactive account for 60.4 % of the sample, and break down into 34.9 % that pose a question that explicitly addresses interaction and 25.6 % that do not.

Two of the question-data combinations are relatively straightforward: studies that state an interest in interaction and pursue it and those that have no explicitly stated interest in interaction and do not pursue it. They differ in how they address the definitions of pragmatics, however. I think that it is the combination of noninteractive questions and interactive data, and its slow increase between 1991 and 2005, that shows the methodological maturation of interlanguage pragmatics. That is, it reveals the underlying understanding that the aspects of language that we study as pragmaticists are influenced by interaction with another person. Even speech act production, which as we noted above is the single most investigated area in interlanguage pragmatics, is changed by the contribution of an interlocutor as turns develop. I would be willing to suggest (maybe it is my methodological bias showing and I should say *hope*) that studies will increasingly embrace interactive data, whether authentic or elicited. Certainly, many, if not most recent reports of studies that use noninteractive means of data collection include a statement to the effect that interactive means have certain advantages. These statements have also changed position in the reports: early papers reflected on means of data collection in the discussion section, whereas more recent studies reflect on method in the method section. Perhaps researchers are weighing the cost and benefits of method more seriously earlier in the process.

Change in research cannot be represented by a straight line, however, but perhaps more accurately as a main road with turnouts. As an editor, reader, and observer of the field, I think that noninteractive tasks, and especially DCTs, are favored when other innovations are introduced in the design. For example, of the six studies in the thematic issue of *Intercultural Pragmatics*, only one (Félix-Brasdefer 2007) analyzed an interactive language sample.

Interactivity also interacts with other issues of design, such as mode, number of tasks utilized, and type of study conducted. This is taken up in the next section.

6. Operationalizing research questions: Mode, number of tasks, interaction, and production

6.1. Mode

Mode is of obvious importance in the study of interlanguage pragmatics. Table 5 reports the number of studies that utilized at least one oral or aural task. That means that participants spoke in production tasks or that they listened to audio stimuli in nonproduction tasks. To be classified as "written exclusively" a study used no tasks that were oral or aural, and participants wrote their answers in production tasks or

read the stimuli for judgment, rating, and choice tasks. Overall, 95 studies, 62.5 % or just under two-thirds, of the studies had an oral or aural component; 57 studies or 37.5 % were written. Of those six examined authentic written events. That means that 51 of 57 studies, or 89.5 % of the written studies, used writing to explore characteristics of spoken language. Many studies argue that the written format is sufficient. However, Cohen and Shively (2007: 196) elegantly described their DCT (named "The Speech Act Measure of Language Gain) as "an indirect means for assessing spoken language in the form of a written production measure."

Table 5. Number of studies that have at least one oral/audio task by design

Type of Study	N	Mode			
		Oral/Aural		Written exclusively	
		N	%	N	%
Production	107	74	69.2	33	30.8
Nonproduction	23	8	34.8	15	65.2
Mixed	22	13	59.1	9	40.1
Total	152	95	62.5	57	37.5

6.2. Multiple tasks

Just under one-third of the studies sampled used multiple data elicitation techniques. The 152 studies employed 216 tasks (Table 6). 107 of the studies employed a single task, and the remaining 45 studies employed 109 tasks between them; that means that just 30 % of the studies is responsible for just over one-half of the tasks. The production and nonproduction tasks are evenly matched with about 82–83 % of each type using a single task. Mixed designs by definition have more than one task, at least one production task and one nonproduction task.

Table 6. Number of tasks per study by design

Type of Study	N	Number of Tasks									
		1		2		3		4		6	
		n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Production	107	88	82	13	12	5	5	1	1	0	0
Nonproduction	23	19	83	4	17	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mixed	22	0	0	14	64	5	23	2	10	1	1
Total	152	107	70	31	20	10	7	3	2	1	1

Whereas Table 5 reported the distribution of mode across studies, Table 7 reports the distribution of mode across tasks. In the previous analysis, a study with at least one oral/aural component was coded as being oral. In the present analysis, each task in a study was coded separately for mode. Since each task is coded separately, the "mixed" category disappears. Individual tasks are either production or nonproduction tasks.

Table 7. The distribution of mode across tasks by design

Type of Task	N	Authentic or Simulated Conversation					Authentic written
		Oral	Aural	Audio-Video	Written	CMC	Written
Production	151 (O) + 6 (W)	96			55	5	1
Nonproduction	59	7	8	9	35		
Total	216	103	8	9	90	5	1

Note. CMC= Computer mediated communication

In nonproduction tasks, 17 (29 %) work with audio or audio-visual data for judgment tasks or rating, whereas 35 (59 %) work from written transcripts. (Recall that oral nonproduction tasks are retrospective interviews that supplement production data.) That means that there are fewer than one-half as many judgment or interpretation tasks from aural stimuli as those working from written format. In contrast, in production tasks nearly twice as many tasks elicit oral data. Ninety-six out of 151 production tasks that collect authentic or simulated conversation (64 %) are oral; 55 out of 151 (36 %) are written. Six studies collected authentic written data of which five examine computer mediated communication (Belz and Kinginger 2003, Biesenbach-Lucas 2006, Hartford and Bardovi-Harlig 1996, Narita, in press, Vyatkina and Belz 2006) and one collected letters of recommendation (Bouton 1995).

6.3. Interactive tasks and mode

Returning momentarily to an earlier variable examined, 84 of the 96 oral tasks are interactive (87.5 %), plus two of the CMC (Computer-Mediated Communication tasks, called telecollaborations by Belz and colleagues). That sounds promising, but consider that with written tasks included, only 55 % of all the production tasks result in interactive data.

6.4. Multiple tasks as a reflection of research questions in mixed studies

Twenty-two studies employ mixed production-nonproduction tasks, of those 22, 9 (or 41 %) had no statement in the research question that specified the design. Research questions formulated the object of study in general ways, such as "the learning of target requests strategies" (Takahashi 2001), "linguistic competence or grammatical competence" (Hoffman-Hicks 1992), or "pragmatic competence in FLT" (Tateyama et al 1997) or "requests in natural data … in institutional talk" (Hartford and Bardovi-Harlig 1996). In these studies, the use of multiple tasks seems to be an attempt to address the breadth of pragmatic competence reflected in the question by collecting data from multiple sources, thus viewing pragmatics from multiple perspectives. For five of the studies, the broad questions are reflected in broad range of methods. The number of tasks in this set ranges from two to six, with the mean 2.6 tasks per study. An additional study (Mir 1992) formulates both its questions in production terms, but includes a judgment task by the learners. This points to another use of judgment tasks done by learners, and that is to provide an interpretation of the production data. The study by Hartford and Bardovi-Harlig (1996) used a metapragmatic questionnaire to further explore the recipients' reactions to the authentic emails and learned that faculty and students have different ideas of what constitutes an imposition.

Method studies – of which there are four in mixed production – use various tasks, not to provide a fuller picture of pragmatic competence, but to describe task variation. The understanding of task variation in pragmatics may be a goal in its own right or a means to identify efficient, equivalent, or superior tasks that can be used to replace more burdensome or less efficient or less natural data collection procedures. Some studies explicitly state their comparative goals (Hinkel 1997, Yamashita 1997) and others pose their comparisons in more general terms, "discussion of method" (Ebsworth, Bodman and Carpenter 1996) or "What is the relative effectiveness of various data elicitation measures?" (Tateyama 2001).

Two studies elicit native speaker judgments regarding learner production (Davies and Tyler 2005, Murphy and Neu 1996), and the use of judgments is predictable from the formulation of the research questions. The six remaining studies that use both production and nonproduction formulate questions that explicitly reflect interest in production and perception, comprehension, identification, or interpretation by the learners.

6.4.1. Method and testing studies

Method studies intend to compare elicitation tasks (discussed above). So do testing studies. There are nine method studies (4 discussed earlier) and two assessment studies included in the survey. One study investigates both method and assessment;

another studies both method and treatment. Nine of the studies explicitly name the elicitation tasks investigated. These offer a very clear relation of stated research question to the design.

6.5. The use of multiple tasks in nonproduction studies

Only four studies with nonproduction tasks use multiple tasks: Tanaka and Kawade (1982), Schauer (2006a), Fukuya and Clark (2001), and Davis (2007). Following a replication of Bardovi-Harlig and Dörnyei's (1998) judgment task, Schauer (2006a) uses a retrospective interview to identify the learners' perception of the source of infelicities. The goal of Fukuya and Clark (2001) is to investigate whether learners recognize appropriate use of mitigators after instruction. Both tasks (a listening comprehension test and a pragmatic multiple choice test) do that; together they provide more data and both tasks address the research questions. The same is found with Davis (2007): Both tasks address the stated question of Korean students' perception of Australian English routines as targets of L2A. In the final paper by Tanaka and Kawade (1982) each of the tasks addresses a separate question, but the second question regarding "use" is not well matched to the multiple-choice questionnaire because a multiple-choice questionnaire only tests a respondent's selection of one item among many, not actual use.

6.6. The use of multiple tasks in production studies

Of 107 production studies, 88 (82 %) elicit data using only a single task, leaving 19 studies that use two or more tasks. Seven of the studies explore method (see above); six have two tasks each (Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford 1993b; Billmeyer and Varghese 2000; Hartford and Bardovi-Harlig 1992; Johnston, Kasper, and Ross 1996; Rintell and Mitchell 1989; Sasaki 1998) and one has four (Hudson 2001). Of the remaining 12 studies, 7 studies use two tasks, 5 use three and one uses four tasks.

Eight of the studies that use two or more tasks (Boxer 1993, House 1996, Omar 1991, 1992, 1993, 2006, Pearson 2006, Schmidt 1983) use additional tasks to obtain more production data for analysis. Omar (1992), for example, used multiple elicitations to provide learners more opportunities to greet in Kiswahili. Four of the studies used retrospective interviews to interpret the production data (Cohen and Olshtain 1993; Félix-Brasdefer 2004; Nyugen, 2008a, 2008b). In three of the studies, the retrospective interviews are motivated by additional research questions. For example, Cohen and Olshtain (1993) asked "What is the extent of attention to grammar and pronunciation in the production of speech act utterances?"

7. Does data collection in ILP reflect current definitions of pragmatics?

The definitions of pragmatics adopted by Kasper and Rose (2002) integrate three key concepts to describe pragmatics: *use, interaction,* and *effects on other participants*. Data elicitation tasks in interlanguage pragmatics research address these concepts to different degrees. Interpreting *use* to mean "authentic language use," we find that 41 studies (27 %) in the present survey collected and analyzed authentic language samples.

Interaction is addressed by the exploration of authentic spoken discourse of various types, synchronous and asynchronous telecollaboration, and roleplay in 78 of 129 production studies (60 %), or 51 % of the total studies surveyed. For *effects on other participants*, all studies that use authentic and consequential interactive data get full marks because the interlocutors respond in the course of interaction. This is a trademark claim of conversation analysts – and it applies to other types of discourse analysis as well – that the participants themselves provide an analysis of the turns at talk through their responses.

Authentic and consequential interaction illuminates linguistic and nonlinguistic effects on participants, including success at getting desired courses (Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford 1990, 1993b), failure during a confrontation that results in both interlocutors reporting the other to a teaching supervisor (Davies and Tyler 2005), and maintaining friendship (Habib 2008). Simulated conversations in the form of role-plays certainly show some effects on other participants in the area of language use, although not in the area of real-world consequences. Like conversational turns, role-play turns may cause linguistic modification, change of turn structure, or show uptake or repair, for example. A third type of design that attempts to address effects on other participants employs native-speaker judges of learner production. Some studies are interactive and have judges, but each study is counted only once. Davies and Tyler (2005) use both authentic conversations during which it is clear that there are unresolved problems, and NS judges to help interpret what cultural expectations each speaker brought to the interaction. It is more common for studies that use role-plays to use judges than studies that examine authentic data. That may be because the role-plays lack real-world consequence which the judges help supply indirectly. Eight studies employ NS judges (Davies and Tyler 2005, Hasall 2003, Koike 1996, Murphy and Neu 1996, Nakahama 1999, Shardakova 2005, Tateyama, Kasper, Mui, Tay and Thananart 1997, Yamashita 1997).

In sum, comparing data collection to definitions of pragmatics suggests that interlanguage pragmatics has not yet entirely reached its goal of exploring use, interaction, and effects on participants. Nevertheless, there has been progress, and there are good models to follow in a variety of areas. Because this area of investigation has always been reflective when it comes to task design, I would expect techniques of data collection and analysis to continue to develop. To contribute to this worthwhile endeavor, I will end with a few suggestions for designing further studies.

8. Recommendations for further studies

This section makes recommendations for designing future studies in interlanguage pragmatics based on the review just presented. It begins with the issue of designing data collection to appropriately reflect the explicitly articulated objects of study in interlanguage pragmatics and ends by reiterating areas of investigation that are under-represented in interlanguage pragmatics.

In order to meet the explicitly stated goals of studying use, interaction, and effect of speakers' contributions on other speakers, samples of authentic and consequential language use should be collected whenever possible. Given the focus of pragmatics research, this should be the default design for studies of production. Authentic and consequential data best reveal language use and where two-way communication occurs, interaction and effect on participants as well. Natural language use is very rich and can be viewed from multiple perspectives even after the original investigation has been completed. It may take patience to collect a reasonably sized sample but there are significant benefits. With authentic and consequential language, researchers do not have to worry about how good a simulation is or how "natural" naturalistic tasks are. With digital recorders and electronic sound files, it has never been easier to record and transcribe oral data.

When authentic and consequential language is not available, or when working in true experimental conditions, the closest possible simulation should be employed. This means that the mode of elicitation should be the same as the mode being investigated. Staged conversations and role plays often show many of the same features of spontaneous conversations, for example, including sequential effects for turn taking, although they lack both established relationships between speakers and real-world consequences beyond the talk itself. Aural/audio stimuli should be used for recognition or judgment of spoken features and oral language should be collected when studying conversational features. Studies of computer mediated communication should present stimuli or collect production data on a computer rather than using a paper and pencil format. Taken to its logical conclusion, the corollary of this recommendation is to abandon written production as a facsimile of oral production.

My recommendation to those entering the field is to avoid the siren call of written production – unless investigating the pragmatics of written genres. The many forms of written communication are worth investigating from the perspective of interlanguage pragmatics for purposes of understanding written conventions and how they are acquired by second language learners, just to name one focus. Authentic written communication should be investigated to a greater extent; traditional genres of letters, application statements, grant proposals, and other areas of business and academic communication should be studied as well as newer text types such as CMC, chat, and texting.

Moreover, interaction can only be studied through interaction. Effect on others can be best viewed through interaction among participants. When the tasks are

such that there are no participants to respond to a message, judges should be enlisted. Although the study of effects on others has not received sufficient attention in general, two areas that are under-explored are emotional reactions and sincerity of turns. Recognition of emotions is addressed in Rintell (1984) and control of reactions to rudeness by Beebe and Waring (2004), which asks learners to respond on two levels: "I would say" and "I would feel like saying."

It seems that interlanguage pragmatics has often followed too closely research that has already been conducted, resulting in dominance of certain speech acts, elicitation tasks, or populations. When identifying areas of study, researchers should build on existing research to study the unstudied. Interlanguage pragmatics research would benefit from expanding the range of languages investigated. Uncommonly researched languages or settings can be approached with natural data or innovative designs. (As we observed earlier, the review of the literature suggests that researchers design studies on the premise that one innovation such as investigating an under-documented language or a new language-learning setting, is enough; but that need not be the case.) In addition to including an increased range of languages, interlanguage pragmatics would additionally benefit from expanding the learner population from almost exclusively instructed language learners to investigating second language learning and use among uninstructed language learners (cf. Wes whose development was chronicled by Schmidt 1983).

Interlanguage pragmatics is a vibrant area of inquiry at the confluence of pragmatics and second language acquisition. It will continue to weigh authentic and consequential language production against tasks that are more readily controlled by researchers. To the extent that research questions and data collection reveal the operational definition of any field, we see that interlanguage pragmatics has steadily developed research questions and means of addressing them that increasingly match the articulated goals of the field. We can expect to see continued development in that area.

Notes

[1] I use *acquisition* quite broadly here. It has been noted quite frequently in the ILP literature that ILP studies more frequently investigate language use by nonnative speakers than they investigate stages of acquisition or changes in pragmatic use over time.

[2] As part of both pragmatics and second language acquisition, interlanguage pragmatics uses terms common to both. For the readers of this volume, concepts from second language acquisition might be less familiar than those from pragmatics. The *interlanguage* of the term *interlanguage pragmatics* refers to the developing or emergent linguistic system that results from acquisition. Whereas American researchers prefer the term *interlanguage* (which can be traced to Selinker 1967), this is what Europeans call the *learner variety.* (Although the term *learner variety* has currency in European SLA, it has not found its way into interlanguage pragmatics research to date.) I will use the term *second*

language in the standard way: in general, *second language* is used to mean any language learned after the primary language (so it may actually be a third language). When it is contrasted with the term *foreign language* it refers to the language spoken in the environment where learning is taking place, such as English in the United States, Australia, Britain, and parts of Canada, or Spanish in Spain, Mexico, or Latin America. *Foreign language* refers to the language being learned outside of a region where it is spoken such as Japanese or Russian in North America.

[3] The production studies included in the sample are Banerjee and Carrell (1988), Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford (1990, 1991, 1993a, 1993b, 1996), Bardovi-Harlig and Salsbury (2004), Bardovi-Harlig, Bastos, Burghardt, Chappetto, Nickels and Rose (in press), Barron (2007), Bataineh and Bataineh (2006), Beebe and T. Takahashi (1989), Beebe and Waring (2004), Belz and Kinginger (2003), Biesenbach-Lucas (2006), Billmeyer and Varghese (2000), Blum-Kulka (1982), Blum-Kulka and Levenston (1987), Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1986), Blum-Kulka and Sheffer (1993), Bouton (1995), Boxer (1993), Cameron and Williams (1997), Cohen and Olshtain (1981), Cohen and Olshtain (1993), Cohen and Shively (2007), Dalton-Puffer and Nikula (2006), Edmondson, House, Kasper, and Stemmer (1984), Eisenstein and Bodman (1986), Faerch and Kasper (1989), Félix-Brasdefer (2004), Félix-Brasdefer (2007), Fujimoto (in press), Fung and Carter (2007), Gass and Houck (1996), Geis and Harlow (1996), Geyer (2007), Gibbs (2005), Habib (2008), Harlow (1990), Hartford and Bardovi-Harlig (1992), Hassall (2003), Hauser (in press), Hosoda (2006), Hosoda and Aline (in press), Houck and Fujii (2006), House (1996), Hudson (2001), Huss-Lederman (1999), Huth (2006), Ishida (2006), Johnston, Kasper and Ross (1998), Kanagy (1999), Kanagy and Igarashi (1997), Kärkkäinen (1992), Kasper (1984), Kesharav, Eslami and Ghahraman (2006), Kobayashi and Rinnert (2003), Liddicoat and Crozet (2001), Narita (in press), Nguyen (2008a, 2008b), Nickels (2006), Niki and Tajika (1994), Nikula (1993), Norris (2001), Ohta (1997, 1999, 2001), Olshtain and Weinbach (1993), Omar (1991, 1992, 1993, 2006), Park (2007), Pearson (2006), Rintell and Mitchell (1989), Rose (2000), Sabaté i Dalmau and Currell i Gotor (2007), Safont Jorda (2003), Saito and Beecken (1997), Salazar Campillo (2003), Salsbury and Bardovi-Harlig (2001), Sasaki (1998), Scarcella (1979a, 1979b), Schauer (2007), Schmidt (1983), Siegal (1996), Sif Karrebæk (in press), Taguchi (2007), Takahashi (1993), Takahashi and Beebe (1993), Tarone and Kuehn (2000), Tatsuki (2000), Taylor-Hamilton (2004), Trosborg (1987), Tyler (1995), Vyatkina and Belz (2006), Warga and Schölmberger (2007), Waring (2005), Weizman (1993), Williams (2005), Yates (2005, in press), Yoshimi (1999),Young and Miller (2004), and Yu (2004).

[4] The non-production studies included in the sample are Bardovi-Harlig (in press), Bardovi-Harlig, K. and Z. Dörnyei (1998), Bouton (1992, 1994a, 1994b), Carrell (1979), Carrell and Konneker (1981), Cook (2001), Davis (2007), Fukuya and Clark (2001), Hinkel (1994, 1996), Holtgraves (2007), Matsumura (2001, 2003, 2007), Niezgoda, K. and C. Roever (2001), Rintell (1984), Schauer (2006a), Taguchi (2005), Takahashi (1996, 2005), Tanaka and Kawade (1982).

[5] The mixed studies included in the sample are Bergman and Kasper (1993), Davies and Tyler (2005), Dufon (in press), Ebsworth, Bodman, and Carpenter (1996), Hartford and Bardovi-Harlig (1996), Hinkel (1997), Hoffman-Hicks (1992), Keenan (1993), Koike (1989, 1996), Maeshiba, Yoshinaga, Kasper, and Ross (1996), Mir (1992), Murphy and Neu (1996), Nakahama (1999), Rose and Kwai-fun (2001), Schauer (2006b), Shardakova (2005), S. Takahashi (2001), Takimoto (2007), Tateyama (2001), Tateyama, Kasper, Mui, Tay, and Thananart (1997), Yamashita (1997).

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8. Theoretical and methodological approaches in interlanguage pragmatics

Beatriz M.M. de Paiva

1. Interlanguage pragmatics, cross-cultural pragmatics and contrastive pragmatics: Breaking down barriers

Research on pragmatics in SLA has been essentially modelled on cross-cultural pragmatics and has been largely dominated by studies focusing on performance or use, rather than on acquisition/development (cf. Kasper and Schmidt 1996; Bardovi-Harlig 1999). The particular influence of cross-cultural pragmatics has led to studies contrasting native speakers' (NSs) and non-native speakers' (NNSs) performance of pragmatic aspects (cf. Blum-Kulka, S., House, J. and Kasper, J. (eds.) 1989). The issues that arise from studies in pragmatics in SLA are concerned, for instance, with realization strategies of speech acts, their universality, constraining contextual factors and cross-cultural contextual variation. They are broadly the same issues as those which have been investigated in cross-cultural pragmatics (cf. Kasper and Schmidt 1996: 150).

The perspective on communicative competence as sociocultural competence has yielded a significant amount of research on the impact of cultural aspects on second language learners' pragmatic choices although with little consideration of learning constraints. Thus it remains a challenge for ILP to integrate the insights offered by cross-cultural, contrastive pragmatics into theories of learning.

This need is not unrecognized in ILP studies. Hymes (1972) sees pragmatic knowledge as a component of 'communicative competence', interacting with sociocultural knowledge and other types of knowledge, so that the task of a language user in her performance of verbal action "is to select and combine elements from these areas in accordance with her illocutionary, propositional and modal (or 'social', 'politeness') goals" (cf. Kasper 1989: 39). Kasper argues that to account for the acquisition or development of pragmatic abilities "pragmatics needs to relate (product) description not only to social processes but also to the psychological processes of speech production/reception, as well as to language learning and acquisition" (Faerch and Kasper 1985: 214).

For Faerch and Kasper, a "cognitive-pragmatic approach" in the learning and teaching of a second language implies that procedural aspects of pragmatic knowledge need to be incorporated as well as its interaction with declarative knowledge in interlanguage studies.

1.1. Speech acts in ILP research

In their study of the contribution of speech act theory to the understanding of second language learning, Schmidt and Richards (1980: 129) argue that an account of speech acts in second language learning must include "knowledge of the rules of use and communicatively appropriate performance", that is the development of a communicative competence. Their study constitutes one of the first steps in broadening the scope of second language acquisition research from the sentence level to the discourse level. The methodological side of their understanding of speech act theory (consideration of discourse structures going beyond the sentence level) has been taken up by ILP studies in a much stronger way than the learning factors such as perception of input and inference.

1.2. Input in SLA studies

Generally speaking, input in SLA has been construed as positive and negative data, or positive and negative evidence. There has been a debate about whether primary linguistic data alone, in terms of positive evidence, could possibly be responsible for the achievement of the grammar in a finite amount of time unless negative evidence were made available to the learner. In her definition of the notion of negative evidence, Schachter (1991), using the term "corrective feedback" and/or "negative feedback", sees it as negative data provided by an expert to someone with less expertise.

Another perspective on input and its role in the learning of grammar is the so-called 'interactionist perspective' (cf. Long 1996). In this view modified input can provide both positive and negative data, offering evidence of what is allowed and of what is not allowed in the L2. Modified input is the result of negotiated interaction as discourse by NSs addressed to NNSs and well formed, though a modified version of the target language. This kind of interaction between NSs and NNSs is called *negotiation of meaning*. *Negotiation of meaning* provides learners with *opportunities* to pay attention to relationships of form and meaning, in that it makes forms and functions salient to learners. Responding to criticisms that this perspective on input focuses on factors exterior to the learner, Long offers a reformulation of his 'Interaction Hypothesis', modifying his claims about the nature and function of the linguistic environment in terms of the acquisition of language in order to consider not only its availability, but also its perception and usability (cf. Long 1996: 441).

Braidi (1995) uses the criteria of relevance, availability, accessibility and effect to investigate how interaction affects grammatical development. She concludes that Long's hypothesis provides a great body of information on the nature of the interaction, but does not specify the effects of those interactions on the development of grammar, nor does it take into account the relation between grammatical and interactional structures (cf. Braidi 1995: 164).

1.3. Input and the learning of pragmatics

There have been few studies in ILP which make direct reference to the relationship between input and the learning of pragmatics. Bardovi-Harlig (1999) argues that because ILP has been essentially modelled on cross-cultural pragmatics, interlanguage issues, such as the role of input in acquisition, have been neglected in ILP. Nevertheless, there have been some studies in ILP which explain their results with reference to the exposure (or lack) of input. Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford (1993, 1996), for instance, conducted a study on the development of suggestions and rejections by non-native speakers of English in academic advising sessions, where learners received negative feedback on the appropriateness of speech acts but not on realization strategies (e.g., levels of directness). The persisting inappropriateness of the use of forms (e.g., the use of few politeness markers as mitigators) in learners' realization strategies led Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford to conclude that the development of speech act strategies (especially pragmalinguistic knowledge) towards native speaker norms is dependent on access to feedback and input.

Although ILP studies have begun discussing acquisitional issues, such as the impact of input, they have tended, on the one hand, to present input as an external factor and on the other to establish a direct relationship between its availability and its acquisition and use. In other words, if specific pragmatic features are available in learners' interactions with native speakers, then they are going to be learned. Thus, research questions such as whether the learning of pragmatic abilities in a second language can be seen as more dependent on the availability of input (i.e. can rely less on universals) or, whether input to pragmatics is subject to the same conditions discussed above in the context of learning grammar remain central to the ILP research agenda.

2. Information-processing and pragmatic theoretical approaches in ILP: Cognition, relevance and noticing

2.1. Bialystok's two dimensional model

Bialystok (1978) has argued that different types of linguistic information are stored in different ways: as 'other knowledge', as 'explicit linguistic knowledge' and 'implicit linguistic knowledge'. She defines 'explicit linguistic knowledge' as "all the conscious facts the learner has about the language and the criterion for admission to this category is the ability to articulate those facts", while 'implicit linguist knowledge' "is the intuitive information upon which the language learner operates in order to produce responses (comprehension or production) in the target language. Information which is automatic and is used spontaneously in language tasks is represented in 'implicit linguistic knowledge'" (Bialystok 1978: 72). 'Explicit linguistic knowledge' is a kind of knowledge which can be manipulated, examined

and articulated. By contrast, 'implicit linguistic knowledge' contains unanalyzed information about language and can be expanded by unconscious acquisition and/or through *automatizing* of explicit linguistic knowledge by practice. In subsequent formulations, Bialystok (1982, 1984) puts forward a different version of the two kinds of knowledge in terms of the contrast between analyzed and unanalyzed knowledge. Analyzed mental representation of linguistic knowledge is knowledge where the relationship between meaning and form is apparent to the learner and can be thus manipulated. By contrast, unanalyzed representations of linguistic knowledge do not enable the learner to have access to form-meaning relationships; in Bialystok's words, learners are not aware of the structure of this kind of knowledge. In this more recent formulation, control of processing depends on the nature of the task the learner is performing, rather than on the degree of analysis.

Bialystok argues for a model of language processing as a framework for research on both language acquisition and use. Here, language proficiency is "the *fit* between the processing abilities of the learner and the task demands imposed by a specific language use situation" (Bialystok in Kasper and Blum-Kulka (eds.) 1993: 47). Such a model describes both learners' competence and task demands on the basis of two cognitive components of language processing: analysis of knowledge and control of processing, which develop with experience on its own course. *Control of processing* is construed as the process of controlling attention to relevant and appropriate information, of choosing what is relevant for carrying out a specific task. Bialystok divides mental representations into conceptual, formal and symbolic representations. Conceptual representations are organized around meanings, formal representations are coded in terms of the structure of the language and refer to metalinguistic knowledge, and finally the concept of symbolic representations expresses the way in which language refers, coding between form and a referent. In Bialystok's view, pragmatic competence depends to a greater extent on symbolic representations and to a lesser extent on formal representations. However, Bialystok (1982) argues that the mapping is not between form and meaning, but rather between form and social context where meaning does not vary across intentions within a certain social context.

The development of pragmatic competence undergoes the same processing mechanisms as other aspects of language: "knowledge for rules of use must be learned, represented, and transformed in the same way as the knowledge that controls other, more formal, aspects of the linguistic system" (Bialystok 1993: 44). However, the model does not offer an account of how the processing components (analysis of knowledge and control) develop. In this context, Schmidt (1993) argues that it is not enough to claim that control develops with experience in its own course, rather, control has to be explained in terms of learning mechanisms. In the case of the learning of pragmatic abilities, what is missing in Bialystok's model is an account of *inferencing processes.*

2.2. Schmidt's 'noticing hypothesis'

Schmidt (1990) claims that pragmatic knowledge is not always used in an automatic and unreflective way, but rather seems to be partly conscious. The kind of knowledge which relies on automatic processing might have been established through conscious understanding at the time of learning. Schmidt introduces a distinction between understanding and noticing: the concept of *noticing* refers to linguistic material stored in memory, presupposing allocation of attention to some stimulus; the concept of *understanding* involves recognition of rules, principles and patterns. Understanding is the process in which linguistic material is organized into a linguistic system. In this context, Schmidt argues that, in the case of the learning of pragmatics in a second language, noticing is necessary whereas understanding is helpful.

While attention is a necessary condition for noticing, it refers not to input in general, but to linguistic forms, functional meanings and relevant contextual features (cf. Schmidt in Kasper and Blum-Kulka (eds.) 1993). Even if the input to be attended to is not general, it can still be considered to be too broad, so that learners would necessarily have to be able to select material or determine levels of relevance. Consequently, this selection process must also be explained either in terms of the salient features of the input itself (where salience is perceived in negotiation by the communicator), or in terms of internal cognitive mechanisms, or more plausibly in terms of an interaction of both.

Schmidt (1990) discusses 'conscious awareness', 'noticing' 'understanding' and 'unconscious abstraction' in the context of three different kinds of learning: subliminal, incidental and implicit learning. In the context of "the role of consciousness in input processing", Schmidt (1990: 129) raises three questions:

> whether conscious awareness at the level of 'noticing' is necessary for language learning (the subliminal learning issue); whether it is necessary to consciously 'pay attention' in order to learn (the incidental learning issue); and whether learner hypotheses based on input are the result of conscious insight and understanding or an unconscious process of abstraction (the implicit learning issue).

Schmidt also contends that 'noticing' is necessary and sufficient for acquisition to take place, when he seems to tie attention to the concept of 'noticing'.

By investigating the relationship between explicit and implicit knowledge and how they are internalised Schmidt seems to be arguing for a stronger role of explicit knowledge in learning, as a facilitator for internalisation. 'Noticing', acting as a constraint for learning, is also subject to certain constraints: innate universals and expectancies act as unconscious contextual constraints. Frequency in input, perceptual salience, skill level and task demands also constitute constraints for learning. As for frequency, Schmidt claims that forms that were not present in the input available to the learner, were not present in the learner's speech either. However, it is not the presence in the input which is sufficient for 'intake', rather it is the

fact that they are noticed. After being noticed, forms start being used. Here, Schmidt establishes a strong connection between noticing and production (cf. Schmidt 1990).

Schmidt's Noticing Hypothesis has not yet been explicitly tested in the context of the learning of pragmatics in SLA. Nevertheless, Dufon's study (1999 in Kasper 2001) on the acquisition of politeness in L2 Indonesian seems to support the noticing hypothesis. Dufon used different kinds of data, amongst them journals. According to the data provided by the journals, participants noticed the features which were pragmatically salient – for instance, address terms and greetings. Other, less salient, features in their interactions with Indonesian native speakers have not been noticed. Important questions arise in the context of the noticing hypothesis: 1. How do pragmatic features become salient to learners? Why do some features, for instance address terms in the case of Dufon's study, become more salient than others?

Schmidt argues that frequency in the input contributes to making a particular feature salient. Some studies show that frequency in the input is not enough to make learners notice the features: salience seems to be related to the content of learners' cognitive representations (cf. Carroll 1999: 361). In other words, individual learners will process the input differently. Within a relevance theoretical framework, input which will be noticed is input which is relevant. That is input which connects with pre-existent knowledge, but at the same time is not an entire repetition of what is known already. Carroll further contends that to be relevant means it can be processed with as little effort as possible in terms of the gains in the interaction or goals.

Where the acquisition of pragmatic abilities is seen as a question of selecting relevant information amidst an input of grammatical, textual, discoursal and social factors, Relevance Theory can provide an operational theoretical framework for the explanation of the acquisition of pragmatics in a second language in terms of communication and cognition. As Foster-Cohen (2004) has argued, by redefining *context* as psychological, cognitive context, and preferring the notion of *manifestness* to *mutual knowledge*, and *effort-effect* to *rule violation*, Relevance Theory represents a challenge to both cognition-based and socio-cultural approaches of pragmatics in SLA.

2.3. Cognition and communication in ILP: Relevance theory

Inferential mechanisms of Relevance Theory can account for the processes of communicative interaction and thus can complement such information-processing accounts through the notions of 'manifestness' and the balance between 'effort' and 'effect'.

While Relevance Theory is not centrally concerned with the socio-cultural context, Bialystok's account in turn does not fully explore the connection between

control and the dynamic development of new pragmatic skills. Control of processing involves the search for relevance as the relation between effort and effect. Carroll (2001) has argued that it is important to go beyond the conception of noticing as attention to discrete form including the question as to how the effort/effect calculation interacts with attention to form. Schmidt's hypothesis opens up the question of the noticing of relevant contextual meanings.

Sperber and Wilson posit the 'informative intention' as making "manifest or more manifest to the audience a set of assumptions I" (Sperber and Wilson 1995: 58). The communication of manifestness means that a communicator intends not to modify the thoughts of his audience, but to bring about a modification in the cognitive environment of that audience. Whereas in Sperber and Wilson's terms, 'strong communication' seeks the greatest possible precision in the communicator's expectations, in 'weak communication', often more frequently observed in human interaction, the communicator "can merely expect to steer the thoughts of the audience in a certain direction." One hypothesis deriving from this distinction and the focus on cognitive environments as opposed to cognitive processes is that non-native speakers in interaction with native speakers could deliberately opt for weak communication to reduce the risk of a communication which may be precise, but inappropriate. This in turn can increase processing effort. Alternatively, speakers can opt for greater clarity and neglect politeness.

The principle of *relevance* can also offer insights into the relationship between input (linguistic environment) and second language learning. For example, Carroll (2001: 371–392) investigates second language learners' interpretation of feedback (repetitions, clarification requests) provided by native speakers in relation to contextual effects and processing effort. Here, she argues that the interpretation of feedback is constrained by the principle of *relevance*. Carroll (2001: 375) claims that feedback, in order to be interpreted as feedback, has to violate the principle of *relevance*. The interpretation of linguistic feedback as a correction "represent[s] a rupture in the discourse". In other words, the interpretation of feedback as feedback requires that the learner rejects the first and optimally relevant interpretation of the native speaker's utterance in favour of attributing to it a corrective intention, resorting, in this way, to a metalinguistic interpretation. To say that the interpretation of feedback as feedback depends on it being *Irrelevant* means that it requires from learners more processing effort with no guarantee that learners will draw the necessary inferences. Although Carroll questions the *usability* of feedback in the context of learning grammar, the same issues need to be addressed in investigations of the role of input in the learning of pragmatic abilities in a second language.

While both NSs and NNSs may proceed in cognitive terms from expectations of relevance as defined by Sperber and Wilson, in communication terms (from lexis to syntax to pragmatics to social norms) the effect/effort ratio often does not fit with such expectations. More often than not, effect is dissipated by vague, inappropriate or infelicitous expression which in turn demands greater processing ef-

fort. Pragmatic interactions between native and non-native speakers can thus be described as multi-speed.

All these theoretical considerations, which represent an attempt to bring ILP closer to SLA issues, can only be integrated in the context of new methodologies in ILP which include interactional and discoursal aspects.

3. New methodologies in ILP: Discourse, interaction and conversation analysis

Traditionally, dominant methodological paradigms have tended to be focused on the CCSARP manual. However, interactional and discourse approaches (cf. Trosborg 1995) achieve an analysis of speech acts which goes beyond the analysis of isolated utterances, where speech acts are construed as communicative acts. Interactional methodological approaches also bring ILP closer to SLA issues, such as the role of interaction in SLA (cf. Long's Input and Interaction hypothesis 1996). More recently, ILP has seen a move from studies with a focus on paradigmatic approach of non-interactive data elicitation and the sentence level analysis, to discourse and conversation analysis (cf. Barron 2003, and Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford 2005).

3.1. The cross-cultural speech act realization project coding manual

The parameters on which the CCSARP coding manual is based were first developed by House and Kasper (1981). The coding scheme developed for the requestive speech act is, according to Blum-Kulka et al. (1989: 16), "based on frames of primary features expected to be manifested in the realization or requests (…) and apologies". The selection of primary features proposed in their coding scheme are not in any explicit way followed by a theoretical justification as to why certain features are expected to be manifested and not others. The lack of any theoretically elaborated rationale might be explained by the emphasis of the CCSARP on construing itself as an empirically oriented project.

This view, which gives priority to the data (situated speech), has been highly influential in studies of speech acts in ILP. According to this view, the CCSARP project developed a classification for requests and apologies based on previous empirical research (cf. Blum-Kulka et al. 1989: 17) where features which emerged in the data formed the basis for the categories proposed by the coding scheme. For studies of speech acts using oral, interactive data the taxonomy developed by CCSARP poses two significant problems: first, if for studies using 'the DCT', the identification of the head act (the request proper in the case of requests) does not constitute an easy task, the employment of oral, interactive data makes it even more difficult. In the context of interactive, open role plays, where the requestive

act is performed over several turns, criteria have therefore been established for the identification of the requestive features (e.g., head act and supportive moves), which take into account the interactive character of the data. In this context, Kasper and Dahl (1991: 229) add to yet another particularity of the coding of role plays, when they claim that:

> Coding role play data is more difficult than coding data from more tightly controlled tasks, since illocutionary force and the precise function of conversational markers often cannot be unambiguously determined, facts making interrater reliability harder to achieve.

In this way, studies using interactive data have had to modify the CCSARP coding manual, in order to solve the problems mentioned above (e.g., Trosborg 1995). Another potential problem for the adoption of the CCSARP coding scheme is that the coding manual does not have an explicit developmental focus. While acknowledging this potential limitation, Blum-Kulka et al. (1989: 11) offer the following counterargument:

> Most of the interlanguage studies included in the present volume are nondevelopmental. However, they allow for generating hypothesis about the acquisition of pragmatic knowledge which may later be tested in developmental studies. Likewise, as demonstrated by the only CCSARP study that did look at the developmental aspect (Blum-Kulka & Olshtain, 1986), methods of data analysis employed in the CCSARP project are clearly suitable for investigating the development of learner's speech act competence and performance.

Since this statement was made, several other studies with a focus on development have employed the CCSARP coding scheme (e.g., Hassal 2001). In the specific case of studies investigating the development of speech act strategies, the researcher needs to be aware that, for instance, because the classification of features of speech acts provided in the CCSARP is not theoretically motivated, the end result will be of a descriptive character. In order to achieve an explanatory level for developmental patterns, there has been discussion of the need for an integrated theory of development.

In CCSARP, the constraints introduced by the instrument of data collection ('the DCT') determined to a great extent the delimitation of the unit of analysis. Since there was only one slot to be completed in the questionnaire (discourse filler), the unit of analysis consists of the utterances provided by the subject in the 'the DCT'. In interactive data, provided by elicitation instruments such as open role plays, the identification of the unit to be analysed is subjected to different criteria. In de Paiva's (2006) study, for instance, of which results will be presented below, the unit of analysis consisted of the whole interaction present in the role plays. This is because the aim of the study was not only to explore developmental patterns in realization strategies of requests by learners of Brazilian Portuguese, but also to investigate the possible role of the input present in the inter-

action with NSs. Since communicative goals are expected to be negotiated in real interactions, the analysis of how and whether subjects achieved their requestive goal depended on the coding of the data also reflecting this position. In this context, Trosborg's (1995) modifications of the CCSARP coding scheme introduced in order to adapt it for data elicited by means of oral, open role plays were examined.

3.2. Trosborg's coding categories

Trosborg's (1995: 192) categories for the coding of the data in her study of interlanguage requests[1] was influenced by previous classifications (e.g., House and Kasper 1981) and modified according to the particularities of her findings. In this sense, as Blum-Kulka et al. (1989: 15) in the CCSARP, Trosborg classifies the requestive situations according to the participants' role relationship, that is in terms of dominance (social power) and social distance (familiarity). She also adopts a coding method which draws on levels of increasing directness. Again, in the same way as Blum-Kulka et al. (1989), Trosborg (1995: 205) codes the head act or request proper for strategy types.

Whereas in the CCSARP coding manual head acts are also classified for perspective (e.g., hearer or speaker), Trosborg considers the perspective of the realization strategy within directness levels. In this context, she develops four major categories of data classification (Indirect, Conventionally indirect-hearer oriented, Conventionally indirect-speaker oriented and Direct requests, cf. Trosborg 1995: 205) which encompass eight levels of directness. While Blum-Kulka et al. (1989: 18) proposes three levels of directness only, namely direct, conventionally indirect and nonconventionally indirect strategies, Trosborg (1995: 205) maintains the category of direct strategies, changing however the other two categories. As for the category of nonconventionally indirect strategies, she prefers to suppress the attribute to (non)conventionality, naming those strategies as indirect requests, defined as "utterances which meet the essential condition of requests, i.e. they count as 'as attempt on the part of S to get H to do A', but which nevertheless omit mention (or specification) of the desired act and avoid mentioning the hearer as the intended agent" (Trosborg 1995: 192). According to Trosborg (1995: 193), indirect requests (hints) can be interpreted as such despite their opacity in terms of their illocutionary force and/or propositional content. This kind of interpretation can be achieved since, as Trosborg (1995: 193) argues:

> Despite the lack of transparency (illocutionary and/or propositional), hints are part of conversational routine and the necessary work of interpretation is a normal part of cooperative conversation which is generally taken for granted by participants in everyday interactions. (…) [I]n addition to those which do require very intimate and/or specific knowledge of the other person for their interpretation, there is, in fact, a certain predictability as to the "nature" of statements/questions functioning as hinting strategies.

In Trosborg's view, indirect requests, although having no explicit requestive illocutionary force, also comply with expectations, in the sense that they have become routinized. In this sense, as Trosborg (1995: 196) further argues, a decisive factor for the interpretation of indirect requests will be "the extent to which it has become routinized by experience in a particular social group, or between two or more individuals, and thus has an obvious interpretation despite the apparent lack of propositional explicitness". In illocutionary terms, indirect requests or hinting strategies are claimed to involve the conditions of *reasonableness*, *availability*, and *obviousness* (cf. Trosborg 1995: 194).

Trosborg employs two different criteria for the classification of her data: in deciding whether a particular utterance can be coded as a supportive move or as a request proper, she considered, on the one hand, the propositional content of the utterance, and on the other hand, the illocutionary force where the coding of the illocutionary force is a particular challenge. In the case of the CCSARP coding manual, the coding of a request strategy according to its directness level is related to the degree "to which the *speaker's illocutionary intent* is apparent from the illocution" (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989: 278 my emphasis). In addition to this criterion, Trosborg (1995: 209) contends that:

> [I]t is important to keep in mind that the illocutionary force of an utterance is subject to negotiation in the interactional processes itself, and an utterance may acquire a particular illocutionary force due to its location in the discourse.

How illocutionary force is negotiated over turns within the performance of the requestive act was also part of the coding of the data presented by de Paiva (2006). The request strategy types, which are considered to be mutually exclusive in the CCSARP coding scheme, were investigated for their co-occurrence: Trosborg (1995: 241), for instance, reports the shift of strategies by subjects (in this case native speakers) in the same requestive act as a function of expectation of compliance. That is subjects shifted from a less direct strategy to a more direct one (e.g., mood derivable) when the degree of imposition became lower and there was guarantee of compliance. In this context, the observation of the sequential organization of the performance of the requestive speech act, in terms of strategies choices and subsequent investment of politeness (cf. Kasper and Dahl 1991: 229), was also a parameter for the classification and analysis of the data in de Paiva's study.

A further important contribution of Trosborg's classification is her differentiation of the conventionally indirect strategies for requests. In the CCSARP coding scheme conventionally indirect strategies comprise suggestory formulae (e.g., "How about cleaning up?") and query preparatory (e.g., "Could you clear up the kitchen, please?") as conventionalized in any particular language (cf. examples taken from Blum-Kulka et al. 1989: 18). Trosborg (1995: 197–202) divides the conventionally indirect requests according to the two different perspectives, which

in the CCSARP can apply to all request realization strategies: hearer-oriented and speaker-based. According to Trosborg (1995: 197–200), questioning hearer's ability (e.g., "Can you open the window for me, please"), willingness (e.g., "Would you lend me a copy of your book?") and permission (e.g., "Can I have the butter, please?")[2] constitute highly routinized forms of request, in that for the speaker, compliance is not guaranteed, and in this way, the hearer is given full option to comply or not. Also, for the speaker, questioning hearer-oriented conditions is a way of not risking his/her face.

Another hearer-oriented request strategy is suggestory formulae (e.g., "What about lending me some of your records?")[3]. Here, as Trosborg (1995: 201) contends, the speaker is questioning "the hearer's cooperativeness in general". These two hearer-oriented strategies, namely the questioning of hearer's ability and willingness and suggestory formula in Trosborg's classification correspond to the conventionally indirect strategies in the CCSARP coding manual.

3.3. Trosborg's discourse analysis model

Trosborg (1995), in her study of requests, complaints and apologies by Danish learners of English employed two different analytical frameworks in her analyses of the above communicative acts. One of the models employed has already been discussed in the context of Blum-Kulka et al.'s taxonomy. In addition to an analysis of the realization strategies and levels of directness using the taxonomy of Blum-Kulka et al., Trosborg carries out an analysis of the communicative acts from a discourse-oriented perspective. For this purpose, Trosborg (1995: 161) adapts a discourse analytical model originally developed by Sinclair and Coulthard[4] (1975 in Trosborg 1995) to account for classroom (teacher-pupil) interactions. Modifications were made in order to make the model operational for non-educational discourse. Also, Trosborg (1995: 161) claims that "their original model also lacks the flexibility and complexity which is required, for example, for an analysis of negotiation and argumentation."

In terms of topic structure, the discourse model (cf. Trosborg 1995: 33–36) is divided into interaction (defined as the highest unit of discourse), transactions (which coincide with topics and consists of several sequences), and sequences (several exchanges with the same topic). At the interactive level, the model presents the categories of exchange (minimal interactive units), moves (contributions by one participant, not necessarily identical to turn) and acts (minimal units of discourse, defined by their function).

Focusing on the interactional level of discourse, Trosborg (1995: 162) adds two categories to the original three-part exchange structure: at the interactional level, she proposes the incorporation of R/I (Response/Initiation) and F/I (Follow up/Initiation) to the original I (Initiation) – R (Response) – F (Follow-up). These interactional moves are defined in terms of ± predicted, ± predicting, ± initial.

I (Initiation) moves are further divided into I (Initiations) and Inf (Informatives). Whereas the former, being + predicting, forms the expectation of another move (R or R/I), the latter does not do so. I-moves and R-moves are interdependent, R-moves fulfilling the expectations set by I-moves. F-moves stand in connection with a preceding move. They can be neither predicting nor predicted, or alternatively, as in the case of F/I-moves, they can offer feedback for the previous move and form expectations of a further move.

In addition, Trosborg adds another F-move, namely F/Com (Follow-up/Comment), which allows for realizations containing agreement/disagreement and/or additional information. F/Com-moves can be distinguished from Inf-moves by their length, whereby Inf-moves are longer, involving more than a short comment. All moves, with the exception of I- and Inf-moves, which are initial and signal a new exchange, are recursive.

In order to achieve a differentiated analysis of communicative acts, Trosborg (1995: 165–171) further classifies moves into acts. Accordingly, I-moves can be classified into topic carrying acts (which are directive, informative, and can inquire, propose, accuse) and non-topic carrying acts (marker, attention-getter, excuse, summons, close).

Non-topic carrying acts are further divided into acts which frame and focus a following move (marker, attention-getter) and acts which have a ritual function (excuse, summons, close).

R-moves involve the following acts according to their functions: react, reply, confirm, accept, reject, qualify, excuse and justify. R/I-moves which only provide a reply after seeking some clarification are seen in terms of return (high key repetition, control question) and loop (seeks repetition of the preceding move, e.g., pardon, sorry).

R/I-moves which also initiate, but are a response to I-moves, can be categorised into R/I-inquire, propose and accuse.

F-moves, which follow I- and R-moves, can assume the following functions: acknowledge, agree, disagree, qualify, evaluate, reformulate, repeat and comment. As stated above, the criteria for distinguishing between the moves I-Inf and F-Com are length and newness, whereby I-Inf-moves are longer and "newer".

F/I-moves are seen as offering feedback to a preceding move and at the same time eliciting a further move. In this way, they can be conflated with R/I-moves.

Trosborg (1995: 177) employs this discourse model in order to measure NSs' and learners' participation in the performance of communicative acts. For this purpose, she analyses their production (quantitatively) in terms of number of moves and (qualitatively) diversity of move structure to make a distinction between predominantly active and passive roles. In this context, Trosborg (1995: 178) found that learners used all discourse moves presented by the model and that their participation cannot be regarded as predominantly passive, although not symmetrical either in relation to NSs' participation. A further analysis of individual acts re-

vealed that NSs used a higher number of markers, I-propose, I-inquire and I-Informative. Learners presented the majority of R-moves. With regard to F-moves, learners used more F-acknowledge than NSs. However, when analysing particular communicative acts, results changed slightly: in the case of requests, for instance, learners provided more I-Informatives than NSs and in relation to F-moves, NSs produced only slightly more than learners. This led Trosborg (1995: 181) to suggest that learners profit from the distribution of specific roles, increasing their participation quantitatively and qualitatively.

Trosborg's analysis tends not to focus on the performance of the communicative acts in terms of sequential discourse. Also, the two different kinds of analyses carried out in her study (realization strategies based on the taxonomy developed by Blum-Kulka et al. 1989 and discourse analysis, cf. above) are treated as discrete steps. De Paiva (2006) explored these two opportunities for the further development of Trosborg's analyses and her adapted discourse model by looking at 1. the discourse strategies adopted by learners in three different requestive situations, 2. the exchange structures (sequence of moves and acts) in the different interactions and 3. what kinds of NSs' moves elicit which moves from learners.

4. Case study: Requests in Brazilian Portuguese

De Paiva's (2006) case study adopted an *exploratory* cross-sectional approach to the development of requests in Brazilian Portuguese as a second language. Data was collected from learners of three different levels (beginners, intermediate and advanced) in a course of Portuguese for foreigners in a major Brazilian university in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Subjects were learners of Portuguese as a foreign language with diverse language backgrounds: (absolute) beginners, intermediate and advanced. Learners were adults between 20 and 45 years old. A control group (native speakers of Portuguese) was also employed. Data was elicited by means of open role plays which were assessed with the help of retrospective interviews. In the Interactive Role Plays learners performed requestive acts in interactions with native speakers:

Dyads: Learners – NSs (NSs: a university student; a cleaning lady and a senior employee at the finance department of the university)

Situation 1: the learner is moving home. His goal is to get his friend to lend him his car to transport some objects.

Situation 2: the learner finds the classroom in a mess. His goal is to get the cleaning lady to clean the room before his class.

Situation 3: the learner wants to do a Portuguese course (either as a continuing or beginner student), but he does not have enough money. His goal is to get the person in the finance department to give him a grant or some kind of discount.

Despite a certain degree of variation, the role play situations of this study were conceived as to involve a high degree of imposition, requiring therefore the negotiation of the requests in the interactions, in order to gain compliance while not threatening the interlocutor's face (cf. for similar aims Trosborg 1995: 149). The interaction with the cleaning lady was designed to offer the highest social distance, whereas the interaction with a friend should be perceived as carrying the lowest social distance.

A *cross-sectional design*, comprising the collection and comparison of data from learners at different proficiency levels, can offer an insight into developmental aspects which would not be acquired by the comparison of NSs and learners only. Such a design, however, did not yield a full developmental picture, which would only be revealed by longitudinal studies which are, due to the amount of resources involved, still limited in number in ILP[5].

De Paiva's (2006) study set out to identify the semantic formulae of the communicative act of requests in Brazilian Portuguese as a native and as a second language with regard to: realisation strategies, use of internal modifications and supportive moves and the appropriateness of strategies to sociopragmatic aspects of dominance, social distance and degree of imposition or expectations of the interaction (cf. also Trosborg 1995: 134–135 for Danish and English). It also aimed to identify interactional patterns in the requestive communicative act in native speakers' and learners' contributions, in terms of regularities in the structure of their participation.

4.1. Findings of the study

The findings below were discussed from discrete analytical perspectives – CCSRAP, discourse approaches and finally in a combined cognitivist-communicational approach that brings together 'noticing', 'control' and 'analysis of knowledge' and 'Relevance'. For reasons of space findings of situations 1 ('car loan request') and 2 ('cleaning request') only will be reported here.

Findings based on the CCSRAP coding taxonomy for requests show a diversified picture of the production of supportive moves. The number of supportive moves decreases with proficiency level and the most proficient learners produce fewer supportive moves than native speakers. This result contradicts findings in the literature which show a tendency to verbosity, especially by intermediate learners (e.g., Kasper and Blum-Kulka 1993 and Kasper and Dahl 1991). The high number of supportive moves by native speakers in the control group across situations (especially in situation 1) suggests this to be a feature of Brazilian Portuguese. Learners at all proficiency levels did not seem to have access to this culturally bound pragmatic knowledge (sociopragmatic knowledge). This finding lends support to the view that Bialystok underestimates the task faced by learners of pragmatics in a L2, when she claims that learners' main task consists of developing control of processing over existent knowledge (cf. Kasper 1993: 67). How-

ever, when it comes to the position of supportive moves, the most proficient learners provided the same number of in between posed requests as native speakers. This pattern, given that the production of in between posed requests is more demanding, suggests a more developed control of processing viz. the position of supportive moves by highly proficient learners. In between supportive moves could also be seen as having more mitigating force than the other kinds of structure of the requestive act, showing that proficient learners were prepared to invest more effort for the conveyance of politeness.

Results also showed a preference for the conventional indirect (preparatory) request strategy by learners at all proficiency levels and in both situations, a pattern which has been identified in several studies of different target languages (cf. Kasper and Rose 1999). However, some beginners employed hints as a request strategy in situation 1. Perhaps the use of hints did not reflect a genuine choice of strategy but rather a lack of conventional material in the target language (cf. also Hassal 2001). As far as internal modifications are concerned, the use of modality markers was found to increase with proficiency, a finding largely reported in the literature (cf. Trosborg 1995 and Kasper and Rose 1999). However, low proficient learners show difficulties with the choice of modality markers. Beginners showed a preference for lexical mitigators, whereas more proficient learners showed a more target-like internal modification of the requests, using more syntactic downgraders for situation 1 and lexical mitigators for situation 2, which could suggest that knowledge of function of forms and their distribution does not increase at the same pace as the knowledge of linguistic means. In other words, grammatical knowledge as well as pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic knowledge seemed to represent different kinds of contextual information and to be subject to different processing constraints.

Findings based on Trosborg's taxonomy of discourse moves and acts showed high frequencies of I-Summons, I-Propose, R-Accept and R-Confirm, which suggest a conversation dominated by expected moves. However, more proficient learners performed some Follow-up moves showing an ability to evaluate and support points introduced by their native speaker interlocutors. Results also showed that native speakers introduced new topics when interacting with more proficient learners. This means that native speakers played a greater role in the development of the interaction, with beginners and intermediate learners adopting a more passive role (cf. also Trosborg 1995: 178). Interactions with the most proficient learners, however, showed a more balanced profile where both parts (requester and requestee) manage the development of the conversation. Barron's (2003) findings of her study of offer-refusal by Irish learners of German in their year abroad also reveal a development of discourse structure where exchanges become increasingly target-like. Her results, however, are linked to length of stay rather than proficiency level.

A more detailed profile of the production of discourse moves and acts across situations revealed that in situation 2 ('cleaning') all *I-moves* were performed by

learners, indicating that learners introduced more new topics rather than developed old ones. Since Level 5 learners (most proficient) were capable of significant frequencies of *F-moves* in situation 1, showing that they possessed interactive skills required to direct the conversation, it seems that the presence at Situation 2 of higher frequencies of *I-moves* (new information) than *F-moves* reflected a pragmatic choice rather than lack of interactive skills. This incidence was found to increase the processing difficulty for the interlocutor and could be explained by the attempt by learners to impose a form of 'interaction management' on the situation, suggesting that despite the constraints offered by requestive situation 2, learners did not abandon their communicative goal.

The profile of the interaction between learners and native speakers was found to differ further from the control group in the context of F/I-moves. In NS-learner interactions there was a more diversified picture with the presence of F/I-Loop, Repeat and Reformulate, which were not present in the control group. It appears that the greater the social distance, the more formulaic the interaction tended to become. This could indicate difficulties in the communication with both the NS and learners having to invest more effort.

In terms of discourse acts a salient result was found to relate to the production of I-Attention getters which were only produced by learners at the most advanced proficiency level. Although linguistically not particularly demanding, pragmatically, the use of Attention-getters places speakers at the centre of the stage in the interaction for that move. Advanced learners were prepared to take this risk, to go beyond the *pragmatic minimum*. On the other hand, advanced learners produced much higher frequencies of I-Attention getter than NSs. This "overuse" of Attention getter acts could suggest that learners have pragmatic awareness of the function of Attention getters, but did not know how they are distributed along the interaction. Another interpretation for this pattern could be an increase in overgeneralisation based on the L2 (cf. Barron 2003: 47).

4.1.1. Conventionalised forms in the Brazilian Portuguese of learners: Patterns in the data

According to the literature, one of the salient patterns in both requestive situations is concerned with learners' production of routinized expressions in the target language. The term 'routinized material' refers to pragmatic conventions in the target language. Examples of such conventions include *modal verbs*, *attention-getters*, *address forms*, *diminutives* (or *under-staters*).

Some findings in ILP studies suggest that beginners rely on formulaic and routinized forms (Achiba 2003). It is not clear in these studies, however, if beginners' routinized formulae match with conventional material in the target language. For instance, Warga (2002: 215) found that learners' routinized material differed from pragmatic conventions in the target language.

In de Paiva's study (2006), findings revealed a lack of conventionalised expressions in learners' production of requests, regardless of proficiency level. This is all the more significant since such expressions are common in the input. For instance, in Situation 2, it is noteworthy that learners at all proficiency levels did not produce the unmarked modal verb "ter como (is it possible)", in a situation where all native speakers used this expression as part of a heavily routinised 'script'. Also, only advanced learners produced low frequencies of understaters (diminutives e.g., "favorzinho") to mitigate the impositional force of the request, when diminutives clearly played a key role as downgraders for the control group of native speakers in this situation. Furthermore, failure to comply with pragmalinguistic conventions in the target language was found to demand more from the native speaker interlocutor, who had to invest more effort to overcome the uncertainty posed by the lack of a routinized 'script'. Without routine expressions, requests were found to become 'fuzzy': force of imposition and politeness values need to be reassessed by interlocutors and this takes (transactional) time and (pragmatic) effort.

A number of factors could explain this particular learner behaviour: lack of linguistic resources in beginners as well as difficulties with pragmalinguistic and/or sociopragmatic knowledge have been discussed in the literature as possible explanations for the absence of routinized material by learners. L1 Transfer (cf. Warga 2002) and purposeful loyalty to L1 conventions, that is a deliberate option not to conform with the L2 pragmatic conventions could explain the differences between native speakers' and learners' use of routine expressions. Although it is difficult to pinpoint with certainty the factors which determine pragmatic behaviour (cf. also Warga 2002), this should not prevent ILP studies from investigating possible variables and contexts which play a role in learners' pragmatic behaviour. A closer inspection of the data in de Paiva (2006) revealed a more detailed picture of the analysis of the production of pragmatic conventions by learners, where four different sub-patterns emerged:

1. the underproduction of routinized material by learners irrespective of proficiency level;
2. the overproduction of some specific routinized material by advanced learners;
3. difficulties in matching routinized material to requestive situations;
4. variations in matching routinized expressions to situations.

4.1.2. Perception of the input ('noticing', 'manifestness') and the underproduction of routinized material

As noted above, Schmidt claims that noticing is a necessary condition for the learning of a second language. For the learning related to the use of routinized material across situations, learners would have to notice them as contextual features in the

input available. Questions relate to how this selection occurs and why it is that learners seem to notice some features in the input but not others? For instance, the same learners at Level 1 seemed to have noticed vocatives as features with a particular pragmatic function in Situation 1 ('Car loan request'), but not attention getters ('olha só' *look*). De Paiva (2006) stressed the need to account for noticing constraints with insights from Relevance Theory. Where the acquisition of pragmatic competence is seen as a question of selecting information amidst an input of grammatical, textual, discoursal and social factors, then concepts in RT such as relevance and the notions of 'manifestness' and 'cognitive context' have a contribution to make. As has been claimed elsewhere (cf. Carroll 2001, de Paiva and Foster-Cohen 2004), it is the principle of relevance, as *the equation between the actual processing effort of a receiver and the contextual effect on a receiver*, which will determine what is attended to and therefore what is noticed.

For Sperber and Wilson, the notion of the speaker's cognitive (and communicative) abilities and preferences is related to the concept of manifestness in RT. According to RT, what can be 'manifest' to the speaker/hearer is what he is capable of representing at a particular moment. When a learner attempts to process an utterance in the new language, assumptions that have been accessed frequently before (notably in a first-language context of interaction expectations), and are therefore part of his abilities and preferences, come into the cognitive context very quickly (are easily manifest).

The frequent use of I-Attention getters in some requestive situations has been found not to necessarily match with their use in their first languages. This would mean that learners would have to know that attention getters are part of the conventional means, notwithstanding processing effort, to mitigate the force of a request in the context of Brazilian Portuguese (cf. de Paiva 2006). In other words, this culturally-bound assumption was construed as part of the set of assumptions the speaker brings to the interpretation of any ostensive communication, that is assumptions which are manifest to the learner as part of the learner's cognitive context.

Fetzer (2002: 400) has discussed intercultural communication not only in terms of the use of non-native languages, but also of non-native speakers' (learners') construction of sociocultural contexts. She argued that instead of constructing intercultural contexts, interactants reconstruct their native sociocultural contexts. This would mean in RT terms, that culturally-bound assumptions concerned with the second language would tend not to be manifest to learners and would therefore not be part of their cognitive context.

Attention-getters figured in the two coding categories (Trosborg's discourse moves and Blum-Kulka et al.'s taxonomy). In the CCSARP attention getters are part of *alerters* and considered to be an opening element. As such, attention getters can, because of their position right at the beginning of the interaction, predispose the interlocutor towards the interaction; they are a routine interactional instrument.

Moreover, attention getters can be seen as 'interpersonal markers' which trigger the process of inferencing by the interlocutor (cf. Fetzer 2002: 408). According to Trosborg's discourse coding categories, I-Attention getters (e.g., 'Look …') are non-topic carrying initiation moves, whose function in the interactional discourse is to frame and focus a following new move. Since these moves are not concerned with the 'informative content' of the request, they could be seen as playing a less vital role for the achievement of the communicative goal than topic-carrying acts, which convey the information. Also, I-Attention getters could be seen in pragmatic terms as particularly demanding, given that their function in discourse is not transparent. On the other hand, I-Attention getters were found not to demand much from learners in terms of their linguistic complexity. So, learners at beginner and intermediate levels appear not to have difficulties with them as linguistic forms. In addition, learners can be assumed to have attention getters as a pragmatic resource in their L1 ('Schauen Sie'; 'Ecoutez'; 'Mira'). In this context, Bialystok argues that adults have part of the work largely accomplished in terms of learning pragmatic abilities in a second language. Their task would consist of the construction of symbolic representations whereby forms are mapped to social contexts. This lends support to the fact that learners have access to the same range of request realization strategies as well as supportive moves as native speakers.

Bialystok's claim can also explain the difficulties learners have displayed with the distribution of both strategies and external and internal modifications, including attention getters, across the different requestive situations. If, as Bialystok argues, for the development of pragmatic abilities in a second language, a symbolic level of representation has to be constructed by adult learners, with the mapping of already existing forms to situational contexts, there are questions about how this learning occurs and what will constrain the mapping of forms to social contexts by learners.

In RT terms, situational (external) contexts can only be accessed if they are part of an internal, cognitive context. It seems that learners at less advanced levels were not able to access the set of assumptions concerned with the pragmatic functions of attention getters in Portuguese.

According to the principle of relevance, speakers would follow the "path of least effort" in the overall comprehension/production procedure as described by Wilson and Sperber (Wilson and Sperber 2004: 613):

a. Follow a path of least effort in computing cognitive effects: Test interpretive hypothesis (disambiguation, reference resolutions, implicatures, etc.) in order of accessibility.
b. Stop when your expectations of relevance are satisfied.

Having these theoretical tools as a background, it has been concluded that learners at low levels would tend to stop processing after constructing hypothesis about explicit content (de Paiva 2006). Attention getters, as non-topic-carrying discourse moves, can be seen as not being a feature concerned with the construction of ex-

plicit content. This claim is in line with studies in ILP which contend that learners tend to opt for propositional explicitness to the detriment of pragmatic conventions.

However, findings in de Paiva's study also showed that advanced learners produced attention getters in their interactions with native speakers. In other words, whereas low proficiency learners seemed to stop processing after they build hypothesis about the propositional content, advanced learners seemed to be in the position to engage in further processing, accessing higher levels of communication. What does it mean to be able to access higher levels of communication? On the one hand, it has been found that it means access to an implicated premise and to an implicated conclusion. On the other hand, this also implies access to more complex contextual information. The presence of attention-getters as the framing discourse acts at advanced levels only suggests that whereas low proficient learners did not show the ability to process further contextual information beyond the construction of hypothesis about explicit content, advanced learners were able to access assumptions concerned with the particular ways in which requests are negotiated in Brazilian Portuguese. In this way, conventionalised expressions such as attention getters were part of the contextual information available to advanced learners. In RT terms, these pragmatic features were manifest to them as part of their (cognitive) context. As Ryder and Leinonen (2003: 399) argue:

> [D]evelopmental process can be said to involve an increasing ability to efficiently manipulate contextual information, from a number of different sources, in a way that results in an efficient recovery of the intended meaning.

This developmental process is not a linear gradual cumulative one, but is dependent on a range of dynamic factors in the complexity of interaction (cf. also Barron, 2003 for a non-linear development of pragmatic routines).

4.1.3. Overproduction of routinized material by advanced learners: The overuse of I-Attention-getters by advanced learners

The use of framing discourse acts (attention getters) by advanced learners suggests that learners not only noticed their presence in the input available *but also processed their manifestness*. In developmental terms, advanced learners can make a "better" use of the contextual information available to them. By contrast, at initial levels there was a trade-off between language form and pragmatic function or between conveying the message (informative content) and conveying pragmatic force. In this sense, linguistic forms seem to appear before the learning of their appropriate use (pragmalinguistic knowledge).

For more advanced learners, the use of attention getters was found to require increased contextual/pragmatic processing. Pragmatic processing did not tend to conform to the effort/effect trade-off as conceived by Sperber and Wilson. It may

hold for L1 contexts but for SLA settings relevance can be said to be a more gradually emergent manifestation.

Also, the production of attention-getters is actually more demanding in terms of control of processing (Bialystok). It has been argued that the (over)use of these framing discourse acts reflects an attempt to relate form to context as part of what Bialystok calls the construction of pragmatic knowledge by the building of a symbolic representational level. In relevance theoretical terms, this represents an increase in effort. There seems to be a stage of advanced proficiency where the use of resources actually requires greater hearer effort. This suggests a stage in pragmatic development where learners have an acute awareness of the 'untranslatability' of pragmatic codes from their L1s to the target language. This could explain why as often reported in the literature (cf. Kasper and Rose 2001: 6), learners (even highly proficient ones) do not necessarily engage in positive transfer. As a result, there is an overprocessing which generates 'noise' in the interaction and which, in turn, demands more effort from native speakers' interlocutors.

4.2. Modifications of the request in terms of discourse moves and acts: Discourse and subsequent discourse

The findings reported are concerned with discourse and subsequent discourse with a focus on discourse moves in interaction, their position and the kinds of moves they originate as subsequent discourse. In this context, results showed that negotiation of the requestive goal increases with proficiency level. NSs accommodate their contributions, imposing more conditions before complying with the request when interacting with more advanced learners. On the other hand, there was more negotiation of meaning, with recasts, reformulations and repetitions by NSs interacting with beginners. This suggests that there was *a trade off between the negotiation of the goal and the negotiation of the meaning*, with NSs accommodating their discourse both in grammatical and lexical as well as in pragmatic terms.

Another constraint for the negotiation of the requestive goal was found to be social distance as an external variable. The greater the social distance the less negotiation there was found to be. This pattern suggested that effort decreased as social distance increased. In other words, learners tended to suppress requestive effort with NS in interactions where social distance is a significant factor. The data analysis in relation to Situation 2 confirms this. De Paiva (2006) suggested that one reason for this pattern might reside in the fact that in formal situations where greater social distance is a factor excessive processing effort is required vis-à-vis pragmatic effect.

Another salient pattern in the data revealed that absolute beginners can use elliptical goal statements but had problems with interaction (for similar results cf. Hassal 1997 in Kasper and Rose 2002: 24). Native speaker interlocutors needed to repair the communication which had broken down, with several recasts (expanded

repetitions) and reformulate moves. Apart from communication breakdowns, another trigger for repetitions, recasts and clarification requests in the form of R/I and F/I moves amongst beginners was poor alignment of moves by learners. Poor alignment of responses has already been reported in the literature (cf. Kasper and Rose 2002: 25), even amongst advanced learners. Kasper and Rose (2002: 25) argue that poor alignment might be a problem of control of processing, following Bialystok's model. They further argue that pragmatic awareness and control of processing seem to be unrelated dimensions. This argument could in fact be reversed: pragmatic awareness might be the trigger for processing. In the case of beginners, language comprehension problems might be interfering with the management of the conversation in terms of discourse moves. However, the same does not apply for advanced learners, who showed no difficulties with understanding. It could be argued that what constrains the management of the interaction (i.e. sequence of discourse moves), besides the amount of linguistic resources, is the 'overprocessing' of expectations posed by the interaction. Learners seemed to have an awareness of the pragmatic demands for the achievement of their requestive goal, investing more effort than should be necessary. In relevance theoretical terms this would mean lower contextual effects.

5. Conclusions

The interconnections between interlanguage pragmatics, cross-cultural pragmatics and contrastive pragmatics has had an impact on more comprehensive approaches to theory and method and in the process has constrained more comprehensive perspectives when it comes to data analysis. The approaches above converge on the potential of a range of theoretical and methodological approaches traditionally held at arm's length from each other and also to present how comprehensive approaches can make a difference. The range of conceptual approaches (Schmidt's noticing hypothesis, Bialystok's two dimensional model and Sperber and Wilson's Relevance theory) presented cannot however account for all aspects of pragmatic development, especially not when studies yield contradictory findings. They can help shed light on some aspects of pragmatic interactions by learners across levels of proficiency. Nevertheless, at this point in time, it is not possible to make strong claims about possible explanations for the development of pragmatic abilities in a second language. However, if we are to move ILP from contrastive studies to second language acquisition research (cf. Kasper and Rose 2002: 6), we need to establish an agenda which faces the challenge to engage with both SLA and cognitive theories of communication. In other words, there is a need to close the gap between empirical studies and the theories proposed for the development of pragmatic abilities in a more systematic way.

Notes

1 Trosborg also investigates complaints and apologies.
2 Asking for permission is seen by Trosborg as questioning willingness. Although the requester is mentioned explicitly, the requester is considered to be questioning a hearer-oriented condition (cf. Trosborg 1995: 199).
3 Structures such as "Would you be so kind as to …" which are coded as suggestory formulae by House and Kasper (1987 in Trosborg 1995: 209) are classified by Trosborg as hearer-oriented preparatory questioning the hearer's willingness to carry out the request.
4 Trosborg's adapted model draws not only on Sinclair and Coulthard, but also on Coulthard (1983), Coulthard Montgomery and Brazil (1981), Coulthard and Brazil (1981), Burton (1980, 1981) and on Stubbs (1981).
5 However, there has been recently an increase in developmental longitudinal studies with a focus on year abroad in the target community (e.g., Barron 2003 and Schauer 2008).

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9. Pragmatic challenges for second language learners

Lynda Yates

In this chapter I focus on the challenges that pragmatic aspects of language use present to adults as they learn to communicate in another language and culture. The study of interpersonal pragmatics has been approached and investigated from a number of perspectives using a variety of methodologies. Here, I draw somewhat eclectically on a range of this research in order to address the question of what it might be useful for language learners to know in order to better interpret and express meaning in a later-learned language. I do this from the perspective of what such speakers might find helpful and what evidence base is available to language professionals charged with assisting them to meet these practical communicative needs.

In the first section I briefly discuss why an understanding of pragmatics is so important to language learners and go on to sketch some of the theoretical and conceptual issues that arise in trying to understand the interplay between language, culture and the individual speaker in interaction. I argue for the importance of attention to sociopragmatic as well as pragmalinguistic issues, and provide a brief overview of the some of the insights that research into the pragmatics of native-speaker and non-native language use can offer. How these might be conceptualised and approached in adult language learning, and their relationship with notions of intercultural competence and English as a lingua franca, will be briefly explored in the final two sections as I reflect on issues relating to norms, intercultural competence and future orientations in the study of the pragmatics of non-native communication.

1. The importance of of pragmatic issues

Much of the research in inter-cultural communication and interlanguage pragmatics has focussed on providing insight into the norms underlying native-speaker expectations of interaction through "snapshots" of how groups of speakers react or interact in various situations and contexts. This has involved comparison of how native speakers from different language and cultural backgrounds approach a particular act or function, or how learners might differ from native speakers of that language in their performance at various levels of proficiency or after different degrees of exposure.

Underpinning such studies is the view that it is both possible and useful to identify regularities of interactive style shared by groups of speakers. That is, that

although language behaviour may vary across contexts, situations and time, speakers nevertheless share interpretive expectations based on repeated experiences within a sociocultural context, and will use these to interpret and perform intentions within that context (Terkourafi 2005: 253). An essential assumption here is that speakers who share a linguistic and cultural background also share understandings of the kinds of linguistic choices that are made in certain situations according to the roles, rights and obligations they have in that situation.

Such perspectives have long been criticized as homogenizing and therefore leaving out of focus the rich diversity of language communities. However, from an applied perspective, such insights can be useful for adult language learners who have grown up in one linguaculture but who wish to operate in another. The issue here is that they are likely to have been socialised into ways of interacting relevant to the culture they experienced in early life, and therefore to have developed assumptions about participating in interactions that are different. Many speakers around the world find themselves in this kind of situation, be they migrants to new communities or professionals working in a global environment. However, because these "secret rules of speaking" (Bardovi-Harlig 2001) are less identifiable in speech than, say, vocabulary or syntax, it is likely that neither party will be fully conscious of them. Moreover, for many non-native speakers, language proficiency is an additional issue since they may not be fully aware of the range of devices used by native speakers to achieve a particular effect, or if they do, they may have difficulty understanding or manipulating them (Kasper and Roever 2005; Cook and Liddicoat 2002).

While problems caused when non-native speakers transfer vocabulary or grammar inappropriately from a first language are usually easily identified by interlocutors and allowances made, the transfer of pragmatic norms are usually below the level of consciousness. This means that they are less visible and therefore less easily forgiven: a speaker who violates some pragmatic norm is likely to be judged negatively as rude or uncooperative rather than perceived as having made an "error" of proficiency. The consequences of not being aware of such norms can therefore be very serious. Where there is a mismatch of understanding on such matters, miscommunications are not only possible but also potentially damaging, and yet these pragmatic dimensions of language use are still sadly neglected in many language teaching programs around the world.

2. Conceptualising non-native pragmatics

This "snapshot" approach to studying and comparing the interactive patterns and norms among groups of speakers has, however, been criticised from constructionist perspectives as premised on views of culture that are too static, and views of social groups as monolithic and homogeneous. Such critiques go beyond the ongoing

debate about data-gathering methods to argue that any approach to understanding interaction needs to acknowledge its fundamentally dynamic and emergent nature in which speakers co-construct meaning and identity rather than operate on the basis of socially-determined contextual factors. On this view, the relationship between cultural membership and language use should not be seen as *a priori* but constructed through talk (Kasper 2006a, 2006b). Indeed, constructionist views challenge the very notion of an individual communicative competence conceptualised in terms of an individual's cognition since performance of any kind is the product of a joint negotiation of meaning between speakers who therefore share responsibility for success or failure (McNamara 1997: 455). Concepts such as politeness are therefore more meaningfully conceptualised as dynamically emerging from the interplay of social context, action, and linguistic resources rather than the actions of rational players, and therefore best captured through the investigation of authentic data analysed using dynamic and discursive approaches (Kasper 2006a, 2006b).

These perspectives problematise the notion that findings can be generalised wholesale to other contexts or that the relationship between the individual and the group is pre-determined or immutable, and point to the need for a sensitive appreciation of group affiliation and identity. They also highlight the importance of not only the immediate but also the larger socio-historical context of any interaction (e.g. Ibrahim 2003; Shea 1993; Norton 2000). From an applied perspective, however, I would argue that there is a need to draw eclectically on work from a range of perspectives. Both the detail of still life as captured in quality "snapshots" and the dynamism of insight into the constructed and socially-situated nature of interaction are needed in order to understand what happens as people communicate interculturally and thus to provide the knowledge, skills and analytical tools to negotiate this communication successfully.

A further issue with the comparison of native and non-native performance is the concept of "nativeness" itself. Although in the literature the performance of non-native-speakers is regularly compared with base-line data from native speakers and described in terms of how far it is "native-like", there are several difficulties with this type of comparison. First, a binary distinction of this kind inevitably oversimplifies the situation for many language users for whom clear cut distinctions between L1 and L2 (or even L3 and L4) are difficult to make. Moreover, such distinctions are premised on a deficit view of intercultural communication in which there is an assumption that one group wishes to model its behaviour on that of another and as yet lacks the skills and knowledge to do so. A related issue here is that of different levels of competence and/or dominance of different languages in different domains (e.g., Davies 2003; Brutt-Griffler and Samimy 2001). Moreover, as studies from a conversational analytic perspective emphasise, such identities are at least partially constituted through talk rather than strictly *a priori* (Park 2007).

A further issue relates to exactly whose norms it is that we represent as those of native-speakers. Since much interlanguage pragmatics research has been conducted in the U.S., "English" is often *de facto* used as a shorthand for "American English" (or, more precisely, that variety of U.S. English spoken by young adults studying in a particular university). Given the variety of pragmatic norms within any language group, any description of native-speaker norms is likely to be a gross simplification and highly political. This is a thorny issue to which no easy answers are possible. Language is used by individuals in specific contexts for a whole range of purposes, and so interaction is inevitably a complex phenomenon for which any accurate description will necessarily be complex. We therefore need to exercise caution in extrapolating the results of any study to generalisations or pedagogical prescriptions.

This said, however, language learners can benefit enormously from signposts to help them interpret and make meaning in an unfamiliar culture and context, and even such imperfect and incomplete insights as we can glean from research to date can be very useful. Below I will therefore draw on the insights provided by studies conducted from a range of perspectives to give a brief overview of those pragmatic areas that can pose a challenge for non-native speakers, focussing in particular on spoken interaction between adults.

3. Pragmatic challenges for non-native speakers

In understanding and describing the mechanics of interpersonal pragmatics, I find it useful to draw on Thomas' (1983) distinction between *pragmalinguistic* aspects of communication, that is the way in which form is mapped onto force in a linguaculture, and *sociopragmatic* aspects, or the socio-cultural conventions or expectations that speakers may orient to during an interaction. While the distinction between them may not always be clear-cut (Zamborlin 2007), the identification of these two areas allows a focus on both the linguistic means available to speakers to convey their meaning, and the sociocultural knowledge and skills involved in the choices they make. Although both are crucial in understanding interaction, the linguistic and empirical heritage of much work in interlanguage pragmatics has favoured research into the former because it is more readily observable and less open to speculation (Alcon and Martinez-Flor 2008). However, a mismatch in speakers' expectations in either area can have potentially disastrous consequences for both short-term communicative success and longer-term relationships, and I will argue that an appreciation of broader cultural areas of language use is particularly important if learners are to understand not only *what* they might be expected to say in particular ways, but also *why*.

3.1. Research into speech acts

Posited by the fathers of speech act theory as universals (Austin 1962; Searle 1969), speech acts have provided a rich theoretical framework and starting point for the investigation of how things might be done differently in different languages. Although their universality has been challenged as ethnocentric by work from ethnographic perspectives (Rosaldo 1982; Ochs 1996), the concept of a speech function of this kind has proved very useful, even in studies which make no further recourse to speech act theory (e.g., in conversation analysis). It has also provided a useful focus for comparative cross-cultural and interlanguage research and work on how force can be mapped onto form in other languages, because the mere existence of a pragmatic resource in two languages does not necessarily mean that the same use will be made of it in both. Speech acts have therefore been investigated from a range of methodologies, including constructionist-methodologies such as conversation analysis (see e.g., Golato 2005 on compliments; Taleghani-Nikam 2006 on requests). Since this is discussed elsewhere in this volume, however, in this chapter I will focus chiefly on work from other perspectives.

The speech act that has received the most attention – perhaps because it occurs routinely and yet has the potential to cause such offence if expressed inappropriately – is the ever popular request. The findings from this research have shown that English-speakers tend to use direct forms less frequently than do speakers of many other languages (see e.g., Blum-Kulka and House 1989; Fukushima 1996; Lee-Wong 1994; Lin 2009), and this results in the more frequent use of grammatically complex forms which can appear to learners as rather elaborate. These have been dubbed "whimperatives" (Green 1975).

This use of syntax to lessen the impact of requests poses particular issues for speakers from other backgrounds who may not only be unfamiliar with the need to signal politeness in this way, but who may also lack complete control over the linguistic means to do it. There are therefore both sociopragmatic and pragmalinguistic challenges here: understanding that indirect and mitigated forms are appropriate in some contexts even when making relatively minor requests, and identifying and manipulating the linguistic means used to do this. Although these tendencies have intrigued researchers for decades, they continue to be a source of mystification to many learners and unfamiliar territory to many of their teachers (Yates and Wigglesworth 2005).

The sociopragmatic and pragmalinguistic features that might be important for migrants preparing for the workplace in Australia has been investigated in a series of studies which compared native-speaker and learner roleplay data in simulated workplace situations (Yates and Wigglesworth 2005; Wigglesworth and Yates 2007; Yates 2010a).

Several differences were found in the way in which native speakers and learners from a range of backgrounds negotiated complex requests, and these re-

lated to the devices and strategies that were used to soften the impact and prepare for their requests, and in their apparent construal of communicative values and workplace relations. In comparison with the native speakers, the learners were found to use a restricted range of lexical and syntactic devices, and to use them less often to mitigate the impact of requests. While the native speakers, for example, frequently distanced themselves from the impact of their demands using past or continuous forms such as "I wanted to ask …" or "I was wondering if …", or minimal lexical items such as "just" as in "I just wanted to …", the learners did this much less often. The native-speakers also used a larger range of different additional moves more frequently in support of their requests. Thus, they more frequently prepared the way for their request with pre-acts, such as "Have you got a moment?", or moves designed to establish rapport, while the learners relied more heavily on the provision of reasons (Yates 2010a). While some of the differences in the use of pragmalinguistic devices can certainly be related to language proficiency, as the learners were all intermediate level students in the national language instruction program for migrants, there were also sociopragmatic differences. They were more likely to take the role of supplicant in the requestive events investigated which made appeal to the authority of their boss, while the native speakers took the initiative in offering solutions to the problems caused by their requests, and took a negotiating rather than a supplicating stance (Wigglesworth and Yates 2007: 795).

Work from cultural groups in which relatively direct forms of requests are licensed has also highlighted the importance of understanding how requests might be softened by means other than indirectness. In some cultures, this may be through the use of solidarity-building diminutives or other devices (see Sifianou 1992 on requests in Greece and Wierzbicka 1991 on Eastern Europe). Moreover, recent work on workplace communication has served as a useful reminder that, even in English, there are contexts in which indirectly formulated requests are perceived as distancing and thus less appropriate or less polite (Newton 2004; Yates 2005). For example, in the following sequence taken from naturally-occurring classroom data in Australia, a trainee teacher directs his class to come into the room. He starts with a direct request, follows up with an elliptical directive in the face of non-compliance, and then finally becomes irritated and resorts to the form most often associated with politeness, a conventionally indirect request. Thus it is not the form itself which carries a value of politeness, but the context and way in which it is used.

– So *come in* quietly.
– Quietly year seven
– *Excuse me* year seven *could you* go back outside and line up *please*.

(Yates 2005: 83)

Research into requests has also illuminated the nature of directness in different cultures and how this might be done differently. While in early speech act studies, directness was seen in terms of relative transparency of the principle requestive act (e.g., Blum-Kulka, Kasper and House 1989; Eslamirasekh 1993) and options left to the hearer (Trosborg 1995), exploration of requests within larger speech events has highlighted the nature of directness at the discourse level, that is how various moves may be orchestrated and sequenced to delay and/or reduce the impact of a request. However, the way in which strategies such as small talk and rapport-building are used in different contexts also seems to vary across languages and cultures, and thus recognising what may be appropriate in a linguaculture and recognising and using "contextualization cues" appropriately in long, complex speech events can be challenging for language learners (Lee-Wong 2002; Zhang 1995).

Research on other acts has similarly suggested that, although speakers from different backgrounds might be able to draw on similar general strategies, the way in which they use them may differ considerably and the sociopragmatic values underpinning their use will vary across cultures and thus pose a challenge for learners. For example, in their study of refusals, Beebe, Takahashi and Uliss-Weltz (1990) found that Japanese background and native-speakers of English used semantic formulae with different content and frequency and in a different order. While American speakers tended to be specific in their explanations and excuses, those given by Japanese background speakers were more vague. Such apparently trivial differences can have a considerable impact on whether a reason is perceived as genuine or not by an interlocutor, and thus on whether the refusal is perceived as acceptable. Moreover, the circumstances in which a refusal may be made at all may also differ across cultures. In his comparison of Javanese speakers of Javanese and Australian speakers of English, Nadar (1997) found that his Javanese participants found it very difficult to make a refusal to someone of higher status, and so they avoided this completely. In other situations, for example the refusal of an offer of food by a host, the act itself was purely ritualistic and unlikely to be perceived as a refusal at all.

A study of how native-speakers of American English (AE) and Latin-American Spanish (LAsp) speakers and non-native speakers declined invitations further illustrates the complexity of such face-threatening acts (Félix-Brasdefer 2003). Although participants made use of similar strategies, their preference for particular strategies and the frequency with which they used them varied. The non-native speakers of Spanish showed huge variation, and this is no surprise when we consider the sociocultural knowledge needed in order to make a strategy selection appropriate to a target linguaculture. Overall, the study found that AE speakers were more direct than LASp speakers, particularly where there was a status difference. There were also some interesting differences between the two native-speaker groups which suggest some differences in communicative values: AE made more frequent use of strategies which expressed a positive opinion, such as "Congratu-

lations, you must be very excited about that", while LASp more frequently offered excuses or an explanation, and only this group used solidarity strategies. Such differences in strategy choice offer potential windows into the communicative expectations of different cultures and therefore insight into how speakers reflect communicative ethos. They are therefore potentially of great value crucial in helping to guide learners who are trying make appropriate language choices in different social situations. They were, however, not pursued in this study, and, indeed, frequently remain under-explored in speech act studies of this kind.

Other potentially face-threatening acts also pose challenges for learners. Murphy and Neu's (1996) comparison of Korean background and American native speakers of English, for example, found that while the Americans tended to make a complaint in each case they investigated, the Korean participants more often made a criticism. The authors pointed out that this tendency to be critical could be construed as offensive in a US context and thus detract from the success of the interaction. Tanck (2002) found that learner complainants were more likely than native speakers to include an emotional pleading element in some of the situations she studied, and suggests that this may be perceived as whining by American native speakers. Similarly, work on apologies suggests that while strategies might be shared by languages, perceptions of the severity of an offence, how apologies are handled where there is a perception of power difference or even the meaning and role of an apology itself might differ in different cultures (Marquez-Reiter 2000; Trosborg 1995).

Even apparently positive, face-giving acts such as compliments and compliment responses can be potential mine-fields for language learners unused to how compliments function in a culture and what values may be invoked through an inappropriate response. As early work has shown, the actual form of compliments in American English is quite regular and might therefore be easily presented to learners (Hatch 1992; Manes and Wolfson 1981). However, the sociopragmatic assumptions around the way in which they should be used may be very different from those in other linguacultures. In her investigation of compliments in New Zealand English (e.g., Holmes 2003), she found that females seem to both give and receive compliments more often, and this seems to be the case in American English (Wolfson 1983: Herbert 1990), while males seem not only to compliment less often but may prefer briefer and more ironic forms. See also Chen, this volume.

Mursy and Wilson (2001), however, argue that compliments play a particular role in politeness in Egyptian culture which arises from culture-specific values. Thus the appearance of sincerity may not be such a crucial element in Egyptian compliments as it is in other cultures so that compliments which appear extravagant to an Anglo-western speaker of Arabic may be considered perfectly routine. On the other hand, a compliment considered perfectly normal in English-speaking cultures – the authors give the example of a compliment to a parent on their baby – may cause distress to those to whom it is given because of culture-specific beliefs

and traditions (that of the Evil Eye in this case). Similarly, the tendency for teachers and others in Australia and elsewhere to compliment students as a form of encouragement may strike learners used to different expectations as insincere and even embarrassing (Brick 1995). Compliment responses, too, pose dangers for the unwary non-native speakers since cross-cultural variation in communicative values such as modesty and harmony make responses such as acceptance or disagreement appropriate in some cultures but a sign of arrogance or a difficult personality in others (Chen 1993; Farghal and Haggan 2006).

3.2. Beyond speech acts

Research into other kinds of discourse conventions has highlighted culture-specific expectations that may not be evident to learners. In their study of gatekeeping interviews, for example, Cook-Gumperz and Gumperz (2002) found significant cultural differences in the way in which speakers constructed narratives. They found that people tended to make reference to events and places that formed part of a shared cultural background in order to establish common ground, that is, they drew on references that were shared with their interlocutor. However, learners did not always manage to do this successfully in ways that made their stories plausible or coherent to their interlocutors. They often needed to spend more time giving background information and in re-orienting the conversation, and even then their efforts were not always successful.

The successful conduct of small talk (Holmes 2000) or relational sequences (Koester 2004) can also be a challenging area for learners, particularly those who are trying to initiate or maintain relationships in a new workplace or community of practice. Many visitors from more stable climates are mystified by endless small talk about weather in Britain and parts of Australasia, and therefore have little idea of how to start or contribute to such exchanges. Insight into what topics to choose in casual conversation and small talk, how to initiate them, what appropriate responses might be, or even when, where and with whom such interactions may be conducted is by no means a trivial matter for many newly-arrived migrants, as the expectations underlying such exchanges vary considerably across cultures. The employee who is not able to master these skills can quickly find themselves lonely outsiders in the workplace.

Discourse markers play an important role in guiding participation in an interaction by providing hints as to interlocutors' attitudes before content is made explicit. They have different pragmatic functions which may be more or less prevalent in different contexts and situations, and they also carry socio-pragmatic meaning in that they can be indicators of certain registers or social background (Fuller 2003). Studies suggest that learners use fewer discourse markers, use them less frequently, are less able to distinguish different contexts of use and only use them for certain functions (Fuller 2003; Vanda 2007). Thus, for example, Fuller

(2003) found that they used fewer *oh* and *well* than native-speakers in fewer contexts, and that some of their uses were highly formulaic, suggesting that discourse markers may be quite difficult to acquire. A contributing factor might be that some may be acquired earlier than others. Vanda (2007) suggests that those with more "semantic weight" may be learned first, and those which are more interactional and pragmatic in function are learned later. Thus as speakers become more proficient and spend more time interacting in the target language they may come to use a wider variety more frequently.

Comparing data from advanced Swedish background users and native speakers of English, Aijmer (2004) concludes that although in formal spontaneous speech, learners may use pragmatic markers such as *well*, *you know*, *you see*, *actually*, *sort of,* etc. as frequently as native speakers, they may use them for different reasons. She argues that learners may use vague and uncertain markers to express uncertainty or hesitation rather than for politeness as do native speakers, and that this might be related to the communication stress they experience when communicating with native speakers. An alternative (or contributing) explanation, however, might be that they are either less aware of this politeness function or insufficiently aware of how regularly they are used by native speakers and therefore of what their expectations might be. Thus even very proficient speakers of English might be perceived, for example, as advancing opinions somewhat baldly in casual speech where the expectation may be for greater hedging of opinions. Learners who do not make adequate use of discourse markers miss out on a useful means of managing the interaction and may appear "impolite or non-cooperative". This omission is likely to have more serious consequences for more advanced speakers (Moreno 2001).

Not only speaking, but also listening can be perilous for learners. Research on the use of reactive tokens suggests that they are used differently in different languages, and that the transfer of behaviour typical of one language into the use of another may not be without its consequences. Clancy, Thompson, Suzuki and Tao's (1996) study of interactions in Japanese, Mandarin Chinese and English, for example, suggested that there may be considerable differences in the way in which these cues may be used in these languages and cultures. Thus, in the large number of texts investigated in the study, Japanese speakers used them more often and in more places than did the English speakers, while Chinese speakers used them less frequently in fewer places. A more recent study of Chinese Mandarin and Australian English speakers also found very different styles of listener response behaviour. The Australians used listener responses more often, used more lexical words and were less likely to interrupt a turn with these than the Chinese speakers, who favoured the use of paralinguistic vocalisations and were more likely to place these mid-turn (Deng 2008).

These differences suggest that there may be different expectations for such behaviour in different cultures, and that the transfer of culture-specific listener behaviour may have unintended pragmatic effects. In his case study of backchannels

in conversations between Japanese-British dyads, Cutrone (2005) found that the Japanese speakers of English used backchannels more frequently than the native English speakers. He suggests that this rather different backchannel use is likely to have a negative effect on intercultural communication, as the British participants in the study felt they were being interrupted, and perceived the Japanese EFL participants as impatient. They saw this backchannel use as a way of avoiding speaking because of their lack of competence in English, and they were uncomfortable with the Japanese tendency to send backchannels when they disagreed and/or did not understand (Cutrone 2005: 269, but see also White 1989 for a different view).

Another important aspect of pragmatics which has received comparatively little attention but which poses a challenge for learners is the use of vague language. The role of *vagueness* in politeness has been noted by Channell (1994: 190), who characterises the use of vague expressions as providing options, and, therefore, as associated with deference. However, vague language is also associated with informality and thus with the signalling of solidarity, as in the case of the use of general extenders (Overstreet and Yule 1997; Yates 2000). These are clause-final expressions realised by a conjunction plus noun phrase which extend grammatically complete utterances through the addition of non-specific references such as "and stuff like that" and "or something". These not only render imprecise and therefore less assertive some aspect of the act, but also involve "an assumption of shared experience" (Overstreet and Yule 1997: 88), which appeals to in-group membership and positive face concerns of belonging. Avoiding too close a specification of exact numbers or actions, and increasing vagueness through the use of general extenders such as "whatever", etc., can function to downgrade the imposition of a request thereby mitigating its impact. Yates (2000) found that native-speakers of Australian English used vague language to soften requests more than their Chinese background counterparts. Non-native speakers who have learned a language – often to very high levels of proficiency – in a formal context, may have mastery over the means to be exact in a language, but fail to recognise the importance of being strategically vague, particularly in informal situations.

The way in which talk and silence is used can also reflect cultural values in communication and thus carry pragmatic meaning. Members of a speech community share community-specific norms on the appropriate use of silence, just as they do on speech acts or other features of communication, and the intended meaning of silence and norms relating to the length of pauses in interaction varies across cultures. The use of silence by learners can therefore be misinterpreted by native speakers, much as can the inappropriate use of any other feature. Research suggests that Anglo cultures value talk over silence compared to many other cultures, and so in English a longer than normal silence can be interpreted as rejection, resistance or criticism, and is often used as a preface to bad news or an unwelcome turn of some kind (Nakane 2007: 13). Thus if Japanese speakers transfer into English a tendency to pause before turns, this may be (mis)interpreted by English

native speakers as a preface to a dispreferred response, that is to something that interlocutors might find disagreeable (p. 27). In aboriginal cultures in the U.S. and Australia, longer pauses may be tolerated between turns, and silence is not seen negatively as a sign of communication breakdown in interaction as it is in their respective English-speaking mainstream cultures (Eades 2000; Mushin and Gardner 2009; Scollon and Scollon 1981).

While it is important that learners are aware of pragmalinguistic variation across cultures and understand what is feasible or expected in another language, it is perhaps even more crucial that they understand why such choices are made, that is, that they understand the sociopragmatic issues underlying the linguistic, paralinguistic and strategy choices that are routinely made by speakers of a language in a culture. As noted above, these aspects have not always received the attention they deserve. Indeed, Meier (2003: 185) has criticised the "affair" between pragmatics and culture as somewhat "superficial" and argues in favour of a more solid "marriage" in which pragmatic competence and intercultural competence are seen as mutually dependent. It is to studies that have focussed on the sociopragmatic partner of such a marriage that I now turn in the following section.

3.3. Communicative Ethos

Descriptions of communicative ethos, whether defined using etic (e.g., Brown and Levinson 1987) or emic (e.g., Goddard 2006; Wierzbicka 1997) perspectives are attempts to characterise what communicative values speakers may orient to in interaction. Despite their central role in understanding communication across cultures, they are slippery, vulnerable to charges of stereotyping and thus too often neglected. They can nevertheless provide a useful broad framework within which learners can explore what may be considered relevant or important in an unfamiliar culture. Insights into these sociopragmatic aspects of communication have often come from work in cross-cultural or intercultural communication, although the relationship between this and what actually happens in interaction has not always been made explicit (Scollon and Scollon 2001).

One body of work that has been much criticised but also very influential in discussion of cultural differences is the work of Hofstede and colleagues on dimensions of cultural variability (Hofstede 1980, 1994). Developed on the basis of large-scale questionnaire data collected from corporations in different cultures, these dimensions are proposed as a way of understanding how (corporate) cultures in different parts of the world may vary, and have been used by work in a wide variety of disciplines. Of the four original dimensions of collectivism versus individualism, power-distance, masculinity-femininity and uncertainty avoidance, the first two have been most useful as a starting point for understanding ways in which the values underlying communication may vary, particularly in studies involving speakers from Asia and Western communities.

Theories of politeness have also provided a fruitful starting point for investigating the impact of cultural values on the way we speak. Although criticised for ethnocentrism and a somewhat pessimistic take on human interaction, Brown and Levinson's (1987) proposal that politeness is essentially a rational speaker's management of face threat which varies according to different values for P (power relationships), D (social distance or familiarity) and R (the rank of imposition of a speech act) has provided a framework for the investigation of a wide variety of speech behaviours across cultures. Similarly, Leech's (1983) proposal that politeness in interaction be understood in terms of adherence to different maxims has been used to illuminate differences across cultures. Recent work by Spencer-Oatey and colleagues has reconceptualised conversational maxims of the kind proposed by Leech, as Sociopragmatic Interactional Principles (SIPs), that is, as continua along which sociopragmatic preferences can be made (Spencer-Oatey and Jiang 2003). While they argue that these vary in their importance according to situation and context, they propose two levels of SIPs: three of which are universal with variation according to culture and situation (face, rights and obligations and task); and four of which are secondary: directness–indirectness and/or clarity–vagueness; cordiality–restraint; modesty–approbation; routinisation–novelty (Spencer-Oatey and Jiang 2003: 1645). Such frameworks can provide much-needed starting points for investigations of not only how but why language in use varies across cultures, even when the same kind of pragmatic choices are available to speakers. They therefore offer learners a useful starting point from which to understand not only the communicative values of their new community, but also those which they may have internalised from an early age.

Discursive approaches to politeness have the potential to offer learners considerable insight into the wide repertoire of devices available to speakers as they undertake the relational work entailed in managing interaction minute by minute. Such approaches highlight the very dynamic nature of interaction and give insight into exactly how speakers create and react to changing contexts in different ways. Locher's (2004) illustration of the relational work that occurs during disagreements, for example, shows how the relative rights of the speakers and thus the kinds of strategies that they use change as discourse contexts change. Work of this kind can not only identify strategies that might be of use to learners, but also how this may be patterned in different contexts with different speakers, not only in relation to cultural context, but also other factors. Analysis of workplace data by Takano (2005) and Holmes (2006), for example, both identify solidarity strategies as an important part of the resources employed by females in positions of authority, and argue that this is because women need to *do* power less explicitly than their male counterparts.

A promising line of investigation that takes a rather different perspective on the relationship between culture and interaction has been developed by Wierzbicka, Goddard and colleagues (e.g., Goddard 1997, 2006; Wierzbicka 1997, 1999). Auth-

ors writing within the perspective of ethnopragmatics argue that communicative values can best be understood by using perspectives from within rather than concepts that are assumed to be universal but which, in fact, often reflect the culture of the author. They argue that traditional means to describe communicative norms, such as "directness", "politeness", "face" and so on are not only vague and ill-defined, but also ethnocentric. Qualitative differences in how one might be direct, to whom and when, for example, make cross-cultural comparison of cultures misleading. They therefore propose an approach to the description of cultural values in communication which makes use of a Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) in an attempt to find a culture-free mode in which to describe cultural differences.

Wierzbicka (1997), for example, uses the concept of "cultural key words", and her exploration of how these key words can be understood and how they illuminate the values that might be expected in communication can be very informative for learners. Her exploration of Australian communicative culture through examination of the "b" words, for example, provides insight into how speakers in Australia might orient to each other in ways that are less overtly hierarchical than speakers from an Asian community. This communicative "fiction of egalitarianism" can help to explain the informality and apparent familiarity that even English native speakers who have not grown up in Australia find confusing upon arrival, and which migrants from other language backgrounds find thoroughly confusing (see Yates 2000, 2010b).

Similarly useful to those communicating across cultures is the work of this group in developing 'cultural scripts' as a starting point in understanding communicative ethos. Simple scripts are formulated using NSM to capture the communicative ethos of a culture. Goddard (1997), for example, demonstrates how social emotions, personal qualities and ideals valued in Malay culture can be linked to the discourse style valued in that culture. While such approaches, like those from a more universalist stance they seek to replace, have been criticised for their lack of empirical evidence and also run the danger of essentialism, they do offer the learner a way into understanding aspects of the communicative ethos of unfamiliar cultures. For an extensive study of cultural scripts, see Wierzbicka, this volume.

4. Non-native norms and intercultural competence

Fuelled by insights from such studies as those reviewed above, there has been increasing interest in the teaching and learning of pragmatic competence (Alcón and Martinez-Flor 2008; Davies 2004; Martinez-Flor, Juan and Guerra 2003; Meier 2003; Rose and Kasper 2001; Yates 2004). However, the very close relationship of pragmatic aspects of language behaviour to deeply held values and beliefs poses particular challenges for their acquisition and use. Because sociopragmatic values and the pragmalinguistic means to reflect them relate to underlying assumptions

about what is considered to be appropriate or inappropriate behaviour in a culture, and because these are usually learned tacitly at an early age, they can appear to represent universal rather than culture-specific values. That is, although issues of, for example, whether direct forms of requests are appropriate in particular situations or how far compliments should be sincere or even used may appear to be a matter of what is right or wrong, rather than culture-specific behaviour. This makes their acquisition and use a sensitive matter. Even where non-native-speakers may be aware of the pragmatic norms of another linguaculture, they may not feel comfortable with them and opt not to follow them (Hinkel 1996; Siegal 1996).

Pedagogically, this has led to the abandonment of native-like competence as an objective in pursuit of goals such as "optimal convergence" (Giles, Coupland and Coupland 1991). With this has come an acknowledgement that non-native speakers will always occupy a "third place" (Kramsch 1993) that does not relate entirely to either their native nor to their later-learned languages. Indeed, the explosion in global communications in recent years, not only in Europe but world-wide, necessitates a broadening of our concerns for appropriacy in intercultural communication to consideration of what it means to be interculturally competent (Byram 1997).

5. Final reflections

Despite the increasingly connected nature of our age and the unprecedented rise of global communication, issues of intercultural communication remain highly relevant to learners of any language who interact with native speakers. While recent work on intercultural competence and languages as a lingua franca (see House, this volume) have opened up new ways of viewing some of these, particularly as they relate to international commercial contexts, the particular practical and theoretical challenges posed by native-learner communication will nevertheless remain. The 'secret', largely unconscious, nature of the pragmatic norms that guide the way we make and interpret interpersonal meaning in interaction will ensure that learner pragmatics will continue to be an area of great relevance.

Research in the last fifty years has made great strides in this area and we understand more about the linguistic and cultural dimensions of how expectations around interaction differ across cultures and therefore the important role they play in intercultural communication. However, if research in this area is to be readily translated into information and skills useful to learners, then we need to ensure that we draw on a work from a range of perspectives and that we find ways of combining or at least sharing insights and approaches across these perspectives.

It is important that we pursue avenues of research which allow not only an appreciation of general patterns of pragmalinguistic behaviour, but also insight into the broader cultural and communicative values that underpin them, and, crucially, we must explore ways of linking the two in systematic and ultimately accessible

ways. Although elusive and difficult to capture, sociopragmatic issues of communicative ethos are vital to our understanding of why it is that people use language in the way that they do, and we can no longer afford to neglect them. Future studies need not only to investigate what is said and by whom in what situation, but also why language is used in this way. To do this, however, we may need to venture out from the relative 'safety' of disciplinary boundaries and traditions to embrace methodologies, approaches and insights that take us beyond our comfort zone in the interest of cross-fertilisation.

The study of native and learner pragmatics must also respond to the challenges posed by dynamic approaches to the study of interaction which foreground the socially-constructed nature of communication and therefore of responsibility for its success or failure. They make it imperative that we not only broaden the range of pragmalinguistic devices we focus on and attend to how these are used dynamically in interpersonal communication, but also that we consider the larger sociohistorical context in which communication takes place. By opening up to a diversity of approaches, we can nurture explorations of non-native pragmatics that are both theoretically robust and practically relevant.

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10. The acquisition of terms of address in a second language

Margaret A. DuFon

1. The pragmatics of address

"I wish my students wouldn't call me Molly. I'd like to be shown some respect!" complained one of my colleagues. Another colleague complained of a student who addressed his e-mails to her as he did to everyone, "Hey dude"! An Indonesian language instructor I observed told his students on several occasions that he did not give information to tourists asking directions if they addressed him with *kamu* (the familiar pronoun). Clearly, how we are addressed is important to us. Based on how we are addressed, we draw conclusions regarding how that person perceives us and our relationship to him/her, whether we feel respected or disrespected, accepted or alienated, loved or despised. Any choice that we consider inappropriate – that identifies us in ways that do not match our own perceptions of identity and relationship – could reduce our inclination to cooperate with the addressor. Consequently, it is important to choose address terms wisely. In order to choose wisely, a speaker must acquire sociopragmatic and pragmalinguistic competence. Acquiring these competencies in an address system can be challenging enough for a native speaker, let alone a foreign language learner, because each language's address system is complex, though the nature and location of the complexity varies.

1.1. The sociopragmatics of address systems

Sociopragmatic competence refers to knowledge of contextual variables such as social power, social distance, the weight of the imposition or transgression, and so forth which underlie address form choice. European languages typically have or have had two second person pronouns: formal V (from French *vous*) and informal T (from French *tu*) forms. Historically, deciding whether to use the V or T form was determined by the power relationship between the interlocutors. Lower status persons addressed higher status persons with the V form; conversely higher status persons addressed lower status with the T form. In the 19th century, a shift began to occur in ideology that was reflected in address term use such that pronoun choice was eventually determined more by solidarity or low social distance than by the power relationship. Those who were familiar with one another and shared common ground (e.g., siblings, schoolmates) began to exchange mutual T while those who were more distant exchanged mutual V even when there was a status difference. Eventually whenever power and solidarity came into conflict, it was solidarity

rather than power that became the overriding factor in determining pronoun choice (Brown and Gilman 1960). In contrast to European languages, in at least some Asian languages, such as Javanese and Indonesian, the power semantic is still quite strong, such that nonreciprocal exchange is preferred between those of different status even in cases of low social distance such as within families (Magnis-Suseno 1984: 60–69; Wolff and Poedjosoedarmo 1982: 19–20). That said, a shift nevertheless may be in progress with siblings beginning to exchange mutual T forms instead of the more traditional Javanese Indonesian nonreciprocal use between older and younger siblings (Dante 1991). In spite of the general shift toward the solidarity, there is still considerable variation both across and within languages in terms of distributional norms for address term use based on the power and solidarity semantics. Consequently even native speakers of languages that make T/V distinctions who move from one country to another or one region of a country to another may have to adjust their address term use to conform to local norms (Brown and Gilman 1960; Dante 1991).

When choosing an address form, then, the speaker needs to consider the nature of the relationship between him- or herself and the addressee and assess it with respect to two sometimes competing semantics – power and solidarity. Even then, the choice might vary depending on the setting, the formality of the event, and the presence of others. All of these are related to first order indexical properties of address terms. In addition, there are second order indexical properties, which refer to the identity the speaker wishes to project with respect to the broader social context. For example use of reciprocal T forms might convey a more liberal political ideology or a desire to appear younger than nonreciprocal T/V use (Kinginer 2008; Liddicoat 2006). Thus consistently choosing address terms across contexts that a community considers appropriate requires access to a high level of sociopragmatic knowledge as well as the desire to project an identity that is in line with the community's expectations.

1.2. The pragmalinguistics of address systems

Pragmalinguistic competence refers to knowledge of the linguistic resources and their associated pragmatic (relational) meanings (Hassall 2008: 73; Kasper and Rose 2001: 2). Each speech community has a wide range of address term options which may include zero forms, pronouns, and nouns (names, kin terms, and titles). The options available, the preferences for one type over another, the grammatical and pragmatic distribution of forms, and the location of complexity within the system vary across languages (Brown and Gilman 1960). For example, in Indonesian noun phrases are typically preferred in both pronoun and vocative slots, and the complexity lies in the plethora of noun (and pronoun) form choices from which the learner must choose the most appropriate form. On the other hand, the morphology associated with Indonesian pronoun forms is relatively simple and while verb in-

flections exist, they are not related to person, and therefore do not need to be manipulated depending on who is being addressed (DuFon 2000). In contrast, in Spanish, learners must decide between only two choices: T or V; however, they must then master the complex morphology associated with both noun and verb forms for the second person depending on number, case, tense, aspect, mood and voice. Moreover, in European languages, grammatical forms that are similar to address forms (e.g., possessive adjective endings) can confuse learners and must be sorted out (Kinginger and Belz 2005). Each language, then, has its own complex system for choosing which term to apply in a given situation. Not only must learners know what is appropriate but they must also have sufficient control over attention to that knowledge (Bialystok 1993; Hassall 2008) to produce the appropriate form in running conversation.

Because of this complexity, sociopragmatic and pragmalinguistic knowledge and control over attention to knowledge (Bialystok 1993) for appropriate address term use in both first and second languages are acquired only gradually over a period of years. L1 learners first learn kin terms in a more concrete sense as they apply to specific people, and only later learn to apply them more abstractly to classes of people (Benson and Anglin 1987). The order in which forms are acquired depends more on their exposure to and experience with a given form than on its semantic complexity (Bavin 1991; Benson and Anglin 1987). Moreover the ability to use address forms appropriately depends to an extent on the learner's cognition. Learners must overcome a certain degree of egocentrism in order to be able to take the perspective of another (Hollos 1977; Macaskill 1982). L2 learners follow a similar path. First they learn to use the appropriate form in clear, unambiguous cases and only later in more peripheral or ambiguous cases (e.g., Belz and Kinginger 2002, 2003; Kinginger 2000; 2008; Liddicoat 2006). Their order of acquisition depends on the types of relationships they have experience with and the address terms they are exposed to. Appropriate use often requires the learner to shift their own ethnocentric perspective in order to take the perspective of the target culture.

In order to better understand the acquisition of address terms, researchers have investigated it using a number of theoretical and methodological approaches from both sociocultural and cognitive perspectives. They have examined the acquisition of metapragmatic awareness, comprehension and production of address terms in both classroom and study abroad settings.

2. Theoretical and methodological approaches

In order to better understand the acquisition process, L2 researchers have undertaken the task of examining it from distinct theoretical perspectives. Currently, the most prominent theories include both Vygotsky's socio-cultural theory (e.g., Lan-

tolf and Thorne 2006), Schieffelin and Ochs' (1986) language socialization theory, Bialystok's (1991, 1993) two-dimensional model of knowledge and control over attention to that knowledge, and Schmidt's (Schmidt and Frota 1986) noticing hypothesis. The first two are categorized as sociocultural theories (Zuengler and Miller 2006), and the latter two as cognitive theories. Sociocultural theories view language acquisition primarily as a social process, in which interaction with either competent speakers or a group of peers who provide support, or scaffolding, in real-life situations is fundamental to acquisition. The cognitive theories view language acquisition primarily as a mental process.

With respect to method, sociocultural researchers focus on social interaction. They typically collect examples of talk or written texts produced by individual learners during interactions with native speakers, most often in naturalistic contexts (e.g., Belz and Kinginger 2002, 2003; DuFon 2000; Iino 1996; Siegal 1995b) but also sometimes in role plays (Kinginger 2008). They usually track the progress of a relatively small group of learners longitudinally over the course of the term. Researchers in the cognitive paradigm have relied on oral or written role plays, rather than naturalistic, data. What the two groups have in common is that they value how address terms are used in extended authentic or near authentic discourse. Moreover methodologically, both sociocultural and cognitive researchers tend toward triangulation of data collection methods in order to access both the learners' understanding of the meaning of address forms and their ability to produce appropriate address forms during real world interactions or role plays. One approach that does not triangulate is Conversation Analysis, at least in its pure form; rather it relies exclusively on the analysis of talk. Yet, a number of studies have made it evident that triangulation is necessary to get a more complete picture of learners' understanding of what address terms mean because the learners' productive use of address terms is not necessarily a good indicator of what they know (e.g., DuFon 2000; Hassall 2008). In recognition of this, those studies that have not triangulated so as to obtain both types of data sometimes acknowledge this as a limitation of their study (e.g., Barron 2006).

3. Second language acquisition of address term production

Regardless of the theoretical or methodological approach, some of the first questions that any researcher seeks to answer are: What do learners do? How closely does their performance match that of native speakers? What causes them to perform like or differently from native speakers? In answering these questions, it is helpful to subdivide terms of address into zero forms, lexical pronouns, and nominal forms (names, kin terms, and titles).

3.1. Second person zero pronouns

In pro-drop languages, the pronoun (or lexical noun phrase) can be implied rather than overt. Therefore, one option is to use a zero form, leaving the pronoun slot empty. While either a zero or a lexical pronoun could result in a grammatical sentence, a zero pronoun is often the more appropriate choice pragmatically. The study that has most directly dealt with the acquisition of second person zero pronouns was conducted by Yanagimachi (1998), who investigated English L1 novice, intermediate, and advanced learners of Japanese second person pronoun use during a speaking task. All groups had high percentages of zero pronoun use (84 %, 92 %, and 94 % respectively), with the advanced group producing the same percentage (94 %) as the native speakers. Yanagimachi attributed the high rate of accuracy to a combination of factors including the nature of pronouns in Japanese, the context-supported nature of the task, favorable cross-linguistic influence with respect to pronoun deletion in highly continuous subjects, and formal classroom instruction on zero pronoun use.

Yanagimachi also noted that while group scores were high across the board, there was a high degree of individual differences. Some learners at the novice level used lexical pronouns quite heavily while others used zero pronouns at a near-native rate. Individual differences were also found by DuFon (2000), who studied address term acquisition by six learners abroad in Indonesia, four L1 English and two L1 Japanese. One Japanese learner, transferred her preference for zero pronoun use into Indonesian, thus successfully employing a playing-it-safe strategy by which she avoided choosing an inappropriate address term; the other Japanese learner did not employ that strategy to the same degree and more often used address terms that native speakers considered inappropriate.

3.2. Second person lexical pronouns

If a second person pronoun is required for either grammatical or pragmatic reasons, many languages such as French, German, Italian, Portuguese and Spanish have two options to choose from: a polite or formal V form and a familiar, intimate or informal T form. While these languages are the same in that they have two forms, they are somewhat different in the way these forms are distributed (Barron 2006; Faerch and Kasper 1989; González-Lloret 2008b; Sacia 2006). Therefore transferring one's native norms will not necessarily work. Even in closely related languages such as Portuguese and Spanish, an L1 Portuguese learner of Spanish, for example, is likely to deviate from native Spanish speaker norms in address term use in the early stages (González-Lloret 2008b). Learners from a first language background such as modern English, which makes no such distinction, must learn to make this distinction. It is not surprising then that learners have been found to use second person pronouns differently than native speakers. They avoid second

person pronoun use, overgeneralize, and switch back and forth between T and V forms even with the same interlocutor during the same interaction.

Avoidance of second person pronouns has been realized through the use of third person forms (Kinginger 2008), first person plural forms (González-Lloret 2008b), and zero forms (DuFon 2000). These avoidances do not necessarily result in grammatical or pragmatic errors, but they sometimes do deviate from native use. The tendency to avoid second person pronouns has often been found to decrease as their proficiency increases (e.g., Kinginger 2008).

Overgeneralization of one form, using it in contexts where it is inappropriate, is a consistent finding across studies. However, the nature of the generalization varies according to the language and the learning environment. In European languages, the choice for the pronoun slot is typically between a T form and a V form. In non-Western languages, the appropriate choice for the pronoun slot might be between one or two pronouns and a range of pronominals (including names, kin terms, and titles). Whether European or Asian languages, some learners have a tendency to choose one form and use it in all contexts (DuFon 2000; Kinginger 2008). In some cases, they overgeneralize the more formal form, in others the more familiar form. The tendency to overgeneralize in one direction as opposed to the other reflects their classroom language socialization. For example, American students are often advised to err on the side of being too polite rather than risk being insufficiently polite; therefore when in doubt, they overuse the more formal V forms in their L2. In contrast L1 English learners of Canadian French in immersion classes and at least some Australian learners of Indonesian, have been encouraged to use the more familiar forms in their classroom interactions; they overuse the T forms (DuFon 2000; Hassall 1997, 2008; Kininger 2008; Lyster 1994). These findings parallel those of first language acquisition: the order of acquisition of address terms in any given learner is related to the learners' experience (Bavin 1991; Benson and Anglin 1987).

Switching between T and V forms is another type of error commonly made by learners. These switches can be functional or purposeful, but with second language learners, they are often non-functional and serve no purpose (Barron 2006; Belz and Kinginger 2002, 2003; DuFon 2000; González-Lloret 2008a, 2008b; Hassall 1997; Kinginger 2008). A non-functional switch can result when the learner uses a formulaic expression that contains a T address form while otherwise using V or vice versa (cf. González-Lloret 2008b: 149). Non-functional switches also occur when the learner is unsure or lacks knowledge as to which form is indeed the appropriate one (Hassall 2008), and when the learner lacks control over the morphology of address forms, (Belz and Kinginger 2002, 2003; Faerch and Kasper 1989; Kinginger 2008; Kinginger and Belz 2005). Gaining control over the morphology is particularly difficult in grammatically complex address systems such as Spanish and German. Even once the learner is aware of the appropriate pragmatic norms with respect to when to use formal and informal forms, they often lack the lin-

guistic knowledge and/or control to produce the correct form in all its permutations. For example, they might produce nominative forms correctly but not forms associated with other less salient cases (e.g., González-Lloret 2008b; Kinginger and Belz 2005) or they might produce singular but not plural address forms correctly (Kinginger and Belz 2005).

In addition to non-functional switches, some learners produce functional switches, purposefully and consistently manipulating their address term use, but they do so in non-native ways. One reason for this is that even when both languages in question employ a T/V distinction, they often have different rules of distribution (Barron 2006; Faerch and Kasper 1989; González-Lloret 2008b; Sacia 2006) or because the degree of familiarity required to switch from formal to familiar forms is different, ranging from a single interaction (González-Lloret 2008b) to years (DuFon 2000). While functional and non-functional switching is common, many learners (though not all) reduce or eliminate inappropriate switches as a result of classroom intervention, at least in the contexts in which they have experience (Barron 2006; Belz and Kinginger 2002, 2003; DuFon 2000; González-Lloret 2008a, 2008b; Hassall 1997; Kinginger 2008, Kinginger and Belz 2005).

3.3. Second person noun phrases: names, kin terms, and titles

In languages such as Indonesian, terms of address can be realized as names, kin terms, and titles in both the pronoun and vocative slots in the sentence, and these are often the preferred forms of address. Learners sometimes make choices that violate native pragmatic norms, for example calling the person only by an occupational label such as *sopir* [driver] instead of using a title with it such as *Pak Sopir* [Mr. Driver] (Hassall 1997). Even when learners make an appropriate selection from a sociopragmatic standpoint, they often violate the grammatical constraints on address term selection, which differ for the pronoun and vocative slots with respect to the type of forms they can take (full e.g., [*Pak*] vs. reduced [*Bapak*]). The learners also deviate from native speaker norms in terms of frequency, using overt address terms more frequently in pronoun slots and far less frequently in vocative slots, and in terms of range of function, using the vocatives mainly to get the addressee's attention or in formulaic expressions (Hassall 1997; DuFon 2000). One other way in which the learners' use contrasts with the natives is in the use of bare names. Learners tend to receive bare names but do not often address others that way; this nonreciprocal use however, is in conformance with native speaker norms (DuFon 2000).

4. Address term instruction

Given the complexity of address term systems, it is not surprising that it takes a number of years to acquire them. Given their importance to social interaction and the difficulties learners have in acquiring them, it is important to assist learners in the acquisition process through appropriate instruction. Effective instruction includes both appropriate teaching materials and effective ways of interacting with them.

4.1. Teaching materials

Designing appropriate teaching materials for address term instruction is challenging given the complexity and variation in norms described earlier. In fact, they defy codification (Belz and Kinginger 2003). Nevertheless, in an attempt to give students a starting point, textbooks attempt to explain the norms. Regardless of the level of detail, textbooks and other teaching materials across languages – French (Kinginger 2000; Liddicoat 2006), German (Agar 1994; Belz and Kinginger 2003; Sacia 2006), Indonesian (DuFon 2000), Portuguese (Sacia 2006), Spanish (González-Lloret 2008b) and Vietnamese (Sacia 2006) – tend to oversimplify the "rules" for address term use. Some give information about only the broadest distinctions (González-Lloret 2008b) or only provide male forms leaving the female forms to be inferred (Sacia 2006). Advice based on rules of thumb is often contradictory (Belz and Kinginger 2003). Labels such as *polite, familiar, formal*, and *informal,* which are often used to describe address form registers, are ambiguous and often interpreted differently by students than their authors intended. For example, one student stated, "It says in the book that you use *vous* when you're being polite, so you'd probably use it when you ask for something" (Liddicoat 2006: 66). Moreover, the textbook rules are not necessarily accurate; native speakers often disagree with the usage described in the textbook (Sacia 2006).

Instruction based on textbook rules of thumb and traditional classroom exercises have several limitations which interfere with address term acquisition. First, while they can help learners acquire pragmatic knowledge with respect to address term use in unambiguous cases, opportunities for observation of and participation with native speakers are needed to help learners disambiguate those cases where conflicting rules come into play (Belz and Kinginger 2002, 2003; Kinginger 2000, 2008; Liddicoat 2006). Second, classrooms are limited in the kinds of contexts of use in which learners can participate. Consequently, teachers need to find ways to expanding the range of settings, activities, and interpersonal relationships through which the learners can be socialized with respect to address term meaning and appropriate use. Recognizing this need, teacher-researchers are finding creative ways to expand the learners' interactional experiences, often with the assistance of modern technology but also through the promotion of study abroad.

4.2. In-classroom studies

Teachers and researchers have developed different innovative approaches to teaching address terms even in situations where students do not have direct access to native speakers. One way in which classroom instructors and researchers have been assisting students in disambiguating the meaning of the various address forms is through Focus-on-Form instruction using a functional-analytic teaching approach. One such attempt was Lyster's (1994) investigation of the acquisition of the *vous* form in French immersion classrooms, where students typically used the *tu* form regardless of the social context. Students in the experimental classes engaged in activities such as observing, comparing, and contrasting second person pronoun use as well as producing them depending on participant roles, speech acts, and geographical and social context. They made significant gains both in their abilities to recognize contextually appropriate French address forms and to use *vous* appropriately in spoken and written French when compared with the control classes.

Liddicoat (2006) used short authentic texts to raise awareness of how French speakers and writers use the address system. With teacher support, students were given opportunities to notice French address form use, compare and contrast it with their L1, and then to reflect on the contexts in which the forms occurred. While at the beginning of the study, students were aware that there were two address forms, their understandings at best were based on the textbook dichotomies (e.g., formal vs. informal). By the end of the study, all had shifted to some degree. At the lowest level, students had begun to realize the complexity of the address system and to search the social context for clues on which to base their form choice. More advanced students had begun to make comparisons between French and their native language, and to see the French system as a different resource for expressing similar social purposes. The most advanced students were able to view their own cultural behavior from a different perspective such that what had been familiar had become strange, and what had been strange had become more familiar. Thus this pedagogical approach had the benefit of helping students to shift their ethnocentric perspective (cf. Hollos 1977; Macaskill 1982), and as a result of their analysis of the foreign language to look at their mother tongue from a more analytical perspective (cf. Kecskes and Papp 2000).

Two caveats are in order with respect to this study. First, the authentic materials themselves were not a magic trick that helped the students explore the complexity of the address system; rather it was the careful incremental sequencing and grouping of instances that did so. Therefore including other types of texts might affect the nature of the progression. Second, while this approach provides a creative and effective way to raise awareness levels and demonstrates what can be done in the classroom, there was no attempt to measure changes in address term use so its direct effect on production is not known (Liddicoat 2006).

From these studies, it is clear that effective teaching approaches make it possible to partially socialize students into the address system in the foreign language classroom. At the same time, it is limiting in terms of the range of situations and speaker relationships that students can encounter for practicing address term use in authentic discourse. Thus it is necessary that students have some opportunities to interact with native or near-native speakers from outside the classroom itself in order to fully acquire the meaning of forms in the address system as well as an understanding of the bases on which to select the appropriate form in a given context (Kinginger and Belz 2005; Liddicoat 2006; Lyster 1994).

4.3. Beyond classroom boundaries with computer mediated communication

In order to provide expanded opportunities for socialization into the address system, some instructors are pairing students with native speakers from the target language with the aid of technology. A number of longitudinal studies have been conducted which examine American English L1 speakers' acquisition of the informal T forms of address in European languages – French (Belz and Kinginger 2002, 2003; Kinginger 2000; Kinginger and Belz 2005), German (Belz and Kinginger 2002, 2003; Kinginger and Belz 2005), and Spanish (González-Lloret 2008a, 2008b) – using various types of computer mediated communication sometimes combined with videoconferencing over a period of about eight weeks. The native speaker partner or keypal in each study was a peer with whom the learner was to interact regularly. Tasks such as reading and analyzing parallel texts were designed to build in positive interdependence such that each side had something to contribute and something to gain from the interaction. Since the native speaker was considered a peer, it was expected that the students would use reciprocal T forms with each other. Many American students initially used V forms or mixed T and V forms. Copies of their chat and e-mail exchanges were analyzed to examine address form use over time, to see whether and how natives socialized the learners with respect to address terms, and how that socialization affected their address form use. In some cases (e.g., Kinginger and Belz 2005), learners were also interviewed in order to determine their understanding of the address system and the feedback they received.

At this point in time, there are several tentative conclusions that can be drawn about the acquisition of informal T forms in European languages as a result of computer mediated communication. Well-planned and executed computer mediated communication can be an effective tool for assisting learners in acquiring the informal T forms. A number of factors have been identified which affect their acquisition: 1) the participation structure, 2) the extent of consistent interaction, 3) the learner's investment in the relationship with the keypal, 4) the strength and timing of the feedback, 5) the characteristics of the medium (synchronous versus asynchronous), 6) the learner's control over morphology associated with address

term use, 7) the learner's sociopragmatic knowledge, and 8) the nature of the task combined with the participants' view of the task.

The participant structure, which includes how many natives and learners are interacting, affects the learners' exposure to and acquisition of plural forms. Students interacting with a single native are less likely to acquire the plural than those who are simultaneously interacting with at least two natives (González-Lloret 2008b).

The switch to consistent and appropriate use of T forms does not occur immediately; frequent consistent interaction is necessary. Based on her data, González-Lloret (2008a, 2008b) concluded that a minimum of five interactions is needed before learners are able to switch to consistent use of T forms. Consequently, students who do not regularly engage with their keypals do not make the switch. Other studies do not contradict this conclusion. Belz and Kinginger (2002) found that some learners shifted gradually and others abruptly to full use of T forms; in either case, the shift did not occur prior to the fifth interaction. They offer other reasons for the shift. Their learner Joe had been engaging in a flirtatious dialogue during a chat with his keypal Gabi when she strongly requested that he use the familiar *du* form ("*Joe, BITTE nenne mich DU*" 'Joe, PLEASE call me DU') (Belz and Kinginger 2002: 205). Belz and Kinginger attributed Joe's abrupt shift to his investment in the relationship with Gabi, the strength of her feedback, and the synchronous nature of the medium whereby the feedback he received was immediate. Moreover, Joe had sufficient control over German morphology to make the shift at that point. In contrast, Jennifer, an L2 French learner who participated in e-mail exchanges with a French native speaker, did not switch abruptly after her French keypal provided a hedged correction on her inappropriate use of *vous* in her first e-mail. They attributed Jennifer's failure to shift at that point to a lack of control over the morphology associated with address term use, the downgrading and timing of the corrective feedback, the time delay of asynchronous e-mail, and the nature of the relationship. As with first language acquisition, appropriate address term use takes time to develop. Frequent and consistent interaction provides the learners with time to develop control over the morphology associated with address term use. It also allows time for a relationship to develop to the point that the learner holds a strong investment in maintaining it or developing it further such that he or she pays attention to and acts upon feedback received regarding address term use.

Not all native speakers provided feedback; however, even in the absence of feedback, some learners progressed in their ability to use appropriate terms of address. In cases of no feedback, the learner's ability to shift was dependent on their initial level of pragmatic knowledge and control over morphology. Kim in González-Lloret's (2008b: 144–145) study had little variation in address term use at the beginning; after three encounters, she was consistent and had no variation, leading González-Lloret to conclude that she had the sociopragmatic knowledge but lacked linguistic proficiency at the beginning; as linguistic proficiency improved, she was able to gain control over her use of forms.

Another factor that contributed to the learners' acquisition of address terms was the nature of the task and how participants viewed their role with respect to it. For example, in tasks requiring participants to complete a project, some L1 speakers may have been more concerned with getting the task completed than with providing their L2 partner with genuine opportunities to participate and learn the norms for language use. In contrast, in free-conversational exchanges, L1 speakers were more likely to provide feedback. The reason that they provided feedback may have been related to the fact that the participants were aware of the pedagogic nature of the activity (González-Lloret 2008b).

Computer mediated instruction has proven itself to be an effective means of helping students to acquire consistent appropriate use of T forms depending on a number of factors. The relative importance of each of these factors still needs to be teased apart. Moreover, no study to date that I am aware of has used keypals to acquire V forms. This would be more difficult since the nature of the tasks seem to require that the students be peers, and thus the T forms have been appropriate in the languages investigated so far. In order to learn the subtleties and nuances of V form use and to practice it, students still need to immerse themselves in the target language culture. This is usually accomplished by going abroad.

5. Study abroad

5.1. The acquisition of address terms as a result of study abroad

A number of studies that have focused on the acquisition and use of terms of address by students abroad have been conducted in both Europe and Asia. While some studies have relied on a single data collection tool, most have employed multiple methods. These include qualitative methods such as audio and/or video recordings of conversations in naturalistic contexts, learner's narrative journals, interviews, observation and field notes (DuFon 2000; Iino 1996; Kinginger 2008; Kinginger and Belz 2005; Kinginger and Farrell 2004; Siegal 1995b). They also include more formal assessments such as rating scales (Mojica-Díaz 1992) oral (Hassall 2008; Kinginger 2008) and written role plays (Barron 2006) sometimes combined with retrospective interviews (Hassall 2008), meta-pragmatic assessments, and formal pre- and post test measures of grammatical or skill performance (Kinginger 2008; Kinginger and Belz 2005; Kinginger and Farrell 2004).

Studies that have compared earlier stage learners at home with later stage learners abroad (Hassall 2008; Mojica-Díaz 1992: 164–186) have found that the study abroad group more closely conforms to native speaker norms in their address term use. For example Mojica-Díaz used a questionnaire to compare the two learner groups with a native group with respect to their use of reciprocity and their use of *usted,* which can represent either formality or intimacy in Colombian Spanish (Moji-

ca-Díaz 1992: 20). She found that the study abroad group significantly increased both their reciprocity and their use of *usted* in reciprocal exchanges. However, when examining the role that various sociolinguistic criteria (age, status, acquaintanceship, closeness, and family) played in address term selection, she found that in many cases, the study abroad learners were more similar to the at-home learner group than to the natives. For example, she found that both groups, in contrast to the native group, tended to give greater priority to Age over Status, particularly when the two were in conflict. These findings are somewhat in line with those of an earlier study (Strick 1980) that compared L1 Farsi, L1 English, and L1 Farsi L2 English groups. For the L2 English group, Sex, a biological attribute and a more objective criterion, was the most salient dimension whereas for the two L1 groups, Intimacy and Status were the two most salient dimensions for address term selection. The results of these two studies are in line with child L1 acquisition findings which indicate that salient perceptual characteristics such as age and sex are used initially in comprehending the meaning of kin terms and only later do functional or social factors become more important (cf. Benson and Anglin 1987; Goldfield and Snow 1992). Because early stage learners prioritize features differently than native speakers when choosing address terms, their choices deviate from those of natives.

Moreover, prior to or at the onset of study abroad, learners tended to have simple representations of the address system, often perceiving it as straightforward. As a result of their interactions with native speakers, they became more aware of its subtleties and came to see it as a rich and complex system (Dewaele and Planchenault 2006 cited by Kinginger 2008; Hassall 2008). In some cases this greater awareness translated into appropriate productive use, but in other cases, although there was a growth in awareness, their productive use remained faulty (DuFon 2000; Hassall 2008) as the relationship between awareness and production is not as simple as it appears. On the one hand, judging their productive use can result in an underestimation of what they know. For example, one of Hassall's subjects reported in her retrospective interview that she had chosen to address a particular man as *bapak* 'father', not *Anda* because he was a university professor, which demonstrates appropriate pragmatic knowledge. However, in the actual role play, which had been videotaped and which the learner had just viewed during the retrospective interview, she twice called him *Anda*, but apparently did not notice that. Thus, learners sometimes make performance slips, without necessarily being aware of it, even when they know which forms are appropriate in a given instance. On the other hand, judging their productive use can result in an overestimation of what they know. Hassall's subjects sometimes correctly guessed the most appropriate form to use even though their pragmatic knowledge was unstable. Taking all this into consideration, we might ask the question, why haven't learners who have studied abroad acquired the necessary knowledge and/or control over their use of address forms? The answer seems to lie, at least in part, in the quality of the study abroad experience (Kinginger 2008).

5.2. Quality of experience during study abroad

It is usually assumed that study abroad will afford the language learner with ample opportunities to engage in social interaction with native speakers, who can expose the learners to appropriate language use and provide them with feedback on inappropriate use, and thus help them acquire appropriate address term use. Yet studies focusing on individual learners have repeatedly shown that learners in fact have a wide range of experience with respect to their abilities to build social networks that provide them with opportunities for naturalistic language learning in a wide range of situations and registers, and this affects their language acquisition (Isabelli-García 2006). The quality and quantity of interaction with native speakers has been shown to affect the acquisition of terms of address. Students who spend their time and energy interacting with the natives through reading and/or speaking and listening were able to acquire appropriate address term use whereas those who withdrew from contact and spent more time interacting with those back home via the internet or with other learners from their home country typically did not, although there were some exceptions. It might be that even though some learners interact very little with the natives, they receive strong feedback on inappropriate address term use, which triggers them to change their address term use in the direction of native norms (Kinginger 2008).

While native speakers of European languages often give feedback to learners on their address term use, native speakers of some Asian languages seem more reluctant to do so even when they are unhappy with the address forms they receive (DuFon 2000; Siegal 1995b). Siegal studied the acquisition of Japanese by students abroad in Japan, and reports on one particular learner, Arina, who used the inappropriate second person pronoun *anata* with a male professor. Not only does *anata* fail to show proper respect to persons of higher status, but when a woman addresses a man that way, it indexes an intimate relationship. The professor did not correct her because he viewed the problem as one of not understanding Japanese customs, not as a Japanese language problem. Siegal informed Arina of the problem, but she made no effort to change so Siegal encouraged the professor to instruct Arina on this point. When he did, Arina made a concerted effort to alter her pronoun use with him. It seems that when the professor corrected Arina, it was a *critical incident* (cf. Belz and Kinginger 2002) that enabled her to shift her perspective in order to understand how *anata* is viewed from a Japanese point of view. In contrast, Siegal's correction did not carry the same weight and did not serve as a critical incident that motivated Arina to change her behavior.

Similarly, some L2 learners of Indonesian, used the pronoun *Anda* when speaking to persons of higher status in Indonesian. Native Indonesians interviewed by DuFon (2000) commented on the learners' inappropriate use of this pronoun but stated they were reluctant to directly correct them. They seemed to be waiting for the learners to know better.

5.3. Foreigner talk

One reason why learners incorrectly use the second person pronouns is foreigner talk (Cook 2006; DuFon 2000; Iino 1996: 297–298; Siegal 1995b). Although second person pronouns such as *anata* in Japanese and *Anda* in Indonesian are restricted in native speaker discourse to situations in which the general public is addressed such as advertisements (Yanagimachi 1998: 48), they are used more freely when talking to foreigners. In other words, native speakers use these pronouns with the study abroad learners in ways that would be very unnatural in interactions among native speakers. The native speakers' use of foreigner talk combined with their absence of feedback on the learners' inappropriate use of that same pronoun often left the learners unaware of the pragmatic restrictions on their use. In the absence of some other intervention, such as classroom instruction, the researcher's correction, or the researcher's prodding the native speaker to offer feedback, the learners did not improve in their metapragmatic awareness or productive use of these second person address forms.

The atypical use of a particular pronoun form was not the only feature of foreigner talk natives used with respect to address terms. Indonesian natives also reduced the number of address terms in the vocative slots when talking with lower proficiency learners. Whether the low vocative use to low proficiency learners is facilitative or counter-productive is still an open question (DuFon 2000).

5.4. Individual differences

Although the native speakers with whom the learners interact account to some extent for the quality of the learner's experience, some of the responsibility must also fall on the learners' shoulders. A number of learner characteristics account for individual differences with respect to address term acquisition whether at home or abroad. These include investment, receptivity to feedback and ability to notice the gap, and identity.

As was mentioned earlier, the degree of investment in a relationship with a native speaker or in learning the language is a motivating factor that influences the acquisition of address terms. Students who state they are highly motivated prior to and at the beginning of study abroad do not necessarily retain their high levels of motivation throughout. As they encounter difficulties, they often withdraw and refrain from interaction except when absolutely essential (Kinginger and Belz 2005). In at least some cases, the student's level of investment is related to their cultural background. For example, DuFon's (2000) Charlene, a Hawaii native of Japanese ethnic background, started out as a beginner, but made the most progress in address term acquisition and, along with one intermediate learner, had the most native-like address system at the end of the four-month stay in Indonesia. When asked about her motivation, she said that the most important factor was her father, who had in-

stilled the value of respect in her. She had also studied Japanese as a second language and that likely heightened her awareness of the importance of attending to the sociolinguistic aspects of the language. Because of the importance to her of showing respect, she made a conscious effort to notice what native speakers did and to try to imitate them in her speech in order to show proper respect.

The learners' openness and receptivity to feedback played a role in their ability to notice the gap between their own speech and what native speakers say, which in turn affected their acquisition of address terms. For example, Irene, an L2 German language learner, came from a German family background and had many German-speaking relatives with whom she had opportunities to interact. Although she received some feedback from her L1 German peers on her inappropriate use of address forms, she did not seem to attend to it. Belz and Kinginger (2003) speculate that perhaps her failure to notice this feedback might have occurred because her regular interactions with Germans, who readily accepted her, had desensitized her to the importance of the T/V distinction; therefore the peer feedback she received from her keypal was less likely to serve as a critical moment of noticing.

Finally, the learner's identity is another factor that affects the acquisition of address terms. As stated earlier, address form choice serves as a tool to project the speaker's identity with respect to a particular set of values or an ideological stance. Consequently, learners sometimes choose to accommodate to native speaker norms in order to better fit in and be accepted by them (Belz and Kinginger 2003) while other times they choose to violate native sociolinguistic norms even when they know what native speakers consider appropriate. They do this because their desire to project a different identity is more important to them (DuFon 2000; González-Lloret 2008b; Kinginger and Farrell 2004; Kinginger 2008; Siegal 1995b); however, as their understanding of the target culture becomes deeper, they may shift their perspective, and in so doing also shift their language use in the direction of native norms. For example, Siegal's (1995a, 1995b: 340–341, 373–374) Arina initially resisted using humble forms because she viewed humbleness as a negative trait. After observing the dramatic contrasts between receiving and giving honorific language in the case of the train station master, she realized its value and shifted towards incorporating honorific forms in her speech. What her case illustrates is that learning to take the perspective of another is a process that takes place over time as learners pass through different layers of understanding that have the potential to melt their resistance to conforming to native norms.

6. Summary

The acquisition of address terms in a second language is similar to that in first language. First, it is a complex process that takes time as learners move from using address terms appropriately in unambiguous cases to doing so in ambiguous cases as

well. Learners can accomplish the former through textbooks and classroom experience. To become competent in the latter with all the nuances and subtleties it entails ultimately requires them to engage in social interaction with competent members of the speech community. Second, the sequence of address term development depends on the quantity and quality of social relationships that learners experience, which in turn depend both on the learning context and on individual learners' characteristics including personal traits such as openness and motivation, and abilities to notice what competent speakers do, to be aware of what they themselves actually do, and to take the perspective of another (cf. Hollos 1977; Macaskill 1982). In order to assist learners in their acquisition of address terms, teachers need to help them to: 1) disambiguate the address system; 2) notice the hole (Swain 1998: 66) or notice the gaps in their knowledge and performance (Schmidt and Frota 1986), and 3) shift their perspective so that they can better see, understand, and align with the target culture.

6.1. Disambiguating the address system

Currently, we know that the ease with which learners can acquire the address system depends both on learner internal factors (e.g., current levels of sociopragmatic knowledge and control over the morphology associated with address term use) and on external factors (e.g., the frequency and consistency of social interaction, and task characteristics such as task goals, participation structure, medium of communication, immediacy of the feedback). We need to continue to explore how task characteristics influence acquisition, and to provide learners with a wider range of experiences. For example, computer mediated interactions with native speakers to this point have been limited to interaction with peers, often one native speaker peer, and thus to acquisition of T forms, often singular T-forms (Kinginger and Belz 2005; González-Lloret 2008b). We need to find ways to help learners interact with two or more native speakers simultaneously and in contexts for which V form use would be appropriate as well in order to broaden classroom bound students' experiences with natives. Even without direct access to native speaking keypals, classroom instructors can assist students in disambiguating the address system by providing them with opportunities for observing native speakers through videos (Liddicoat 2006) or at least gaining some sense of the context through slides (Lyster 1994) or photographs. These media make the foreign context more real for students than simply trying to imagine them from a verbal description (Narzieva 2005), and have demonstrated their effectiveness in helping students disambiguate address systems, and even to shift their perspective regarding both the target and native cultures (Liddicoat 2006).

6.2. Noticing holes and gaps

Social interaction provides learners with opportunities to notice holes and gaps in their pragmatic or grammatical knowledge associated with address term use. Holes are evident when their knowledge is incomplete; they may need to use an address term but do not know which form is appropriate (Swain 1998). Gaps refer to those situations when they notice what the target form is and realize that they are doing something different (Schmidt and Frota 1986). These gaps can result from faulty knowledge; they can also result from insufficient control over attention to that knowledge (Bialystok 1993; Hassall 2008). In such cases learners know the norm, think they are following it, but are not actually using the form they think they are, and might require corrective feedback to bring it to awareness. To help learners notice the holes and gaps, we can provide explicit Focus-on-Form (and Function) instruction regarding the grammar associated with address term use (cf. Kasper 2001: 47–57; Kasper and Rose 2002: 259–269) as well as sociopragmatic information underlying the basis for address term choice (e.g., Liddicoat 2006). Focus on Form instruction can help learners to interpret the corrective feedback they receive from native speakers which does not make sense to them if they do not understand how the linguistic forms work but think they do (cf. Grace in Kinginger and Belz 2005). Corrective feedback would also likely accelerate address term acquisition in those cases in which learners are not aware of what they are actually doing. One technique to help raise their awareness in this case would be to have them review their interactions using videos, e-mails or chat transcripts to offer them an opportunity to notice the gap retrospectively, and to point out errors to them only when they themselves do not notice (cf. Hassall 2008).

6.3. Shifting perspective

Even when learners have the pragmatic knowledge and control to conform to native speaker norms, they sometimes choose not to do so because such language use would identify them with values they do not hold and project an identity they are not willing to assume (e.g., Kinginger and Farrell 2004; Kinginger 2008; Siegal 1995b). This situation is not necessarily permanent, however. Like peeling an onion, the learner moves through different layers of understanding of a native perspective. When their understanding shifts, their resistance can decrease and their linguistic choices become more in tune with native speakers'.

One task of the foreign language teacher is to help learners achieve these shifts in perspective. One effective way this has been done is with an analytical approach that involves comparing address term use in various text types; this method has proven its ability to bring about a shift in the perspective of at least some learners (Liddicoat 2006). Another approach that is emerging in higher education and that might be applied to address term acquisition is the contemplative approach. Con-

templative practices such as meditation, or nonconceptual awareness (Miller 2002b), are purported to have cognitive, academic, social and emotional benefits. Through meditation, our consciousness becomes more finely attuned to events and experiences in the present, both externally (in the environment) and internally (the physical and emotional reactions within the body). On an external level, meditation can help learners change their relationship to their experiences (including the people they encounter and the events they experience) rather than attempting to change or control the people and the events themselves, which may well be beyond their control anyway. On an internal level, meditation can strengthen learners' capacities to observe themselves including their values, attitudes, biases, beliefs, and behaviors at a level deeper than they are normally willing to go, and to reduce their attachment to them. In this way, it can help produce a shift in identity that can potentially open them to a new way of viewing the target culture, becoming more aligned with it, resisting it less, and therefore more willing to accommodate to its norms. With respect to social and emotional development, meditation has been linked to reduced stress, better regulation of emotional reactions, increased self-compassion, empathetic responses, and skills for successful social interaction. Such an approach fosters an attitude of curiosity, wonder, respect, and compassion (Shapiro, Brown, Astin and Duerr 2008), all traits that benefit foreign language learners (Smith 2008), particularly those who travel abroad and must deal with culture shock as well.

Meditation and contemplative practices grew out of the wisdom traditions of the world religions; however they do not require adherence to religious beliefs (Shapiro, Brown, Astin and Duerr 2008); they can be used to develop secular spirituality or wisdom and compassion (Miller 2002a: v – vi). In recognition of this, many programs that provide faculty support in adding contemplative practices across the curriculum have sprung up across North America (Association for Contemplative Mind in Higher Education 2008).

In the last decade or so, there have been interesting and promising advances with respect to the acquisition and teaching of address terms by foreign language students both in classrooms at home and in study abroad. Moreover, new areas of inquiry are opening up which offer potential for further development not only with respect to address terms but pragmatic development in general.

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11. Longitudinal studies in interlanguage pragmatics

Naoko Taguchi

1. Introduction

Interlanguage, a classic SLA term first coined by Selinker in 1972 to mean learners' language, found a place in the domain of pragmatics in the 1990s. Since then, *interlanguage pragmatics* (ILP) has been an important field of SLA research that investigates how second language (L2) learners develop the ability to understand and perform pragmatic functions in a target language. Kasper and Dahl (1991) defined ILP as "referring to nonnative speakers' comprehension and production of speech acts, and how that L2-related knowledge is acquired" (1991: 216). This definition emphasized that acquisitional research is a desideratum in ILP. Almost two decades after the term *interlanguage pragmatics* debuted, the field of ILP now finds itself in an awkward position, caught between the state of desideratum and actual practice. Despite the stated interest in acquisition in ILP, existing research has predominantly focused on pragmatic use, not development. The dearth of developmental ILP research was first noted by Kasper (1992) and later emphasized by Kasper and Schmidt (1996), who observed:

> Unlike other areas of second language study, which are primarily concerned with acquisitional patterns of interlanguage knowledge over time, the great majority of studies in ILP has not been developmental. Rather, focus is given to the ways NNS' pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic knowledge differs from that of native speakers (NSs) and among learners with different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. To date, ILP has thus been primarily a study of second language use rather than second language acquisition (Kasper and Schmidt 1996: 150).

Their call for developmental research has generated much discussion over a range of influential publications that aimed to enrich the acquisitional body of ILP research (Bardovi-Harlig 1999; Bardovi-Harlig 2000a; Kasper and Rose 1999, 2002). Each of these publications suggested that developmental and acquisitional research is a seriously under-explored area, and presented a range of topics that researchers can explore to unveil the nature of acquisitional pragmatics. Those topics include: stages of L2 pragmatic development, measurements of pragmatic competence, L1 influence on L2 pragmatic acquisition, individual and contextual variables affecting acquisition, mechanisms of change, interdependence between grammar and pragmatics, and instructional effect on acquisition. Some of these topics showed encouraging development, resulting in a special issue of empirical studies targeted on the acquisition of L2 pragmatic competence (e.g., Barron and Warga 2007).

A decade after the seminal publication of Kasper and Schmidt (1996), this synthesis paper aims to present a state-of-the-art of developmental issues in ILP research. It surveys longitudinal ILP studies published before 2008 and offers a critical reflection on longitudinal ILP research by comparing and integrating existing findings. By examining acquisitional issues through the lens of longitudinal research, how participants changed over time could be directly observed, helping to establish causal relations between change and time. The relative paucity of longitudinal ILP studies also suggests that this area is in need of attention. There were eight longitudinal studies in Kasper and Schmidt's (1996) review, nine in Kasper and Rose (1999), and under a dozen in Bardovi-Harlig (2000a).

However, exhaustive literature search for this synthesis yielded 21 longitudinal studies, suggesting a growing interest in the longitudinal perspective towards ILP. This paper analyzed the study findings for oft-cited topics of SLA research, including developmental patterns, variation among learners, and factors that affect development. Based on the profile of longitudinal studies available to date, this paper highlights critical areas in acquisitional and developmental ILP that merit future attention.

2. Background: Developmental research in interlanguage pragmatics

What makes a study of ILP developmental and acquisitional? Bardovi-Harlig (1999) states that acquisitional research in ILP investigates two essential issues: changes within the L2 pragmatics systems and influences on the systems. Past ILP research that intended to explore these two issues falls mainly into three strands of methodology: cross-sectional, longitudinal, and instructional studies. Of these, cross-sectional studies have proven to be the most popular method of inquiry. These studies collect data from two or more cross-sections of a sample based on differences in proficiency level or length of residence. Any group differences gleaned from the pragmatic performance of the learners are attributed to "changes" that the learners exhibit at different stages of their L2 learning and provide developmental insights. Findings generally suggest that there is an advantage of proficiency and length of residence in gained pragmatic performance (see Kasper and Rose 2002, for review).

Although relatively new, instructed ILP is a growing area of research, supported by mounting empirical studies published after the turn of century and a few edited volumes that focused on instructed pragmatic acquisition (Rose and Kasper 2001; Solor and Martinez-Flor 2005). The intervention studies typically examine how direct teaching affects the acquisition of pragmatic knowledge, comparing different instructional methods for their relative effects. Some studies almost give rise to longitudinal research by including delayed post-tests and implementing long-lasting interventions (e.g., Takimoto 2008; Vyatkina and Belz 2006). Jeon

and Kaya (2006) located 34 instructional studies, of which 13 were submitted to a quantitative meta-analysis. Comparisons of effect sizes across studies revealed that instruction did influence pragmatic development: explicit instruction was more beneficial than implicit instruction in the majority of the studies (see also Takahashi, this volume). The authors considered that the length of instruction and the types of outcome measures function as moderating factors for observed learning benefits.

While these two strands of ILP research have something to offer to researchers interested in pragmatic development, the terrain of longitudinal investigation remains largely unexplored, and systematic claims concerning changes within L2 pragmatic system and influence on that system are unsupported for the most part. As Bardovi-Harlig (1999) stated, "a consequence of the comparative focus of interlanguage pragmatics is that there have not been enough longitudinal studies to allow comparison across learners, contexts, or languages" (1999: 683). This observation was repeated within a range of seminal publications (Bardovi-Harlig 2000a; Kasper and Schmidt 1996; Kasper and Rose 1999; Kasper and Rose 2002), all pointing to the limited availability of longitudinal ILP studies. The relative paucity of longitudinal research is not only particular to the field of ILP. Instead, it is characteristic of the field of SLA in general. Discussing current longitudinal practices in SLA, Ortega and Iberri-Shea (2005: 26) stated:

> … any claims about learning (or development, progress, improvement, change, gains, and so on) can be most meaningfully interpreted only within a full longitudinal perspective. It is therefore unfortunate that the bulk of disciplinary discussions within the field favors a cross-sectional view of language learning and, as a consequence, discussions about longitudinal research are scarce.

Arguing for the centrality of time in SLA research, the authors emphasized that L2 learning takes a long time, and that examining learning over time could provide fuller insights into learners' pathways towards evolving L2 capacities. This claim, joined with the recent volume of longitudinal research into advanced L2 capacities (Ortega and Bynes 2008), has restated the significant role that longitudinal research could play in charting the developmental trajectory of L2 learners.

The two areas of research, longitudinal study and advanced capacities, are also connected tightly in the ILP field and reinforce the importance of longitudinal investigation into pragmatic development. *Pragmatic competence* – the ability to use language to perform social functions – has been recognized as an indispensable component of L2 communicative competence (Bachman and Palmer 1996; Canale and Swain 1980). Some aspects of pragmatic competence may be difficult to acquire and even have the potential to emerge late in learners' systems for some reasons. First, pragmatic competence requires learners to control the complex interplay of language, language users, and context of language use (Levinson 1983; Mey 2001). The complexity of this relationship is reflected in the distinction be-

tween pragmalinguistics and sociopragmatics (Leech 1983; Thomas 1995). Pragmalinguistics refers to the available linguistic resources to perform pragmatic functions, while sociopragmatics refers to the user's assessment of the context in which those linguistic resources are implemented. To become pragmatically competent, learners need a range of linguistic resources, as well as the ability to evaluate layers of contextual information, select the most appropriate resource, and use it effectively. Hence, acquiring fully-matured pragmatic competence becomes difficult when linguistic ability and contextual sensitivity are combined.

Second, pragmatic competence is constructed by a complex sociocultural nature: because the mappings of forms, functions, and contexts vary across cultures, sociolinguistic functions are hard to perform. Although some pragmatic functions are universal, the linguistic means to encode and decode those functions exhibit considerable cultural variation (e.g., Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper 1989). Knowledge of social conventions – namely, how linguistic behaviors are structured in a culture – is an important aspect of L2 learning. However, because social conventions of speaking are not salient, it can often be difficult to notice how people convey appropriate levels of politeness, or what linguistic means they use to communicate meaning indirectly (Wolfson 1989). Furthermore, learners may transfer their L1 norms to L2 and end up with what Thomas (1983) calls "pragmatic failure," which occurs when the two languages operate under different conventions.

These observations suggest that complete pragmatic competence is an aspect of more advanced L2 capacities that take some time to acquire. Pragmatic competence involves the mastery of linguistic and non-linguistic knowledge, as well as the efficient control of both knowledge types when encoding and decoding language functions in a sociocultural context. Given these complexities, the development of pragmatic competence is best described from a longitudinal perspective. With a call for more longitudinal investigation in the general field of SLA, it is both timely and important that all the longitudinal studies in ILP undergo review at this time. Such survey will unveil contributions that have been added to the accumulated knowledge of SLA findings and provide directions for future ILP research. This synthesis paper is an effort in this goal.

By definition, longitudinal research involves the observation of the same participant(s) over an extended period of time. Ortega and Iberri-Shea (2005) proposed four criteria for their working definition of longitudinal studies: the length of study, the presence of multi-wave data collection, the conceptual focus on capturing change by design, and the focus on establishing antecedent-consequent relationships created by tracking the phenomenon in its context, instead of with experimental controls. The present research synthesis adheres to these criteria when selecting the longitudinal ILP studies for review.

3. Methodology for the research synthesis: The literature search

This review of longitudinal studies followed methodologies of a systematic research synthesis in language learning and teaching, adopting specific strategies to survey, evaluate, and present collective findings that have accumulated within a particular research domain (Norris and Ortega 2007). Exhaustive electronic bibliographic searches were conducted to include all longitudinal ILP studies until 2008, the time of the writing of this paper. All the refereed journals, books and book chapters, and conference monographs were searched through the databases of LLBA, World Cat, ERIC, and Web of Science. Broader subject terms (e.g., pragmatics, sociolinguistics) were first used to locate relevant studies. Narrower terms (e.g., speech acts, politeness) were checked in the databases as well. With the additional results from major review articles and ILP books, this database search uncovered over 400 entries. Irrelevant studies were screened by analyzing each study's abstract according to these eligibility criteria:

(1) The study observed the development of participant(s) over a period of time.
(2) The study examined the development of specific pragmatic features.
(3) The study chronologically documented development, change, and gains by analyzing learner data collected systematically over time (e.g., pre- and post-test results, linguistic analysis). (Some ethnographic studies, e.g., Siegal 1996; Schmidt 1983, did not meet this criterion.)
(4) The study did not involve instructional intervention or other types of training.
(5) The study observed participants of secondary or post-secondary school age.

These screening processes yielded 21 ILP longitudinal studies to be analyzed (see tables 1–3). Each study was then coded for substantive and methodological features. The substantive features involved research questions, targeted pragmatic features, and learning environments (specifically, second or foreign language context; study-abroad or formal instructional setting). The methodological features involved length of study, frequency of data collections, sample size, participants' L1, participants' proficiency level, and type of measures used to examine development. Each study was then evaluated for what it contributed to the accumulative knowledge of SLA. Because SLA research focuses primarily on developmental patterns, variation among learners, and factors (individual, cognitive, social) that influence development, these issues were used as benchmarks to synthesize the findings of the studies. These criteria were meant to strengthen the connections between ILP and SLA at large, and to profile ILP as specific area of inquiry in SLA research.

Table 1. Studies of comprehension of pragmatic functions

	target language	target pragmatics	measures	parti-cipants	proficiency	context	length of study	# of data points
Bouton (1992)	English	Conversational implicature	Written multiple-choice test	30 learners of mixed L1s	In-house proficiency test	SL	4 years and a half	2
Bouton (1994)	English	Conversational implicatures	Written multiple-choice test	375 learners of mixed L1	advanced	SL	17 and 33 months	2
Taguchi (2007)	English	Indirect opinions and refusals	Listening test with yes-no questions	92 learners of L1 Japanese	Average TOEFL 420	FL	7 weeks	2
Taguchi (2008)	English	Indirect opinions and refusals	Listening test with yes-no questions	44 learners of L1 Japanese	Average TOEFL 400	SL	4 months	3

Notes. SL: second language context. FL: foreign language context.

Table 2. Studies of meta-pragmatic awareness and recognition of pragmatic functions

	target language	target pragmatics	measures	parti-cipants	proficiency	context	length of study	# of data points
Kinginger & Blattner (2008)	French	Colloquial expressions	Aware-ness survey & interview	17 American learners	Interme-diate to basic	SL	3 months	2
Kinginger & Farrell (2008)	French	Address forms	Aware-ness survey & interview	23 American learners	Elementary to basic	SL	3 months	2
Matsu-mura (2001)	English	Advice-giving expressions	Multiple-choice survey	102 Japanese in Japan and 97 in Canada	TOEFL 480–600	SLand FL	8 months	4
Matsu-mura (2007)	English	Advice-giving expressions	Multiple-choice survey	15 Japanese learners	TOEFL 503–540	FL	12 months	3
Schauer (2006)	English	Apologies, refusals, requests & suggestions	Pragmatic and gram-mar error detection test	17 Germans in England and 16 in Germany	Not given	SL and FL	9 months	2

Table 3. Studies of production of pragmatic functions

	target language	target pragmatics	measures	parti-cipants	proficiency	context	length of study	# of data points
Barron (2007)	German	Refusal and offer	DCT	33 Irish learners	advanced	SL	14 months	3
Barron (2003)	German	Address forms	DCT	33 Irish learners	advanced	SL	14 months	3
Belz & Kinginger (2003, 2005)	German	Address forms	CMC	11 American learners	4th semester students	FL	2 months	8,weekly
Bardovi-Harlig & Hartford (1993)	English	Suggestion and rejection	Record-ings of advising sessions	10 graduate students of mixed L1s	TOEFL over 570	SL	7–14 weeks	2
Code & Anderson (2001)	English	Request	DCT	35 learners of	beginning	SL	10 months	2
DuFon (2000)	Indone-sian	Negative responses	Record-ings of conver-sation	6 learners	beginning-intermediate	SL	4 months	3
Hassall (2006)	Indone-sian	Leave-taking	Diary	1 Austra-lian learner (author)	advanced	SL	3 months	Sporadic
Ohta (2001)	Japanese	Acknowl-edgement & alignment	Recordings of class periods	2 American learners	beginning	FL	9 months	5
Salsbury & Bardovi-Harlig (2001)	English	Disagree-ment	Recordings of conver-sation	3 U.S. college students of mixed L1s	beginning	SL	10–12 months	10–12, monthly
Sawyer (1992)	Japanese	Sentence-final particle *ne*	interview	11 learners of mixed L1s	beginning	FL	9 months	4
Schauer (2004)	English	Request	Multimedia DCT	12 German learners	Not given	SL	9 months	3
Warga & Scholm-berger (2007)	French	Apology	DCT	7 Australian learners	Not given	SL	10 months	5

4. Review of study characteristics

To sketch out a general landscape of longitudinal practice in the field of ILP, characteristics of longitudinal studies in collection will be reviewed based on four major features: pragmatic target and its measurement, context of study, length of developmental observation, and frequency of observation.

4.1. Pragmatic target and measurement

Among the 21 longitudinal studies, 11 targeted speech acts. Developmental trend of speech acts were examined over a variety of measures, including Discourse Completion Tests (DCT), recorded conversation, multiple-choice tests, naturalistic observation and field notes, appropriateness judgment tests, and diaries. Four studies examined the comprehension of conversational implicatures; two used a written multiple choice test, while the other two used a listening instrument. The remaining seven studies included three studies of address forms analyzed via online chat, survey, and DCT; two studies of discourse features in conversation; one study of the recognition of colloquial expressions measured by questionnaire; and one study of negative response in naturalistic conversation. The target language was English for ten of the studies, four were in German, three in French, and two in Indonesian and Japanese.

4.2. Context of study

Out of the 21 studies, 16 were conducted in a second language (SL) context (a context where the target language is spoken). This pattern signifies concentrated longitudinal interest in the target language environment, suggesting that the development of pragmatic competence is considered to be best observed in a SL setting because sociocultural input and practice are available. The pattern also reflects recent interest expressed in the role of learning context in SLA, especially in response to whether a study-abroad context lends advantage to L2 learning. An increasing number of longitudinal studies in ILP could indicate a growing need to empirically investigate what pragmatics learners actually gain after spending time abroad.

4.3. Length of study

In longitudinal research design, optimal length of observation is an important methodological concern, yet little consensus exists to define how long is long enough. According to Ortega and Iberri-Shea (2005), the most recent longitudinal SLA studies occurred over time spans as short as three or four months and as long as six years. The authors attributed this diversity to the nature of SLA research, which in-

volves both developmental scaling (from emergence to mastery of linguistic targets) and convenient scaling based on institutional time (one semester, one year, duration of intensive summer program). Longitudinal studies in ILP largely confirm this observation. Across the 21 studies, study lengths ranged from two months to four years. The majority of the studies used convenient scaling due to curriculum constraints and were conducted within one semester or one academic year.

4.4. Frequency of data points

Another important feature of longitudinal research is multi-wave data collection because data need to be collected repeatedly in order to map change and growth over time (Ortega and Iberri-Shea). Similar to the length of observation, there is little consensus on the optimal number of data points and their timing. Pragmatic development was mapped with as few as two data points, and as many as eight; intervals of those data points spread from weekly observation to seven-month periods. Ortega and Iberri-Shea stated that frequency of data collection depends on the grain size of the phenomenon under investigation. Considering the relative complexity of pragmatic competence, data collection over short intervals might not reveal undergoing changes that researchers wish to identify. This concern is supported by some longitudinal studies that revealed non-linear pragmatic development; while main speech act strategies became native-like, some external modifications showed little change over one year (e.g., Warga and Scholmberger 2007). Ortega and Iberri-Shea stressed that tasks and topics used to elicit data over time must be consistent and comparable to each other. These characteristics will ensure that topic- and task-induced variability is minimized across data points. The longitudinal studies analyzed in this paper seem to be sensitive to this concern, as they all used the same measure across time points to collect data (e.g., DCT, multiple choice test). However, these studies are subject to a concern of practice effects regarding multiple administrations of the same task.

5. Review of the study findings

In SLA, the term *development* is often used as a synonym for *acquisition* or *learning* (R. Ellis 1994). Developmental order refers to the order in which specific linguistic features are acquired in SLA, although it varies according to such factors as learners' L1, age, affective factors, saliency of input, and learning context. Compared with the morpho-syntax studies that revealed a relatively fixed order of development in which learners acquire L2 grammatical knowledge, (e.g., Schumann 1979, Pienemann 1989), pragmatic studies have been largely silent about order and stages of development from a longitudinal perspective. The closest insight we can draw about the developmental order comes from SLA research conducted under

the functionalist approach (e.g., Huebner 1983; Bardovi-Harlig 2000b). These longitudinal studies examined how learners' interlanguage is driven by their need to express meaning and unveiled stages that learners go through to make meaning. Form-meaning associations, as well as the contextual resources that learners use to perform language functions, are the target of investigation; developmental order is inferred from learners' attempts to express meaning at different stages of development. These types of analyses are not common in the longitudinal ILP studies of adult learners, although they are present in a few studies of children's pragmatic acquisition (Ellis 1992; Achiba 2002). For instance, Ellis revealed a three-stage developmental sequence of request by two ESL children. In the first stage, the learners conveyed request intention in a context-dependent manner. In the second stage, they relied on formulaic language use. In the third stage, they started unpacking formulas for productive use. At the same time, they began to exhibit conventional indirect forms (*Can you* + verb). Kasper and Rose (2002) later expanded the three stages to five by adding pragmatic expansion and fine-tuning.

In summary, little can be said about developmental patterns and stages in the current state of developmental ILP research, excepting request speech acts in children's acquisition. Hence, the purpose of this synthesis is not to draw conclusive generalizations about the acquisition order of pragmatic competence. Instead, this paper looks at a group of studies and summarizes developmental insights to be gleaned from the studies. Below the studies are discussed according to three categories: comprehension, perception/recognition, and production of pragmatic functions.

5.1. Development in the comprehension of pragmatic functions

The first group of studies to be examined concerns pragmatic comprehension, the most underrepresented domain of ILP research (Kasper and Rose 2002). Pragmatic comprehension involves an inferential understanding of speakers' intentions in utterances. Meaning is conveyed at two levels: utterance meaning, or the literal sense of uttered words, and force, or the speaker's intention behind the words (Thomas 1995). Pragmatic comprehension in L2 requires significant efforts because learners have to recognize the mismatch between the literal utterance and the intended meaning, then reprocess the literal information to infer the implied message. The greater the mismatch is, the greater the processing effort becomes.

Previous studies examined pragmatic comprehension under a variety of labels, including comprehension of implicatures, indirect speech acts, routines, and implied meaning. Among them, there are only four longitudinal studies: Bouton (1992, 1994) and Taguchi (2007, 2008) (see Table 1). Bouton (1992) investigated ESL learners' comprehension of conversational implicatures. Thirty learners of mixed L1s took a written multiple-choice test that was composed of 33 short written dialogues that included different types of implicatures. Bouton found that

the learners' comprehension of relevance-based implicatures became native-like after four-and-a-half years; however, learners still struggled with some formulaic implicatures (e.g., sequence implicatures, Pope question implicatures). In his second study (1994), learners' comprehension was analyzed at a 17-month interval. Unlike the learners in his first study, these learners did not achieve native-like comprehension, and four types of implicatures remained difficult after 17 months. The challenging implicatures were indirect criticism (e.g., responding to a question, "What did you think about my paper?" with "I thought it was well-typed."), Pope questions (e.g., Responding to a question, "Did you finish your homework" with "Is the Pope Catholic?"), sequence implicatures, and irony.

Taguchi (2007, 2008) examined the comprehension of indirect refusals and opinions among Japanese EFL and ESL learners. Indirect refusals were considered conventional because they followed a common, predictable discourse pattern (giving a reason for refusal). Indirect opinions were considered less conventional because they did not attach meaning to specific linguistic expressions or predictable patterns. For example, expressing a negative opinion of a movie with the statement "I was glad when it was over" illustrates how varied the linguistic options regarding the expression of opinions are (e.g., endless qualifications of liking or disliking). These two item types were incorporated into a computerized listening test with a series of short dialogues. Development of pragmatic comprehension was analyzed according to the accuracy of comprehension (scores) and response time (average time taken to answer items correctly). Both studies revealed that learners' comprehension was faster and more accurate for indirect refusals than for indirect opinions. In Taguchi (2007), the EFL learners made significant gains in both accuracy and comprehension speed over a period of seven weeks. When effect sizes were compared, the degree of gain was much larger for accuracy than it was for response time. Taguchi (2008) found different patterns: The ESL learners were slow in their develeopment of comprehension accuracy, while their development of comprehension speed showed a strong progress.

Findings from the four studies suggest a developmental order in the comprehension of implicature. When meaning is based on shared conventions, it is easier to comprehend, not only because it poses fewer processing demands, but also because it allows the successful transfer of pragmatic knowledge from L1. This was the case in Bouton's studies in which learners' comprehension of relevance implicatures became native-like over time because, as their general comprehension ability matured, they learned to use their L1 inferential skills to seek out the relevance of the information. Similarly, Taguchi's study found the comprehension of refusals to precede that of opinions because the means to encode refusals (giving a reason) were conventional and shared between L1 and L2. However, when the convention is culture-specific, or not shared between L1 and L2, meaning becomes the most difficult to recognize. This phenomenon was shown in Bouton's studies wherein learners continued to have difficulty with Pope implicatures even after four years.

The ability to comprehend less conventional implicature does not seem to develop as quickly as conventional implicatures due to the extensive inferential bridge speakers use to arrive at correct interpretations. Such was the case in Taguchi's studies where comprehension of indirect opinions developed more slowly than that of indirect refusals. Without constant symbolic representations, the comprehension of indirect opinions relies more on word-by-word bottom-up processing, as in the analysis of syntactic and lexical information, or that of a number of contextual cues. Using these analyses, learners must understand the literal meaning of the expressions, and then work deductively towards the speakers' implied intentions. Multiple levels of processing, coupled with more extreme deviation from the Gricean maxims, extend the degree of inferencing that learners must do, thereby increasing difficulty and slowing improvement over time. In Bouton's studies, irony items fell within this extensive inferencing category, and slow development was the result.

In summary, more conventional meanings, which require fewer linguistic and cognitive resources, are easier to process, as long as they can take advantage of their conventionality. In contrast, more context-dependent or highly culture-specific meanings are more difficult to comprehend. As Sperber and Wilson (1995) claimed, the processing effort is reflected in the number of signals to be processed and the amount of searching involved. When expressions include conventional features or cues, people use them immediately to comprehend meaning. When those cues are absent, people must process a greater number and variety of signals, mandating a more extensive search for meaning. These claims could explain the developmental patterns of L2 pragmatic comprehension; Learners' comprehension progresses from the stage at which meaning has strong signals to the stage at which meaning does not have strong signals and instead requires a series of inferences.

5.2. Development in the perception of pragmatic functions

The next group of longitudinal studies to be examined is in the area of meta-pragmatic awareness of pragmatic functions, in particular, the area of perception and recognition of speech acts. As Kasper and Rose (2002) noted, studies of the development of speech acts are the best represented in ILP literature. This trend applies also to the longitudinal practices as evidenced by the fact that 10 of the 21 studies examined this pragmatic target. Of these, three studies dealt with meta-pragmatic awareness and recognition of speech acts (see Table 2).

One interesting trend in the development of speech act perception is the mediating role of sociopragmatics. Matsumura (2001) examined changes in learners' perceptions of advice-giving expressions. Japanese learners of English received 12 advice-giving scenarios and were asked to select the most appropriate of four advice expressions: direct advice (the use of "should"), hedged advice, indirect com-

ments with no advice, and opting out. The learners in Canada and Japan took the questionnaire four times in one year. Initially, both groups preferred using indirect and hedged forms of advice when interacting with high-status interlocutors (i.e., professors). This tendency, which was congruent with that of native speakers, remained the same throughout the study. Matsumura attributed the results to L1 socialization. Because Japanese people are status-sensitive, and tend to use indirect expressions with individuals of higher status, the learners in this study referenced their L1 sociocultural norms when speaking in English. When advising interlocutors of equal or lower-status (e.g., friends), or in situations where their advice was legitimate, the study-abroad group outperformed the at-home group. By choosing more direct advice forms even at a very early stage of stay, the study-abroad group appeared to have had more opportunities to understand how native speakers perceive social status.

The perception of social status and its effect on the choice of advice expressions also appeared in Matsumura's (2007) study about the aftereffects of study-abroad. To examine the changes of 15 Japanese students after they returned from studying abroad in Canada, each student was given the same questionnaire three times: one month, six months, and one year after their return to Japan. Their choice of advice expressions gradually diverged from that of native speakers. Interestingly, students retained their ability in lower- and equal-status situations, but diverged the most in higher-status situations. After the six-month point of re-entry, the students increasingly preferred not to give advice to professors. Follow-up interviews revealed that the students' perceptions of professor-student relationships in Japan were altered while studying abroad because of the friendly demeanor of Canadian professors. These perceptions were re-altered after the students returned to Japan where distinct hierarchical relationships between professors and students are assumed. Due to their increasing awareness of social status in Japan, that is, due to their L1 sociopragmatic norms, the students gradually re-realized that expressing opinions in front of higher-status persons is not a Japanese social norm. As a result, they began to refrain from giving advice in such situations. However, the students were able to maintain their pragmatic knowledge in lower- and equal-status situations after returning to Japan because they interacted with international students and maintained contact with their Canadian friends.

These findings show that learners' understandings of sociopragmatic norms affect patterns of pragmatic changes. As shown in Matsumura's studies, learners' choice of advice-giving forms was strongly influenced by their perception of social status and subsequent evaluation of appropriate behavior. Pragmatic development could occur even at early stages of study-abroad with the items that allow for shared sociocultural norms, especially when learners can observe native speaker patterns to confirm whether their L1 norms apply to the L2 context. Pragmatic development is obstructed when social conventions differ for L1 and L2 situations, and when learners resist conforming to target norms.

Replicating Bardovi-Harlig and Dörnyei's (1998) study, Schauer (2006) also examined the awareness of pragmatic appropriateness in study-abroad. She examined learners' progress both in the detection of pragmatic and grammatical errors and the perceived severity of those errors. German learners of ESL and EFL watched a series of video interactions, and then judged the appropriateness of the interlocutors' speech act expressions. The target speech acts were apologies, refusals, requests, and suggestions. Eight items contained pragmatic errors, eight had grammatical errors, and the remaining four were control items. Compared with the EFL learners, the ESL learners recognized a considerably larger number of pragmatic errors than grammatical errors, even after just a one-month stay in the target country. Their pragmatic awareness continued to improve over their nine-month stay in the target country, almost nearing the level of a native speaker. ESL learners also improved at post-test when making judgments about the severity of pragmatic errors, even exceeding the native speaker levels. Like Matsumura, Schauer found that pragmatic development occurs even after short stays abroad. In a target language environment, learners more easily gain pragmatic awareness because they can directly analyze pragmatic features as found in native speaker models.

Although Matsumura and Schauer's studies revealed learners' development in pragmatic perceptions, other study-abroad research revealed individual variation in the development. The research showed that learner agency and access to opportunities for practice greatly affected pragmatic development (Kinginger and Blattner 2008; Kinginger and Farrell 2004). Kinginger and Blattner examined gains in the awareness of French colloquial expressions among 17 American students in a study-abroad program. While most students progressed with interpretations of colloquial phrases, their pre- and post-test scores showed a large variation, with gains ranging from zero to 15 points (30 points max). The variation was explained by the intensity and range of the learners' experiences: the learner who gained the most ate dinner with his host family frequently and engaged in conversations of a variety of topics, whereas the learner who gained the least routinely ate dinner in front of the TV and had little contact with the target community.

Taken together, the summarized studies expose the patterns of pragmatic development and individual variations within the patterns. Pragmatic learning begins at a very early stage of study-abroad, facilitated by the positive transfer of L1 sociopragmatic norms and opportunities to observe target language models. However, gains in pragmatic learning may be lost after learners return to the home country, again owing to the influence of L1 sociopragmatic transfer and home-country practice. There is considerable variation in the pace and size of development among learners due to the differential amount and intensity of sociolinguistic contact, as well as the range of social experiences. These findings reinforce the sociocultural nature of pragmatic competence. Because pragmatic competence is affected by social norms and rules of interaction, the quality of learning contexts plays a substantial role in priming learners' pragmatic awareness. Although the

studies summarized here suggest the influence of sociopragmatic transfer in L2 pragmatic development, it is important to note that Matsumura and Schauer examined pragmatic competence using a written questionnaire, a linguistically less-demanding instrument. Hence, it remains unclear whether or not the transfer of sociocultural norms plays a role when pragmatic competence is examined with instruments that require learners to actually produce pragmalinguistics forms. The next section discusses those studies.

5.3. Development in the production of pragmatic functions

Table 3 lists the 12 studies that documented the longitudinal development of pragmatic production: of those, seven studied speech acts, two studied address forms, and the remainder studied discourse features. Different from pragmatic comprehension and perception, production of pragmatic functions involves the knowledge of pragmalinguistics and sociopragmatics in unison with the processing capacity to articulate the knowledge in production. Production requires a greater processing load than comprehension or perception, because learners can "fake it" in receptive skills but not in productive skills (Swain 2005). In comprehension, it is possible to infer the overall meaning of input by relying on contextual cues without linguistic analysis (Gathercole 1988). However, the production of meaning requires precise linguistic processing. These modality differences also apply to pragmatic performance. Learners' formal knowledge of lexis and morphosyntax must be exact and accurate so that the functions that the learners perform are understood; incorrect linguistic knowledge may obscure meaning or lead the intended functions to be misunderstood.

The precise linguistic processing required for pragmatic production implies that the patterns of pragmatic development are, in part, constrained by learners' grammar. Although advanced grammatical competence does not guarantee skilled pragmatic performance, learners need to have the precise linguistic resources to encode pragmatic functions. For instance, they need to know that modal auxiliaries such as *might* and *want to* are often used to express opinions or desires, while the expression *you might want to* is often used to give advice. Lexis such as *possibly* and *a little bit*, often used for hedging, can effectively mitigate the potential face-threat of a request. Learners' knowledge of such lexico-syntactic forms and their associated functions is best observed in production-based tasks that pose greater linguistic demands and require precise use of those linguistic devices. The interdependence between interlanguage pragmatics and grammar has been recapitulated in several seminal publications (Bardovi-Harlig 1999, 2000a; Kasper 2001; Kasper and Rose 2002). The longitudinal studies in this synthesis also illustrate how grammatical knowledge mediates pragmatic development.

One finding common to Salsbury and Bardovi-Harlig (2001), DuFon (2000), Hassall (2006), and Code and Anderson (2001) was the learners' initial tendency to

adhere to simple, one-to-one correspondence between form and function, which was followed by the gradual expansion of the pragmalinguistic repertoire to encode functions. Salsbury and Bardovi-Harlig examined the development of disagreements by three ESL learners in a U.S. university over a period of 10 to 12 months. Naturalistic conversation data between the learners and native speakers were collected monthly. Types and tokens of modal expressions that appeared in conversation were recorded and analyzed for how they functioned to frame disagreements. A learner with high type/token ratio of modals skillfully used a variety of forms as qualifying expressions, while a learner with low type/token ratio either used inappropriate and strong forms of disagreement (e.g., *No*, *It's bad*), or recycled two modal-like expressions (*maybe*, *I think*) throughout conversation. With expressions of disagreements, grammatically weak learners were constrained by the degree of their knowledge of modal expressions.

Hassall (2006) and DuFon (2000) illustrated the gradual expansion of the form-function associations in learners' system. Using the diary method, Hassall recorded his own acquisition of leave-taking expressions in Indonesian during a three-month sojourn. The 272-page diary documented that the author exclusively used *permisi* in leave-taking situations at beginning. After a month and a half, the author began to use another expression, *dulu*, after experiencing misuse and correction, and noticing the form in the media. DuFon also examined L2 Indonesian in sojourn, focusing on the acquisition of negative responses to experiential questions. Indonesian has two forms of negative response: *tidak* ("no") and *balum* ("not yet"). The naturalistic interactions between six learners of Indonesian and native speakers were recorded over a four-month period. Comparisons of three transcripts revealed that *tidak* was initially dominant in learners' system. By the end of the four-month sojourn, learners were able to use *belum* occasionally when responding to experiential questions, although their response was not automatic. Native speakers' corrective feedback and modeling triggered the learning. These ethnographic studies showed that the initial stage of pragmatic development is often characterized by learners' limited range of pragmalinguistic resources. Once particular form-function-context mapping is established, time is needed for another form to enter the interlanguage to encode the same function. Some triggering event must occur for new mapping to be internalized and applied. Native speaker modeling, corrective feedback, and observation, for example, seem to help learners notice and register new forms.

Similar conclusions can be drawn from Ohta's (2001) study on the expressions of acknowledgement and alignment. In Japanese acknowledgment is a feedback signal used to show attentiveness in conversation (e.g., *soo desu ka* meaning "oh really"), while alignment is an emphatic feedback signal that carries the sentence final particle *ne* (e.g., *ii desu ne*, meaning "That's great, isn't it?"). To begin, five naturalistic recordings of classroom interactions were collected over one academic year. The focal participants, Candace and Rob, exhibited a similar, six-staged development of the target expressions: (1) no use of acknowledgement and align-

ment, (2) use of repetition and laughter for acknowledgement, (3) use *of aa soo desu ka* and minimal response (e.g., *hai*, meaning "yes") for acknowledgement, (4) use of *aa so desu ka* with facility and emergence of alignment expression, (5) spontaneous use of a limited range of alignment expressions, and (6) appropriate use of a range of acknowledgment expressions, as well as greater lexical variety in alignment expressions. This six-staged development is in line with the results of other longitudinal findings. Learners exhibit a limited pragmalinguistic repertoire at the beginning of development, which is often marked by the recycled use of a specific form and formulaic language use. Once learners acquire the minimum forms, they begin to incorporate varied forms with similar functions. Individual difference was not observed in the sequence of development, but rather in the pace: Candace showed stable, frequent use of the alignment earlier than Rob because her partner consistently used listener responses with frequency and variety.

Facilitative effect of input and feedback on pragmatic gain was also found by Belz and Kinginger (2003). Using CMC (computer mediated communication), it examined the acquisition of German address forms by 11 American college students over a two-month period. In ILP research, CMC is a novel methodology with several strengths. For one, researchers can create an authentic context for communication by having learners engaged in on-line dialogues with native speakers. Use of computers also allows researchers to track learners' production with the input of native speakers. To draw conclusions about input, output, and pragmatic development, researchers using CMC can cross-examine learners' production with the input of native speakers.

Using CMC to their advantage, Belz and Kinginger documented learners' growing tendency to replace the formal *V*-form with the informal *T*-form of solidarity when addressing peers in their age-group. Although some learners started using the *T*-form after encountering it in the speech of peers, the majority of learners improved only after they had received peer feedback on their inappropriate use of the *V*-form. Two types of development were identified: abrupt development in which learners stopped using the *V*-form after receiving peer assistance, and gradual development in which the *V*- and *T*-forms occurred together before complete acquisition. There was also one case of non-development in the study. The findings suggest that feedback facilitates development, and that individual variation exists in the course of development. To see how these two points were manifested, Kinginger and Belz (2005) conducted in-depth analysis of one participant, Grace. After the peer assistance, Grace's use of the *V*-form dropped from 64 to 10 %. By the fifth week, Grace no longer used the V-form, indicating that she had acquired the sociopragmatic knowledge necessary to make the *T-V* distinction. Still, she did not fully understand the pragmalinguistics of the context and continued to use incorrect number and case markings.

The rate and degree of development of address forms revealed in Belz and Kinginger's study are striking when compared with Barron's (2003) study of Ger-

man address forms. Thirty-three Irish learners of L2 German were studied over a 14-month sojourn. DCT data collected three times at 7-month intervals revealed only modest progress on learners' use of the *T* and *V*-forms. Learners switched between the two forms in all DCT situations, although the case of switching decreased by 7 % by the end of the study. These findings further support the importance of attention in pragmatic development. In study-abroad contexts where learners are presumably exposed to input and patterns of interaction in the target language, without opportunities for corrective feedback and explicit explanation, acquisition of pragmalinguistic forms do not always occur unless learners are also given corrective feedback and explanation.

Supporting evidence also appears in Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford's (1993) study, which analyzed how 10 international graduate students at an American university developed on speech acts of suggestions and rejections. Data were naturalistic advising sessions recorded twice over a period of 7 to 14 weeks. While learners easily acquired sociopragmatic rules of advising, they were slow to acquire the target pragmalinguistic forms. Over time, learners became able to initiate suggestions about the courses they wanted to take and offer credible reasons when rejecting advisors' suggestions about courses. Learners struggled more with appropriate forms of rejection; indeed, they continually used various forms of aggravators and ignored mitigating devices. In advising sessions, learners came to expect certain settings, rituals, and strategies for advisees to use. However, learners did not fully understand the pragmalinguistics of target speech acts because they lacked explicit advisor corrections and had few opportunities to observe native-speaker models of rejections in advising sessions.

The slow acquisition of forms, as compared with that of strategies, also appeared in Warga and Scholmberger (2007) and Schauer (2004). In Warga and Scholmberger's study of apology, seven English-speaking learners of French completed DCT six times during a 10-month study abroad period. The data were analyzed for the frequencies of apology strategies. In student-student situations, learners initially justified breaking rules and did not offer to repair the resultant damage. Over time, learners' handling of these strategies improved. Justifications decreased from 80 to 20 % in student-student situations, approximating the native speaker frequency of 30 %. Offers of repair increased in frequency from 50 to 70 %. Once exposed to L2 input, the learners understood acceptable actions in apology situations, and learned that offers of repair, never justifications, are appropriate. In contrast, learners displayed lexical development that deviated from the L2 standard, especially when using upgrading expressions. Learners continued to overuse *tres*, meaning "very," and underuse *vraiment* meaning "really." The findings show that, with time and exposure, learners improved on their choice of proper strategies. However, it took longer for learners to internalize the accompanying pragmalinguistic forms (e.g., upgrading forms), especially without explicit feedback or modeling.

Schauer (2004) examined the development of request, focusing on the use of internal and external modifications among 12 German ESL learners. A computerized DCT was administered three times over a nine-month study-abroad period. From the onset of the study, the frequency with which the learners used external modifiers was similar to that of native speakers. The use of a few initially underused modifiers (small talk, flattering, showing consideration) approached the native-level use after four months. In contrast, several internal modifiers that involved lexical and syntactic downgraders remained underdeveloped. Consultation devices (e.g., *Would you mind*), imposition minimizers (e.g., *a bit*), and tag questions were used by the learners 25–50 % less than by native speakers. This statistics remained relatively unchanged. Divergence from native-speaker norms was also found in learners' increased use of appreciation expressions (e.g., *It'd be nice*) and conditional clauses (*I'd like to ask if you could do this*). The learners' understanding of rituals and manners of requesting, for example, establishing positive atmosphere through small talk or showing consideration for a requestee's situation, improved with time. Their correct use of morpho-syntax devices, however, showed slower progress.

5. Discussion

Together, the longitudinal studies reviewed in this paper suggest that pragmatic development is a process in which learners acquire pragmatic meanings of grammatical and lexical materials. Diverse methodologies were used to generate this conclusion, ranging from ethnographic studies that involved naturalistic observation to descriptive-quantitative studies that used construct-eliciting instruments. Every study revealed "changes" in pragmatic development, particularly in the pace and pattern of development. Concerning the comprehension of implicature, developmental trajectory can be inferred from the intensity of input signals. Learners were seen to progress from the stage where meaning is marked via strong signals (e.g., universal or shared conventionality between L1 and L2) to the stage where meaning does not involve those signals and thus requires a series of inferential stages to comprehend (Bouton 1992, 1994; Taguchi 2007, 2008). In the area of pragmatic reception/recognition, L1 sociopragmatic norms have been shown to shape learners' meta-pragmatic awareness of appropriateness. Mappings of form-function-context can be registered even during the early stages of a sojourn when facilitated by the presence of L1-based norms or opportunities to observe native-speaker patterns of interaction (Matsumura 2001, 2007; Schauer 2006). Given that all existing longitudinal studies in this area were conducted in a study-abroad context, the host environment strongly influenced the awareness learners gained, though individual variation exists due to the different quality and quantity of contextual experience.

In the area of pragmatic production, however, it appears that form-function-context mappings are not internalized in a linear manner, even among learners living in a target language context. Learners usually begin with a limited range of pragmalinguistic resources, often symbolized by the overgeneralization of a few forms over a range of functions or the use of formulaic language. They gradually expand their pragmalinguistic repertoire by adopting a new form-function mapping into their systems. This process is slow, unless learners are exposed to explicit correction, feedback, or modeling. The complete replacement of one pragmatic form with another also takes time as shown by the co-existence of forms and learners' tendency to switch between them.

In contrast to pragmalinguistic development, learners' strategies and tactics to perform the target illocutionary act display steady, incremental progress. As Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford (1993), Walga and Scholmberger (2007), and Schauer (2004) showed, learners improved on their coping strategies in the target pragmatic act. They learned to initiate suggestions in advising sessions, thereby minimizing the possibility of rejecting their advisors' suggestions. When apologizing, learners understood not to justify their misconduct and learned to offer repair for the damage they had caused. They also began to soften their requests by establishing a friendly atmosphere with small talk and expression of consideration. These findings imply that the knowledge of the logistics specific to a pragmatic event develop naturally over time. Although individual variation exists in the process, inappropriate sociocultural behaviors can be corrected, and conventional norms can be eventually adopted. When compared to these strategies, the precise syntax and lexis needed to encode pragmatic intentions did not develop as quickly.

In part, these findings are consistent with the previous literature concerned with the characteristics of adults' pragmatic development. Unlike children whose pragmatic and linguistic competences develop simultaneously, normal adult learners are already fully competent in L1 pragmatics; they possess a rich foundation of universal pragmatic knowledge and strategies (Bialystok 1993; Levinson 1983; Mey 2001). For instance, they already have implicit knowledge of politeness, mutually face-saving strategies, and sociolinguistic variability in linguistic choices (see Kasper and Rose 2002 for summary). The challenge for adult learners is to acquire processing control over pre-existing pragmatic representations in L2 (Bialystok 1993). They must re-learn the form-function relations appropriate to L2, which requires that they learn new pragmalinguistic forms, along with the social contexts in which they occur.

These claims suggest the primacy of pragmatics over grammar in the process of adult learners' pragmatic development, which corresponds to the longitudinal findings examined in this paper. Since grammatical competence does not develop as quickly as L1-based pragmatic concepts, learners do not have adequate linguistic resources at disposal to produce pragmatic functions. As a result, they must resort to whatever resources available at a given stage of development. For instance,

Salsbury and Bardovi-Harlig's (2001) participant overused two modal devices to express disagreements. She could disagree with the interlocutor at proper timing, but lacked the appropriate linguistic resources to encode the speech act. Limited progress in the acquisition of pragmalinguistics as compared with that of tactics and rituals of pragmatic acts, as well as the slow expansion of learners' pragmalinguisitc repertoires, all support the potentiality of the unbalanced development of grammar and pragmatics among adult L2 learners. Pragmatic functions are conveyed in ways that conform to learners' level of grammar.

If pragmatic competence does not develop in conjunction with grammatical ability, what factors might close the gap between the two? The longitudinal findings in this paper suggest some possibilities. One potential factor for pragmatic gain is the learning context. Although living in the target language context does not guarantee pragmatic development, the target community has potential to offer unique sociocultural experiences that foster the acquisition of pragmalinguistic forms. Qualitative analyses by DuFon (2001), Hassall (2006), Kinginger and Farrell (2004), and Kinginger and Blattner (2008) revealed a range of social encounters and activities that contribute to the acquisition of new form-function associations. Another promising factor for pragmatic gain is the features of context, particularly input and peer feedback. Ohta's (2001) study which occurred in a formal instructional context proves that pragmatic competence can develop in a domestic environment, as long as learners are exposed to the target pragmatic input and have an opportunity to practice the target language. In Belz and Kinginger's (2002) CMC study, cases of abrupt development after peer assistance indicate the even stronger effect of feedback on learners' progress. Saliency of the target form-function mappings, promoted through input frequency and direct attention to forms, could facilitate the pace and grain size of pragmatic development.

6. Conclusion and implications for future directions

Rather scant longitudinal practice in SLA, particularly in the field of ILP, has highlighted the need for increased research on the acquisition of pragmatic competence. A handful of longitudinal studies discussed in this synthesis echo this important voice. From these studies has emerged a meaningful portrayal of how learners gradually attain pragmatic competence within various contexts and methodologies. The challenges and opportunities offered by these studies can inform future successor of longitudinal research. Using suggestions drawn from the study findings, what follows is an examination of emerging issues critical to future investigations of pragmatic development.

First, developmental characteristics observed in pragmalinguistic forms call for future examinations of pragmatic development with the in-depth study of specific, related grammatical sub-systems. This proposal builds on previous recom-

mendations from the analysis of the relationship between grammar and pragmatics (e.g., Bardovi-Harlig 1999, 2000a; Kasper 2001), a model of which can be found in Salsbury and Bardovi-Harlig's (2001) study. Independent analyses of learners' knowledge and the development of grammatical forms necessary for pragmatic performance (e.g., modal expressions in disagreements, syntactic mitigators in requests) could reveal how the knowledge of the forms mediates the pace and pattern of development in pragmatic functions that necessitate the forms. Since very few longitudinal studies have actually examined the presence or absence of the target pragmalinguistic forms in learners' systems, a separate analysis of grammar and pragmatics would help illuminate the sequential stages of development, as well as the linguistic factors that affect development.

Second agenda for future investigation relates to the availability of data points. Without collecting data systematically over time using comparable tasks, inferences about the steps towards attaining full pragmatic competence are hard to make. While some key ethnographic studies provide qualitative data rich enough to suggest a causal relationship between individuals, context, and gained pragmatic knowledge (e.g., Siegal 1996; Schmidt 1983), the picture of pragmatic change is rather blurry in those studies because data was not collected systematically. As Ortega and Iberri-Shea's (2005) noted in their observation, "goals of these studies have been, rather than documenting and understanding change over time, to capture continuity and to achieve deep understanding of roles, interrelationships, and intentionalities in ecologies of second language learning that are viewed as stable over time" (2005: 41). To raise the standard of longitudinal practice in ILP, future ethnographic studies should incorporate waves of systematic data collection. In turn, learners' changing pragmatic abilities could be recorded and used to analyze the influence of sociocultural context and learner agency.

Recent epistemological trends in the field of SLA are also moving in this direction. Many researchers in SLA hope to capture the process of acquisition in a social context. This interest can be seen in the recent development of sociocultural theory (Lantolf and Thorne 2006), the impact of the Firth and Wagner's 1997 article, which inspired a focus issue in the *Modern Language Journal* (Lafford 2007), and the emerging intersection between Conversation Analysis and SLA (e.g., Kasper 2006; Markee 2000; Mori 2007), among others. Likewise, SLA theory builders have recently focused on the dynamicity and complexity of L2 acquisition process. Dynamic Systems Theory (de Bot et al. 2007, 2008), chaos/complexity theory (Larsen-Freeman and Cameron 2008), and the emergentism approach (N. Ellis and Larsen-Freeman 2006) are some of the proponents of this new epistemological trend that argues that language develops through interactions between context and individuals, and variability is central in development. With this approach, context is essential to acquisition, and the interdependence of variables, both at individual and contextual levels, forms the explanation of growth. Longitudinal research in pragmatic development should benefit from this emerging theoretical perspective

because, similar to other aspects of linguistics, the multiple factors that influence pragmatic gains are inherent to contexts and individuals. A future challenge in this perspective is the construction of a concrete research design that facilitates dynamic analysis of context, individuals, and pragmatic development. Ethnographic studies will certainly fall under such endeavor if they can accumulate data points systematically. Quantitative-descriptive studies should expand their data sources to include qualitative data, allowing researchers to find meanings behind developmental phenomena. Measures such as observations and interviews are valuable in documenting learners' access to pragmatic input at individual levels. Detailed reports on the nature of social contacts, the domains of those contacts, and activity types could clarify the extent to which the types of sociocultural experiences affect pragmatic development.

The third issue to address in future ILP research is the frequency of data points. Of the 21 studies, 16 studies had only two or three data points. With such a small number of data points evolution towards full pragmatic competence is difficult to illuminate. The small number of data points in ILP research can be attributed in part to the use of an elicitation instrument (e.g., DCT), particularly in the area of speech act studies. Because using the same instrument at short intervals poses the risk of practice effects, researchers conduct infrequent data collection to avoid this potential design flaw. What is more, some speech acts are difficult to analyze without eliciting because they do not occur frequently enough in naturalistic interaction to form a reliable data set. This is especially true when situational variables (e.g., power, imposition) become part of the investigation. McGroarty and Taguchi's (2005) analysis of a corpus of student-professor conversations found only a few instances of high-imposition request (i.e., asking a professor for a letter of recommendation) in a 50,000-word corpus. Except in highly constrained social interactions (e.g., service encounters), speech acts cannot be observed in a systematic manner. Other pragmatic targets, such as discourse features (e.g., expressions of acknowledgment), address forms, and greetings are more likely to occur in naturalistic interactions, and are therefore easier to record over time (e.g., Kinginger and Belz 2001; Ohta 2001; Sawyer 1992). Future studies should explore methods for examining pragmatic features embedded in naturalistic discourse. For the pragmatic targets that are harder to monitor with naturalistic observation, future research should explore an appropriate balance between the number of data points and potential demerit of frequent data elicitation.

The trends found in this synthesis represent diversity in methods and pragmatic targets across longitudinal studies that will hopefully continue in the future. Future research will also benefit if longitudinal studies expand their focus to different target languages, learning contexts, and constructs. The concentration of of L2 English studies in the field could be remedied in the future by looking at pragmatic 1development in languages other than English. Similarly, concentration of longitudinal investigation in a second language context as opposed to a foreign language

context could be balanced by a closer analysis of formal classroom interactions for pragmatic input and its relationship to pragmatic gains. Pioneering this area of study are Ohta (2001) and Belz and Kinginger's (2001), whose study tracked down pragmatic development among learners in a regular classroom setting. Finally, future research should expand the scope of the target pragmatic constructs and examine the development of different pragmatic sub-competencies simultaneously. This effort will fill the gaps in the existing literature because few studies to date have analyzed multiple pragmatic targets in single participant group. Comprehension, perception, and the production of pragmatic functions examined in this synthesis present very different interpretations of the pattern and pace of pragmatic progress, suggesting a potential relationship among construct, time, and change. Future research should investigate if certain aspects of pragmatic development benefit from target language contact more than others, and what pragmatic sub-competencies are impervious to external effects such as input and feedback. It is certainly impossible for a single study or lone researcher to address these challenges presented by future agendas of longitudinal ILP research. Only the collective and cooperative efforts of researchers can advance the longitudinal approach to interlanguage pragmatics and contribute to the accumulated knowledge about acquisition and development in the field of SLA.

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12. The Pragmatics of English as a lingua franca

Juliane House

This paper investigates the pragmatics of English as a *lingua franca* (ELF). Following a brief introduction, I will first define the ELF phenomenon, then discuss several empirical pragmatics-related ELF studies and try to generalize from their findings. Finally I will draw some tentative conclusions.

1. Introduction

Today, non-native speakers of English outnumber English native speakers by 4:1, and one may safely assume that the vast majority of interactions where English is used as a foreign or second language take place in the absence of native speakers. English is thus no longer "owned" by its native speakers, but instead shows a strong tendency towards further, ever more rapid de-owning. The result is an increasing degree of diversification of the English language through hybridisation, acculturation and nativisation processes. The linguistic consequences of such merging and converging processes are, of course, numerous non-native "World English" varieties from Singaporean and Nigerian to Indian; Fijian and Indonesian English. Furthermore, the world-wide presence of English has also given rise to a growing number of international non-native-non-native English interactions that have come to be called "lingua franca communication". Such interactions are particularly commonplace within influential frameworks such as business, politics and science, but also in other domains such as student and touristic encounters, technology, media and small talk discourse. Both in the case of nativised varieties and the global use of English as a lingua franca, we are of course not dealing with one monolithic, hegemonic English voice but with a great diversity of different voices. This means that the English language has largely outgrown the norms of the Kachruvian inner circle (Kachru 1992) and has become not only a useful default means of communication but is often also used as a tool for national, regional and local renaissance and resistance by its new expert non-native users. As a consequence of the continuous diversification of English across the world, Kachru's famous three circles may no longer be a useful descriptive tool today.

English as a lingua franca (ELF) is a relatively new field of inquiry but it is of great importance given the continuing spread of English over many geographical and cultural areas and its enormous functional and formal flexibility. Lingua franca English is used both internationally and intra-nationally, the latter typically in interactions between members of different ethnic and migrant populations in a

country where English is the official language. This intra-national use of English as a lingua franca is well-known through Clyne's (1994) work on non-native immigrant English communication in Australia. English is used here as a means of communication within a country where ethnic groups have no mutually comprehensible language. In the international use of ELF, English is used "transnationally", i.e. by members of different nationality groups as what is variably called "international," "global" or "world English", terms which, in McArthur's (1998: 86) hymnic words, "explicitly acknowledge the planetary reach of the language".

2. What is "English as a lingua franca"?

The concept of a lingua franca in its original sense is very different from the role which the English language is currently playing on the world stage. In its original meaning, a lingua franca – the term comes from Arabic *lisan al farang* – was simply an intermediary or contact language used, for instance, by speakers of Arabic with travellers from Western Europe. Its meaning was later extended to describe a language of commerce, a rather stable variety with little room for individual variation. This meaning is clearly not applicable to today's global English, whose major feature is its enormous functional flexibility, and spread across many different linguistic, geographical and cultural areas, as well as its openness to foreign forms. ELF in both international and intra-national cases of communication can best be regarded as a special type of intercultural communication where each combination of interactants, each discourse community, seem to negotiate their own lingua franca use in terms of the use of code-switching and code-mixing, discourse strategies, negotiation of forms and meanings.

In its role as an auxiliary language, English can be compared to Latin at the time of the late Roman Empire, or French in the 17th and 18th century. When the so-called Western world in the second half of the 20th century came to depend on border-crossing communication, political, economic and scientific cooperation and supranational organisation, it so happened that English was in the right place at the right time (Crystal 1997). English had already spread into so many ethnically diverse societies, and had already acquired a certain neutrality and cultural distance from its original British culture. It therefore seemed the natural choice for a communication language. And another, more linguistic, factor that helped propel English into a position of first choice for an auxiliary language is that English has long been, especially in its lexical repertoire, a rich mixture of Romance and Germanic languages, languages of supra-regional importance in their own right. But what is ELF? Is it a language for specific purposes, a sort of pidgin or creole, type of foreigner talk or learner language? All of these concepts are not really useful for coming to grips with ELF. Clearly, ELF is not a pidgin or a creole, nor a language for specific purposes, because, unlike a pidgin, it is not a restricted language but a

means of communication showing full linguistic and functional range (Kachru 1997). Moreover, ELF does not serve as the mother tongue of the descendants of the speakers of an English-based pidgin.

In the past, ELF has often been described as a learner language or interlanguage. The interlanguage paradigm was first introduced to Applied Linguistics in the late sixties with its focus on the deficits of learners of a foreign language vis-à-vis the native norm. This term is however clearly not valid within the context of ELF. Instead of the learner, it is rather the multilingual individual and his or her 'multicompetence' (Cook 1992), who is to be taken as a norm or yardstick for describing and explaining ELF communication. Here we can look for support from the rich literature on bilingualism, where the notion of a "simultaneous activation" of speakers' native tongue and ELF in the cognitive structures of bilingual and multilingual subjects is widely accepted today (cf. Grosjean 2001).

Another interesting suggestion with regard to capturing the "ELF" notion comes from Widdowson (2003), who has suggested that ELF is a type of "register". He claims that when the English language as a "virtual language" is employed in different contexts of use, for different purposes, by different people, it comes to fulfil very different functions and is changed (formally and functionally) accordingly.

A major characteristic of English as a lingua franca then is its multiplicity of voices. English as a lingua franca is a language for communication, and a medium that can be given substance with different national, regional, local, and individual cultural identities. ELF has thus considerable potential for international understanding as there is no pre-fixed norm, and therefore lingua franca speakers must always work out a new joint linguistic, intercultural and behavioral basis for their communication in different communities of practice. Nevertheless, native pragmatic norms are often still maintained. When English is used in interactions between, say, German, Spanish and French speakers, the differences in interactional norms, standards of politeness, directness, values, feelings of cultural and historical tradition may remain. These norms are not shared, nor need they be. Localized, regionalized or otherwise appropriated varieties – whose linguistic surface is English, but whose speakers creatively conduct pragmatic shifts in their use of this auxiliary language – are taking over the linguistic landscape. Non-native speakers of English anywhere in the world are developing their own discourse strategies, speech act modifications, genres and communicative styles in their use of ELF.

In a well-known early definitional attempt by Firth, it is the types of agents involved in the use of ELF that are emphasized. Firth assumes that ELF is simply "a contact language between persons who share neither a common native tongue nor a common national culture, and for whom English is the chosen foreign language of communication" (1996: 20). The main function of ELF use is simply to enable communication between people who would otherwise not be able to communicate with one another. This might of course include native speaker participants.

In an attempt at defining a lingua franca from a formal perspective, Gramkow Andersen (1993: 108) offers a definition that characterizes ELF in the following way: "There is no consistency in form that goes beyond the participant level, i.e., each combination of interactants seem to negotiate and govern their own variety of lingua franca use in terms of proficiency level, use of code-mixing, degree of pidginization etc.". Here we have the most important ingredients of a lingua franca: negotiability, variability in terms of speaker proficiency and openness to an integration of forms from other speakers and languages. Evidently, all of this reminds us of the notion of "interlanguage," famously defined by Selinker as follows:

> An 'interlanguage' may be linguistically described using the observable output resulting from a speaker's attempt to produce a foreign norm as data, i.e., both his errors and non-errors. It is assumed that such behavior is highly structured … it seems to me that recognition of the existence of an interlanguage cannot be avoided and that it must be dealt with as a system, not as an isolated collection of errors. (1969: fn5)

The salient concepts here are "foreign norm", "errors", "non-errors", "system", and – by implication – also the native speaker as norm-bearer. The differential approach to ELF can now be outlined in relation to these concepts. First, lingua franca talk is not conceived with a view to an ideal foreign, i.e. English norm, and the lingua franca speaker is not measured in her competence vis-à-vis the native speaker. The lingua franca speaker is not one that is per definition "not fully competent" in the part of her linguistic knowledge under observation. Second, the object of inquiry is not a psycholinguistic, "In-between-system" developing in a speaker on her way to full mastery of the English language system. The perspective is not one with a view to a move towards becoming a member of another speech community. While a lingua franca user is usually a fully competent speaker of at least one other language, this aspect of her linguistic knowledge is never under focus in interlanguage research. In lingua franca discourse, which is conceived of as a multi-voiced, hybrid discourse, this knowledge plays, however, as the following lingua franca data clearly indicates, an important role as it is always present and often transferred into the English medium discourse – without necessarily leading to "pragmatic failure". What is under study in interlanguage research is thus a learner (a concept emphasizing the developmental aspect) and a non-native speaker (a notion emphasizing the speaker's knowledge as deficient in comparison to that of a native speaker).

As opposed to the interlanguage frame of reference, it is the bilingual or multilingual speaker and with this, the perspective of sociolinguistic and bilingualism research that is important in ELF studies. The focus is here on the possession of more than one set of linguistic and socio-cultural knowledge in one and the same individual, and on how this individual's complex knowledge sources are used in interaction with other speakers who are members of different linguistic and cultural communities. The focus in ELF research is on language use (rather than on development) and on the sociopragmatic functions of language choice.

From the perspective of pragmatics, ELF as one type of non-native-non-native interaction is best examined with a focus on how meanings, forms and functions are negotiated given the varying resources available to lingua franca speakers. This interactional approach is concerned with social rather than individual or psychological aspects. According to Firth (1996), the lingua franca epithet does have an advantage as a conceptual categorization, particularly when contrasted with the more ideologically-fused cognates such as "foreigner talk", or "learner interaction". He rightly states that in contrast to these categorizations, the term lingua franca "attempts to conceptualize the participant simply as *a user* whose real-world interactions are deserving of unprejudiced *description* rather than as a person conceived *a priori* to be the possessor of incomplete or deficient communicative competence, putatively striving for the 'target' competence of an idealized 'native speaker'" (1996: 241).

To be fair, in 1992, Selinker also mentioned the importance of certain "World Englishes", but of course he characterized their speakers in terms of "fossilization" on a cline to nativisation, but he also, wisely, wrote: "In certain kinds of societies, the results of learner interlanguages are clearly stabilized non-native varieties of the international language English … Part of the future discovery of interlanguage must be a more complete understanding of the relationship between learner interlanguages and these stabilized new varieties" (1992: 232). No mention was made at that time of ELF, although research into ELF had at least just begun.

3. Pragmatics and discourse-related studies of ELF: Some research findings

In her pioneering work on ELF, Meierkord (1996) started out looking at ELF as a learner language that exhibited Interlanguage characteristics, but also adaptations to the communicative potential of the English language. Meierkord's data are audiotaped English dinner table conversations elicited in a British student residence from subjects of many different L1 backgrounds. She examined opening and closing phases, gambits, topic management, politeness, turn-taking, overlaps and hesitation phenomena and found that ELF talk showed surprisingly few misunderstandings. If misunderstandings did occur, they were generally left unresolved, i.e., not overcome by negotiations but by often abrupt topic changes. Further results include a reduced variety of tokens, shorter turns than those produced by native speakers, frequent use of non-verbal supportive back channels, especially laughter, and very little interference from L1 discourse norms. This last finding is however problematic, as Meierkord had no contrastive baseline data for the many languages involved in her study.

In her later work, Meierkord (2000) paid more attention to the cultural aspect of lingua franca talk, taking up Hüllen's (1992) claim that ELF users set up a kind

of *intersociety* or *interculture*. It seems difficult however to operationalize such vague concepts. More promising are attempts at capturing participants' awareness of putative intercultures or indeed cultural differences in interactional norms through post-hoc retrospective reflective interviews, but even these may be limited in the insight they can provide.

Some of Meierkord's findings were confirmed in other important early work on ELF by Firth (1990, 1996) and Wagner and Firth (1997). They analysed telephone conversations between employees of Danish companies and their foreign partners, supplementing their analyses with ethnographic information. The authors stress the "fleeting" nature of ELF talk, the fluidity of norms reflecting participants' insecurity regarding which norms are operative, as well as their often strained attempts at conversational attuning. This tends to result in overtly consensus-oriented conversational behavior and interactants' attempts to "normalize" potential trouble sources in a preventive way, rather than attend to them explicitly, via for instance repair initiation, reformulation, or other negotiating behaviors.

As long as a threshold of understanding is achieved, ELF participants appear to adopt the "let-it-pass" principle, an interpretive procedure which makes the interactional style "robust", "normal" and consensual. Adopting such a procedure may endanger effective communication, as the superficial consensus may mask deeper sources of trouble arising, for instance, out of differences in linguaculturally-based knowledge frames. However, ELF talk was found to be basically meaningful and "ordinary". This ordinariness is a joint achievement of interactants, who successfully engage in their interactional and interpretive work in order to sustain the appearance of normality despite being exposed to each other's relatively "abnormal" linguistic behavior. Achieving ordinariness is the direct outcome of the "let it pass" procedure, which interactants resort to whenever understanding threatens to become difficult. Unclear talk is then routinely "passed" over on the common sense assumption that, as the talk progresses, it will either eventually become clear or end up as redundant and thus negligible. In other words, ELF interactants firstly develop a strategy of "pretending" to understand, by concealing unclarities as long as they are not forced to reveal their non-understanding at some later stage of the talk. Secondly, ELF talk's "ordinariness" is achieved via a "make-it-normal" orientation, which implies that, faced with alter's marked lexical and phonological selections, unidiomatic phrasings, morphological vagaries and idiosyncratic syntactic structuring, ELF speakers behave in such a way as to deliberately divert attention from these infelicitous forms. This behavior is evident in the marked absence of "other repairs", requests for information or confirmation, as these would only expose alter's linguistic incompetence. "ELF participants", says Firth "have a remarkable ability and willingness to tolerate anomalous usage and marked linguistic behavior even in the face of what appears to be usage that is at times acutely opaque" (Firth 1996: 247). Furthermore there are many remarkable collaborative

actions, i.e. joint discourse production in the talk. In sum, ELF users appear to be competent enough to be able to monitor each others' moves at a high level of awareness, and to acquire new items as they become established in the ongoing talk.

Similar results were presented by Lesznyak (2004), who analysed an ELF interaction at an international students' meeting in the Netherlands and compared this interaction with talk involving groups of native speakers of English, Hungarian and German and with an interaction between native speakers of English and ELF speakers. Her focus was on topic management, and the title of an earlier paper (Lesznyak 2002) already characterizes her ELF speakers' way of managing topics: "From Chaos to Smallest Common Denominator". As opposed to her English as a Foreign Language (EFL) data where a topic management model was found which clearly corresponded to native British English norms, her ELF data deviated from this model in the sense that a more complex topic development occurred, i.e., a lengthy process of finding common ground, negotiating footing and communicative rules as participants' initially divergent behavior was gradually transformed into convergent behavioral patterns. ELF interactants were found to work out the rules for their particular encounter by zeroing in on a shared interpretation of the social situation they had found themselves in. Further, explicit marking of cohesion and coherence through deictic procedures and the expression of shared knowledge found in the ELF data had no match in the EFL data, where the prime means of connectivity was simple propositional repetition.

An important general characteristic of ELF talk that has come to the foreground more recently is its inherent variability (Dewey 2009; Firth 2009). This variability is not to be equated with ELF speakers' failure to fulfil native norms, and their differential levels of competence in English. Rather it lies at the core of ELF discourse, where speakers creatively exploit, intentionally appropriate, locally adapt and communicatively align the potential inherent in the forms and functions, items and collocations of the virtual English language they take recourse to in their performance as the need arises (cf. Widdowson 2003; Seidlhofer and Widdowson 2007).

If ELF interactants do not seek to adjust to some real or imaginary native speaker norm, they do not conceive of themselves as learners of English as a foreign language, rather as individual ELF users united in different "communities of practice" (cf. House 2003) in the sense of Wenger (1989) and Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992). The notion "community of practice" is most appropriate for ELF in that the constitution of a community of practice is governed by a joint purpose – to communicate efficiently in English as the agreed and chosen language of communication without, however, heeding to or being constrained by English native norms. The relevance of the concept of "community of practice" for ELF has recently also been taken up by Seidlhofer (2007), Jenkins (2009) and Dewey (2009).

A project specifically concerned with discourse pragmatics is the Hamburg ELF project (cf. e.g., House 2002, 2008; Baumgarten and House 2007, House and Lévy-Tödter 2009; House and Lévy-Tödter, in press). Here we have collected different types of data from international students of various disciplines at the University of Hamburg (age 20–28): L1 English interactions, interactions between L1 English speakers and ELF speakers, ELF interactions between speakers of many different L1s as well as retrospective interviews for collaborative interpretation. Subjects were involved in 30 minute self-initiated ELF interactions on the basis of a written textual trigger. In a study funded since 2008 by the Volkswagen Foundation we have also been examining ELF talk in institutional discourse, particularly during office hour interactions between international students and their academic advisors.

The results of analyses of this ELF data and ELF users' reflections about their own productions basically confirm the previous findings described above. However, several other interesting characteristics of the use of ELF have also emerged, which can be summarized in the shape of the following four strategies.

3.1. Recourse to L1: Transfer and code-switching

3.1.1. Transfer

Although transfer in ELF talk can not only occur from an ELF speaker's mother tongue into ELF but also from other languages in their repertoire, I will here only consider transfer from L1. In the following examples, three Asian interactants were found to pursue their own agenda throughout the 30 minute interaction such that the entire interaction resembles a set of parallel monologues with each participant following his individual macro-theme highlighted by certain key words. Whatever coherence is achieved in the discourse is only recognizable in the individual paths taken by individual participants. The cyclical topic management, which results in a number of non-sequitur turns-at-talk – a phenomenon consistently ignored by the other participants – never leads to a breakdown of the conversation, i.e., the talk remains 'normal' and 'robust' (cf. House 2002). Consider data excerpt 1. In this excerpt and the ones that follow, length of pauses and other non-verbal phenomena are represented in brackets, laughter via the symbol @, latching via the symbol =, and the points focussed on in the analysis given will be highlighted in bold print. English translations of bits of German utterances in the extracts are included in square brackets. All names are anonymized:

Excerpt 1

Joy: Does maybe the nationalism erm in Quebec
Wei: **For us we** don't have problem I mean **Asian people Chinese** for example
Brit: I've seen several movies in Japanese recently like Manga Comics are very popular=
Wei: =Since perhaps twenty years (2 sec) a lot of **Chinese people** began to learn a second foreign language it's. @
Joy: When you speak English so you can @ translate in English or you can use the one language and not three languages
Wei: You know the problem is **Taiwan Hongkong and Mainland China** and the different and the difference (2 sec) how to say and the very different history this is the problem @
Brit: But people have an interest in keeping their languages (1 sec) like Wales or erm in Ireland they try to revive the Gaelic Irish (2sec) I think it's got something to do with identity
Wei: I think in **South-East Asia** perhaps the first foreign language be English and a second foreign language perhaps **Japanese** or German (5sec)

Here we can see how Wei relentlessly pulls the topic back to what he himself wants to talk about: Asian (particularly Chinese) people – regardless of where the conversation is leading, and all but ignoring his interlocutor's moves. In the post hoc interview, the participants confirmed that the re-cycling of a topic is a convention in many Asian languages.

3.1.2. Code-switching

Excerpts 2 and 3 show how an academic advisor, a German professor (P), makes use of code-switching to get his meaning across to the other two participants who both know German. WM, his assistant, is a native speaker of German, and the Spanish student (S) has a working knowledge of German, the professor thus uses code-switching as a strategy to overcome his own limitations in ELF:

Excerpt 2

P: (reads title softly) Yeah then just take this off
S: Yes
P: We'll do it by quickly its
S: So I need to (0.5) write=
P: =**Ja ja** [yes yes]
S: This office for uh (1sec) they approve the new
P: **Ja ja ja [yes yes yes]**
S: Without

WM: Without
P: Without this application always it it it it it is easily you can design a a a a a a cantilever slab within one week (0.5) not more to do it=
WM: =Or a shorter time
P: (fast) For a shorter everything (…)
S: Erm
P: **Joh ja können wir mal ruhig machen** (to WM) [yes yes we can certainly do this] it should be no problem

By using the German discourse marker *ja*, the professor also reassures the student about the ease with which she might change the title of her work. This is done automatically, quickly and subconsciously, and as soon as the phrase starting with the German uptaker *ja* is uttered, a switchback into English occurs. In the last move, the professor again resorts to German – the usual mode of communication between him and his assistant – in order to give a brief instruction, but in mid-utterance he again switches back to ELF. Consider also excerpt 3, in which another code-switching sequence occurs:

Excerpt 3

P: Statements are sometimes **aber** [but] in general you just say here for example the code something something like this and then you you don't say (0.5) basis is maybe about this one they made some tests or whatsoever or from the other equation you cannot read I I think somewhere did did you cho this one is ok (fast) in principle (fast) but the other equation the next one the cc equation cc equation you to your code so there must be some similarity there is literature available about this (0.5) mister [name3] has made some publication in Germany about this how he comes to this number this is for example the big discussion the be the debate about this number it is something which must be in your thesis
S: (fast) **Ja[yes]**
P: Okay? for this YES and erm **haben sie noch was nee des is der erste Teil war fertig [anything else no this is the first part is finished]**
WM: **Ja [yes]**

In excerpt 3, P's switch into German is followed up by WM's uptake with the German *ja*. P's code-switching occurs at a critical point in the talk in that it marks the end of one part of the advising session where P asks whether the session should go on or not. We can characterize P's utterance as an organisational move and liken it to the type of "management talk" which occurs in other instructional settings such as foreign language classrooms. Here, as in the above advising talk, switching to a shared L1 of teacher and learner occurs with great frequency (cf. e.g., Edmondson and House 2006). Code-switching often involves the use of discourse markers or gambits, in particular "uptakers" (Edmondson and House 1981). They usually

occur as second-pair parts of an exchange, and are often expressed with reduced monitoring of one's own production, i.e., automatically, "off-guard" and with little conscious control. That switching into one's mother tongue should occur in this particular interactive slot is thus easily explained.

A similar finding of the use of L1 in code-switching is presented in Pölzl and Seidlhofer (2006), where the authors document the use of Arabic gambits and other L1 discourse phenomena in ELF talk. And Jenkins (2009) found many instances of code-switching in ELF talk involving speakers of Asian L1s. Cogo (2009) also documents the use of code-switching in ELF discourse. Interestingly, she also found that interactants sometimes switch not to their respective L1s but to a third shared language.

The second strategy often found in ELF discourse can be described as accommodation to interactants' own and alter's ELF competence.

3.2. Accommodation: Repetition and self-initiated repair

3.2.1. Repetition: Use of the multi-functional gambit "Represent"

In ELF talk, (parts of) previous speakers' moves are often repeated or "represented". The use of the gambit "Represent" (Edmondson 1981) can be interpreted as a) a strategy with which speakers' working memory in comprehension and production is deliberately supported, b) a coherence-creating strategy with which lexical-paradigmatic clusters are systematically built up for self and alter, c) a signal of receipt and a confirmation of comprehension for one's interactant, d) a meta-communicative procedure that strengthens interactants' awareness of their own and others' talk. All of these can be interpreted as a deliberate accommodative strategy to ELF speakers' particular needs. Represents (in the literature also known as "echo"-, "mirror"- or "shadow"-elements) typically occur in genres such as psycho-therapeutic interviews, instructional discourse and aircraft control discourse, where information is deliberately and routinely restated to create coherence and ensure understanding (House 2002). The fact that ELF speakers use this convention to accommodate to their own and their interactants' perceived precarious ELF talk shows that their strategic communicative competence is well developed indeed. Consider excerpts 4 and 5:

Excerpt 4

Joy: And you mean that English (2sec) is really getting important or taken for the education because the grammar is syntactic erm the grammar **is very easy**

Wei: **Is easy is very easy**

Excerpt 5

Brit: And if erm things like Nigerian English, Indian English which is a sort of variety in itself it **should be respected**
Mauri: S**hould be respected**

Commenting on the use of Represents in the Hamburg data, Joy, the Korean participant, pointed out in her feedback session that the frequent use of Represents may have been due not only to interactants' conscious attempt to support their own and others' working memory and generally ease processing, but may also be interpreted as a sign of Asian, and in particular Chinese, politeness, i.e., an explicitly verbalized acknowledgement of one interlocutor's message. However, Wei, the Chinese speaker, contradicted this interpretation by stating that he had repeated his interactional partners' words to help himself formulate his own response. Wei therefore confirms my own interpretation of the function of these repetitions. In his retrospective interview, Mauri, the Indonesian speaker, declared that it is more important to reach some sort of consensus in a discussion than to give direct answers to particular questions. In his view, Represents were part of this consensus building strategy.

Can we then hypothesize the operation of transfer of native discourse norms into ELF discourse – in this case by using represents – as subtle stalling mechanisms in the service of politeness? In order to be in a better position to answer this question, three additional 30-minute ELF interactions were analysed, each featuring four non-Asian interactants of varying L1s (German, French, Czech, Croatian), of the same educational level, age group and ELF competence. In these interactions, the use of Represents was also found to be remarkably frequent (cf. excerpt 6):

Excerpt 6

Hilda: If you start speaking English in France they will answer you in French
Anne: Answer in French that **that's true**
Sue: **That's true**

Similar results concerning the frequency of repetition in ELF discourse have recently also been found by Cogo and Dewey (2006), who have documented many instances of accommodation and repetition in their analyses of ELF talk among participants with many different mother tongues and Cogo (2009), who also established the frequency of strategic repetitions in her analyses of ELF interactions.

3.2.2. Self-initiated repair

When recognizing a source of potential trouble, speakers often resort to the practice of "repairing" their own talk (Schegloff et al. 1977). In our advising session data, the professor frequently undertakes such trouble-preventing self-repair, thus indicating that he is aware of the pitfalls of his own linguistic potential. Consider excerpts 7 and 8:

Excerpt 7

P: The high is not so important for shear **for sure** is is is **the height** important =

In 7, P self-repairs twice: "high" is repaired into "height" and "shear" into "sure". In the follow-up interview he said that he was not at all disturbed by what he admitted were expressive limitations – this despite the fact that he so frequently and promptly self-repaired.

Excerpt 8

P: Erm then you makes **make** a just a drawing about the distribution always you know something I can tell the results more or less from from from the plot (…)

In 8 P immediately self-repairs the item "makes" which he had identified as a grammatical error. This again shows P's awareness of his ELF production and his capacity for self-monitoring, and is at the same time a clear indication of this well-developed strategic competence. A third general strategy is negotiation of meaning.

3.3. Negotiation: Solidarity and consensus via co-construction of utterances

In line with the work by Firth and Wagner, the Hamburg ELF data also shows a strong and consistent demonstration of consensus in the face of marked cultural differences. Consider excerpts 9 and 10:

Excerpt 9

Joy: I recently read an article in a Korean erm (2 sec) Moment (4 sec).
Brit: **Newspaper, Internet?**
Joy: Yes thank you @ erm the article is about new foreign language education in Japan

Excerpt 10

Mau: I think it begins erm of course with the colonialism I think too because the history of this of this development how the language in the very early period erm (3 sec)
Joy: **Build up this basis**
Mau: **Yes**
Joy: **To be a world language**
Mau: **Yes**

In 11 the three participants in an ELF interaction join forces to gradually (and successfully) build up the discourse:

Excerpt 11

Wei: The most of the most of Chinese in foreign countries they speak not Mandarin they don't speak Mandarin but can only these erm
Mauri: **Dialects?**
Wei: **Yes dialects**
Joy: **Dialects**
Mauri: **Dialects** their **dialects**

Participants' attempts to negotiate what it is that one of them wants to convey may lead to a feeling of community and group identity. ELF seems to be used here as an egalitarian tool ("We're all in the same boat"). Speakers often negotiate their meanings and routinely support each other, even pay each other compliments ("My English is I think very bad" – "No no no it's much better than mine!") (Firth and Wagner 2007).

The fourth strategy found to be frequently employed by ELF speakers is their attempt to creatively re-interpret certain discourse makers.

3.4. Re-interpretation of discourse markers: *You* know, *I mean*, *I think*, *yes*, *so*

3.4.1. The discourse marker you know

You know has been described in most of the pragmatics literature as a basically interpersonal, other-oriented marker used as a hedge and signalling politeness. In House (2009) the hypothesis was put forward that *you know* is often re-interpreted by ELF interactants in such a way that it becomes a more self-referenced way of highlighting both formulation difficulties and coherence relations in speakers' own turns. The data for this study consists of 13 informal ELF conversations (6.5 hours of recorded and transcribed talk) from the Hamburg ELF corpus. Results show that a) *you know* occurs with much greater frequency in so-called "considered talk" phases, as opposed to in ritualized phatic opening, closing and small talk phases; b) the more fluent speakers are, the more they use *you know* and c) most importantly, there is a surprisingly frequent co-occurrence of *you know* and the conjunctions *but, and, because*. When *you know* co-occurs with these conjunctions, it acts as a re-enforcing or focussing strategy, making the connection expressed by these conjunctions more salient. *You know* is thus used as a focussing device, making more salient the adversative, causal and additive relations expressed by the conjunctions *but, because,* and *and.* Excerpt 12, in which participants discuss ELF in German universities is an example of *you know* co-occurring with *but* in the sense described above:

Excerpt 12

H: No matter how many people speak in the university they some of them speak really well English **but you know** the real life it's different and you have to learn English

S: Yes (ehm)(1sec)

A: This institute where you're working at is this the only possibility to erm to learn English …

A closer look at how the conjunctions *but*, *because* and *and* function in their co-occurrence pattern with *you know* shows that they often signal "externally operating relations" located in the external context of what is being said (i.e., not the socio-communicative process that constitutes the speech event in the forms of interaction between speaker and hearer, which would be internal). In Martin's (1992) approach, such external relations are by and large oriented ideationally (referentially), whereas internal relations are oriented to genres in dialogic, interpersonal modes (cf. the similar distinction made by Redeker [1990] into ideational and pragmatic relations).

In House (2009) it is claimed that in ELF talk *you know* in its catalyst functions for the conjunctions *but, and* and *because* primarily marks ideational relations. The fact that *you know* tends to co-occur with conjunctions that signal experiential relations rather than addressee-related ones seems to confirm the hypothesis that *you know* is not primarily used interpersonally in ELF talk. Interestingly, y*ou know* is also used on its own as a relational phrase in ELF talk, i.e., speakers use it to indicate implicit conjunctive relations of addition (subcategorized as elaboration, extension, expansion, sensu Halliday), contrast, opposition, concession and as causal relations without the co-presence of the cue words *and, but* and *because.* The total co-occurrence of *you know* and coherence relations with or without overt cue phrase in fact amounts to over 80 % of all instances of *you know* in this ELF data.

Finally, *you know* also functions as a coherence marker in a different sense: it is used whenever the speaker is momentarily "incoherent", cannot find the right words, fumbles for the appropriate formulation, and tries to repair her misstep using *you know* as a signal revealing planning difficulties. In such cases, *you know* occurs in mid-utterance and also inside nominal, verbal and adverbial groups, acting at a more local, micro level. Taken together, these findings show that in ELF talk *you know* – despite the overt presence of *you* as 2nd person personal pronoun in this construction – does not seem to address co-participant(s) or elicit mutual engagement, and no response from the addressees is expected or given. The original meaning of *you know* is clearly no longer predominant, i.e. *you know* is primarily used to help speakers process and plan their own output, and to link spans of discourse.

3.4.2. The discourse markers I think, I mean, I don't know

The discourse markers *I think*, *I don't know* and *I mean* are also re-interpreted in ELF talk (Baumgarten and House 2007; in press). As compared to native speakers of English, ELF speakers frequently use the constructions I *think* and *I don't know* in their prototypical meanings, preferring formal structures (main clause complement structures) over the more grammaticalized structures and pragmaticalized meanings as these are expressed in the verbal routine forms preferred by native speakers of English. For instance, *I think* in ELF talk is used to express the speaker's subjective opinion, and *I don't know* is used as a marker of the speaker's insufficient knowledge about the topic of the discourse. These uses clearly indicate that ELF speakers have re-interpreted the standard native speaker usage of these discourse markers. (cf. also the rich literature on the use of *I think* as a marker of immature writing in both L1 and L2, and see Shaw et al 2009 for its use by non-experienced ELF speakers). The expression *I mean* is often used with a strong evaluative element in ELF talk over and above the main function of reformulation/clarification (Baumgarten and House 2007), i.e., *I mean* functions as a focalizing device in the speaker's contributions which serves as a point of departure for an explicit expression of a subjective evaluation, expressing affective involvement in the topic and the discourse.

3.4.3. The discourse marker yes/yeah

The gambit *yeah/yes* is employed by ELF speakers with a variety of different functions (Spielmann 2007) such as uptaking (alter's message), backchannelling (both supporting alter's message and signalling that no claim for turn take-over is being made), agreeing with alter's moves and structuring discourse. All of these uses are potent tools for making the discourse (appear) 'normal'. Face-saving features which accompany the overall inoffensive undertone of *yes/yeah* make it particularly suitable for ELF talk, where interactants tend to be aware of the precarious nature of their intercultural interaction. Most instances of *yeah* found in Spielmann's data match at least one of the three major categories: *backchannel signals, agreement markers* and *discourse structurers*. ELF speakers often exploit the positive import of *yeah/yes* to downtone objections. Much like *you know*, *yeah* can also be used as a self-supporting strategy. The frequent use of *yeah/yes* in ELF discourse can best be explained with its polyfunctionality – a characteristic that makes its use "communicatively effective" because a lot of pragmatic content is packed into minimal verbal form. Most instances of *yeah/yes* can be classified as belonging to the three categories: backchannelling, agreeing, discourse structuring. In a recent study by House and Lévy-Tödter (in press) four academic advising sessions taken from the Hamburg institutional ELF interactions were analysed with regard to the incidence of the marker *yeah/yes* and its German equivalent *ja*.

The use of the German L1 token *ja* in this data was discussed above as a sign of code-switching in ELF talk. The token *yes* was found to be used by ELF speakers whenever they genuinely agreed to questions or statements produced by their interlocutors (cf. excerpt 13):

Excerpt 13

P: Okay but we want to speak you with about what you have done here and it is not so good I would say uh erm I sent you an e-mail
S: **Yes**

The token *yeah* was the one used more often than *yes* or *ja.* Of the three major functions of *yeah* in ELF talk suggested by Spielmann (2007) – backchannelling, agreeing, discourse structuring – it is the discourse structuring function which predominates in this institutional data. *Yeah* is used much more to monitor and organize speakers' own contributions to the talk, than to take up what a speaker's interlocutor has said, or to agree with the interlocutor's move. When using *yeah,* ELF speakers thus seem to be more self-oriented, in the sense that in using *yeah*, speakers try to gain time both for coming to terms with their interlocutors' utterance and for getting on with their own discourse planning and production (cf. excerpt 14):

Excerpt 14

P: There there is uh one week where the building companies come to to to the university and they make some presentation and =
S: = Ahh this week **yeah** I (1sec)
P: This one week erm yeah but I cannot do it I have to go here this week
S. **Yeah** the week of civil engineering **yeah**

3.4.4. The discourse marker "so"

The marker *so* seems to function more as a speaker-supportive than as a predominantly interpersonally active element in the institutional ELF data examined. *So* is here used as a deictic element that speakers use to both support the planning of their upcoming moves and to help them to "look backwards" summing up previous discourse stretches. *So* can thus be characterized as a complex double-bind element, acting as a sort of (mental) hinge between what has come before and what will occur next (cf. Ehlich 2007; Bolden 2009). In using *so*, speakers seem to employ ego-centric speech in a Vygotskyian sense in order to accompany their own linguistic action, make themselves aware of its structuring and by doing so facilitate the course of the linguistic action.

In the academic advising sessions conducted in ELF, we found an extraordinarily frequent occurrence of the discourse marker *so. So* has commonly been

described as signalling causal and inferential connections between clauses, and introducing a new topic. Blakemore (1988) has argued that *so* marks inferences, and Raymond (2004) has pointed out that *so*, if standing alone, is used to prompt the listener to produce a follow-up move. In a different vein, Johnson (2002) has argued that *so* can also be used to preface questions acting as a topic developer.

In more recent works on the pragmatic functions of *so* (Bolden 2006, 2009) in everyday discourse, the marker is described as launching sequences of new actions such as requests, offers, invitations. Bolden argues that *so* used sequence-initially has been on the speaker's 'agenda' for some time, and she refers to *so* as a marker of "emergence from incipiency" (2006: 663), claiming that it conveys to the addressee that the upcoming course of action is 'emerging from incipiency' and has already been on the interactional agenda. According to Bolden, *so* is often used when a speaker has to deal with an interactional problem arising when the current utterance occurs not as a sequence to the immediately preceding talk and helps answer the question "why that now", telling the listener to interpret the following move as one belonging to a pending one (Bolden 2009: 996). Bolden suggests that *so* prefaces with overwhelming frequency in sequences that accomplish other-attentive courses of action, i.e. *so* is used as a preface on turn constructional units that initiate various courses of action. When prefacing discursive practices, *so* is clearly alter-oriented, "doing other attentiveness" in social interaction (2006: 664) and acting as a resource for accomplishing understanding on the part of the addressee.

As opposed to these findings, the uses of *so* in our ELF data are very different: they do not index other-attentiveness, but instead tend to be realized in connection with self-attentive matters. *So* is therefore not used with a strong interpersonal function, but rather acquires a text structuring and self-supporting function, also acting as a stop-gap "fumble" (Edmondson 1981) helping the speaker bridge formulation problems. Far from being other-oriented in our ELF data, *so* tends to be used as a self-monitoring filler used by a speaker to prevent conversational breakdown. Our analysis shows that in the vast majority of occurrences, *so* follows hesitation markers such as "erm" or "hmm", or a pause, and it also often collocates with the connector *and*. All these co-occurrences can be taken as evidence for the use of *so* as a self-prompting strategy to monitor one's output, marking the resumption of speech after being "bogged down" both turn-initially and in mid-turn. This use of *so* confirms Redeker's (2006: 342) description of *so* as a marker of various discourse segment transitions, *so* being placed at the end of a segment, before the next segment and returning to a previous segment. Our data shows all of these positions. Consider excerpts 15 and 16:

Excerpt 15

S: I actually better take some notes
P: Mhm (1 sec) **so** there is ONE one man er he is working for erm for [company 1]
S: Mhm
P: And erm **so** he is er in the erm working in with the er design and calculation of [company 1]

P's use of *so* in both his turns in 15 is clearly not back-referenced to S's announcement that he will take notes during their conversation. Rather, following the hesitation signal *mhm* and the pause, as well as the connector *and* and the hesitation marker *erm,* P seems to use *so* to "get himself going again", and resume the train of thought expressed in his previous move:

Excerpt 16

S: And ja I also have a question about that I mean I think erm the erm procedures are a little different in Germany how do you generally apply to er firms like this for Diplomarbeit [diploma thesis]
P: Mhm mhm
S: Or master thesis
P: Okay
S: Is it just erm
P: It should be at first a letter erm where you erm you are stating er WHO who you are and what you are doing **so** you are studying at this university and in this in this program and erm **so** within this program you have a a module in composites and **so** you are interesting in the subject and you are asking erm erm for a a a a a subject a a a master thesis subject in this=
S: =In this field yeah

In his first use of *so* in 16, P uses *so* in mid-turn, initiating an elaboration of the previous phrase "what you are doing", i.e. using *so* to egg himself on with his explanation. In its second occurrence, *so* follows a hesitation marker, and in the third occurrence the connector *and* – in both cases *so* introduces further elaborations and explanations.

In sum, *so* seems to operate as a speaker-supportive strategy in this ELF data. It is used at particular places in the discourse, mostly following hesitations and breaks. In these cases, *so* might also be interpreted as displaying the speaker's mental processes (Fischer 2006: 445), anchoring the discourse in a particular co-text and context, and contextualizing the speaker and her processes of perception, planning, understanding, and affective stance.

Taken together, the studies reviewed above all seem to show that there is a remarkable tendency for ELF speakers to strategically reinterpret discourse markers

as primarily self-oriented linguistic items thus confirming the hypothesis of the self-orientedness of ELF talk already suggested in House (1999).

4. Conclusion

Given the linguistic potential of the English language available to them for creative appropriation and local re-interpretation, ELF users apparently engage in useful self-help interactional behavior both for their own and alter's benefit, supporting their own production, tolerantly letting others' oddities and infelicities pass, and generally managing to make their interaction robust and normal. Given the worldwide use of ELF, there have been suggestions to conceive of ELF as being involved in a kind of "social macro-acquisition". This notion was first introduced by Brutt-Griffler (2002), who posits that the outcome of this type of acquisition is a social rather than an individual process resulting in massive occurrences of language change. Macro-acquisition locates the basis of language change within SLA processes that arise out of the sociohistorical conditions of language spread. Language change comes about through the process of SLA by groups rather than individuals – and, most importantly, the primary input does not come from native speakers.

ELF users are bilingual or multilingual speakers having in principle more than one language at their disposal and showing it in the way they mark identity, attitudes and alliances, signal discourse functions, convey politeness, create aesthetic and humorous effects, or pragmatic ambiguity and so on – all this is well-known from the rich bilingualism literature. In ELF research we have already seen a radical rethinking of the norm against which ELF speakers' pragmatic knowledge and behaviour is matched. This norm is not the monolingual native speaker but rather the expert multilingual user. There is empirical support for this stance from studies of the pragmatic behaviour of bilinguals. With regard to speech act realization, for instance, studies of requests realized by bilingual speakers point to a new "intercultural style". Such a third, hybrid way has for instance developed in Hebrew-English bilinguals who not only realized their requests differently in each language, but also differed from monolingual speakers' performance – the reason not being lack of competence – in particular when the language in question is the L1 regularly used such that attrition can be ruled out (Blum-Kulka 1990).

As a case of discourse produced by multilinguals, ELF discourse should therefore be regarded as a third way, a crossing of borders, a hybrid language – hybrid in the sense of Latin *hibrida*, the offspring of parents from different races – a mongrel, a concept that was later to play an important role in genetics signifying here "the offspring of two animals or plants, a half-breed" and in metaphorical use: "anything derived from heterogeneous sources, or composed of different incongruous elements". In literary and cultural studies "hybridity" has assumed importance through the writing of Homi Bhabha (1994) who sees hybridity as something posi-

tive, as border-crossing, taking alien items into one's own language and culture, going against conventional rules and standards, and through Mikhail Bakhtin (1981) who links hybridity to narrative construction and dialogicity. Hybridization is a procedure by which multiphone texts are created: hybrid linguistic products made up of multiple voices showing an "inner dialogicity" and realized in one language. One might further differentiate between phenotypically hybrid – where the foreign admixture is manifest on the surface (transfer, interference is isolable) and genotypically hybrid where this is not the case, but where different mental lexica or, in a Whorfian way, different underlying *Weltanschaungen* may be operative in ELF speakers' minds. One might say that while the conventional perspective on L2 speakers is characterized by some type of appropriation where the possession of other languages are suppressed and subjected to L2, perspectives on hybrid procedures aim at recognizing and making or leaving recognizable those L1s in L2.

While ELF users' linguistic English competence may often need to be improved, it clearly also needs to be developed in terms of what I have called "pragmatic fluency" (House 1996). This comprises the appropriate use of pragmatic phenomena such as gambits, discourse and politeness strategies, speech act modification and so on. ELF users' strategic competence is intact, and it is this strategic competence which enables them to engage in meaningful effective communication and, at least to a certain degree, in communicating for learning. But the focus is here not on the *learner* but on *learning* as the primary activity, and it has long been recognized that ELF users may in fact never intend to be like native speakers of English (cf. House and Kasper 2000). Instead, they either cling to the discourse pragmatic norms of their L1 community as a strategy of identity maintenance or construct new ELF norms to foster a sense of group identity in their local communities of practice. Both strategies are effective and both contribute to ELF users' increasing independence from English native speaker usage.

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III. Teaching and Testing of Second/ Foreign Language Pragmatics

13. Assessing learnability in second language pragmatics

Satomi Takahashi

1. Introduction

This chapter aims to explore whether target language (TL) pragmatic features are sufficiently learnable through pedagogical intervention and the factors that constrain pragmatic learnability the most. As a parallel to the mainstream instructed second language acquisition research, a number of interlanguage pragmatics (ILP) researchers have been making efforts to investigate the effects of intervention in second language (L2) pragmatics since the 1980s. In particular, the major interventional studies undertaken in the 1990s were included in a volume compiled by Kenneth Rose and Gabriele Kasper (Rose and Kasper 2001), providing impetus for further research on the effects of pedagogical intervention in L2 pragmatics. In fact, the early 2000s have witnessed a rich array of empirical studies on pragmatic instruction; some gained prominence by being included in other similar collections (e.g., Alcón and Martínez-Flor 2005; Martínez-Flor, Usó-Juan and Fernández-Guerra 2003). One of the major findings that these studies have in common is that providing metapragmatic information or certain forms of explicit intervention is most effective or helpful for learners to develop pragmatic competence in L2. The notable effectiveness of explicit intervention led some ILP researchers to develop a Web site focusing specifically on the methods of teaching various pragmatic features (e.g., Bardovi-Harlig and Mahan-Taylor 2003). Moreover, the superior effects of explicit pragmatic instruction were recently confirmed in Jeon and Kaya's (2006) insightful efforts to synthesize findings from parts of interventional studies through a meta-analysis. All these findings clearly support Schmidt's (1990, 1993, 1995, 2001) noticing hypothesis, which claims that learners have to *notice* L2 features in the input for the subsequent development to occur in the L2.

On the other hand, it is also reported that some aspects of pragmatic features are difficult to teach and learn despite the conscious noticing of elements in the surface structure of utterances in the input (e.g., Takahashi 2001; Tateyama 2001). Furthermore, some studies demonstrated that the effectiveness of implicit intervention may be similar to that of explicit intervention (e.g., Martínez-Flor 2006; Takimoto 2006a, 2006b). In this chapter, I will first provide an overview of the findings of pragmatic intervention research that have been accumulating for the past two and a half decades, and make an attempt to grasp the general tendency emerging with respect to pragmatic learnability through explicit and implicit interventions. Subsequently, by exclusively focusing on the studies that provide in-

formation on the durability of treatment effects through delayed posttests, further effort will be invested in critically examining the possible factors that constrain pragmatic learnability through pedagogical intervention.

2. Overview

In this section, I will rely on the findings of 49 interventional studies in L2 pragmatics, all of which are experimental or quasi-experimental studies with a pretest-posttest design. A majority of these studies were published in major academic journals, books, or conference proceedings. Tables 1–3 summarize the findings of these 49 studies on the effects of pragmatic intervention.

At the beginning of this section, three points should be noted. First, throughout this chapter, "explicit intervention" refers to any intervention that includes the provision of metapragmatic information, whereas "implicit intervention" implies an intervention in which the reliance on such information is not evident in any form (Kasper 1997, 2001a, 2001b, 2001c; Kasper and Rose 2002; Rose 2005; see also Doughty 2003). In this framework, the "Explicit Condition" studies (Table 1) aim to explore the effectiveness of explicit intervention, and the "Implicit Condition" studies (Table 2) exclusively focus on the effectiveness of implicit intervention; neither of the studies attempts to compare the effects of explicit and implicit interventions.[1] Second, the "Outcome" column in the tables provides information on the research outcomes of the pragmatic intervention obtained through *an immediate posttest*. Third, in this review, the treatment offered within a one-class session is considered as "short," while the treatment provided for a long period, extending beyond one month, is considered as "long." In the tables, only "long" and "short" treatments are denoted in the "Study [length]" column.

2.1. Proficiency and pragmatic learnability through intervention

The effect of L2 proficiency on pragmatic intervention has been one of the central concerns of ILP researchers. It has been well attested that this area of ILP research has been geared for advanced-level L2 learners (e.g., Bouton 1999; Cohen and Tarone 1994; House and Kasper 1981; Shaw and Trosborg 2000; Wishnoff 2000); this is because it is assumed that only learners with sufficiently high linguistic knowledge are able to deal with the treatment tasks at the pragmatic level. This suggests that beginning-level learners, whose linguistic or grammatical competence is still underdeveloped, may not be able to adequately acquire L2 pragmatic competence through intervention (Bardovi-Harlig 1999, 2001; Kasper 1996; Kasper and Rose 1999, 2002; Kasper and Schmidt 1996). In the past, however, several researchers have demonstrated that at least pragmatic routines can be learned by beginning-level L2 learners (Tateyama et al. 1997; Tateyama 2001) in addition

Table 1. The effects of pragmatic intervention: Explicit condition

Out-come	Prof	Study [length]	Languages	Target Features	Assessment Measures	Delayed Posttest	Control Group
Effective	B-I	Safont (2004, 2005) [long]	L1: Spanish FL: English	request	elicitation/evaluation questionnaires	–	–
	I	Billmyer (1990)* [long]	L1: Japanese SL: English	compliments/ responses	weekly conversation	– (post-instructional tasks)	+
		Morrow (1995)*	L1: mixed SL: English	complaint/refusal	role-plays	+ (6 months)	–
		Silva (2003) [short]	L1: mixed SL: English	complaint/refusal	role-plays, retrospective recall	–	+
	A	Cohen & Tarone (1994)	L1: mixed SL: English	stating/changing an opinion	role-plays	–	–
		Bouton (1999)*	L1: mixed SL: English	implicature	implicature test	–	+
		Wishnoff (2000)	L1: mixed SL: English	hedging devices	discussion on PC	–	+
		Eslami-Rasekh et al. (2004)*	L1: Iranian FL: English	multiple speech acts	comprehension test for pragmatic awareness	–	+
		Trosborg & Shaw (2008)	L1: Danish FL: English	responses to complaints	role-plays, interview	–	–
	O	Lyster (1994)* [long]	L1: English FL: French	sociolinguistic variations	oral/written production, multiple-choice	+ (1 month)	+

Out-come	Prof	Study [length]	Languages	Target Features	Assessment Measures	Delayed Posttest	Control Group
		Liddicoat & Crozet (2001) [long]	L1:Australian English FL: French	responses to greetings	role-plays	+ (1 year)	–
		Edwards & Csizér (2004)	L1: Hungarian FL: English	opening/closing	role-plays	–	+
		Vyatkina & Belz (2006) [long]	L1: English FL: German	modal particles	multi-method	– (interim test)	–
Incon-clusive	I	King & Silver (1993)	L1: mixed SL: English	refusal	DCT, phone interview	– (follow-up telephone, 3 weeks)	+
		LoCastro (1997) [long]	L1: Japanese FL: English	politeness markers	discussion	–	–
		Fukuya (1998)*	L1: mixed SL: English	request downgraders	multi-method	–	–
		Tateyama (2007a)**	L1: English FL: Japanese	request	multi-method	–	+
		Tateyama (2007b)**	L1: English FL: Japanese	request	multi-method	–	+
Mixed	B	Witten (2002)*	L1: English FL: Spanish	multiple speech acts	multi-method	–	+
	B-I	Cohen & Ishihara (2005) [long]	L1: English FL: Japanese	multiple speech acts	rating tasks, multiple-rejoinder DCT	–	–

Out-come	Prof	Study [length]	Languages	Target Features	Assessment Measures	Delayed Posttest	Control Group
		Fernández-Guerra & Martínez-Flor (2006) [long]	L1: Spanish FL: English	suggestion	role-plays	–	+
	I	Yoshimi (2001) [long]	L1: English FL: Japanese	interactional markers	story-telling tasks	– (interim test)	+
		Taylor (2002)*	L1: English FL: Spanish	pragmatic routines	role-plays (discussion), role-enactment	–	–
		Salazar (2003)	L1: Spanish FL: English	request/downgraders	multi-method	– (posttest, 3 weeks)	–
	A	Olshtain & Cohen (1990)	L1: Hebrew FL: English	apology	DCT	–	–

Note: Prof = proficiency, FL = foreign language, SL = second language
B = beginning, B-I = beginning to intermediate, I = intermediate, A = advanced, O = Other (course/school levels, etc.)
* = Effect size (Cohen's *d*) available or computable, ** = Effect size (eta-squared) available

Table 2. The effects of pragmatic intervention: Implicit condition

Outcome	Prof	Study [length]	Languages	Target Features	Assessment Measures	Delayed Posttest	Control Group
Mixed	B-I	Safont (2003) [long]	L1: Spanish FL: English	request modification devices	elicitation/evaluation questionnaires	–	–
	I	Fukuya & Zhang (2002)*	L1: Chinese FL: English	request (pragmalinguistic)	DCT, confidence ratings	–	+

Note: Prof = proficiency, FL = foreign language, SL = second language
B-I = beginning to intermediate, I = intermediate, O = Other (course/school levels, etc.)
* = Effect size (Cohen's *d*) available or computable

Table 3. The effects of pragmatic intervention: Explicit condition vs. implicit condition

Outcome	Prof	Study [length]	Languages	Target Features	Assessment Measures	Delayed Posttest	Control Group
Explicit > Implicit	B	Tateyama et al. (1997) [short]	L1: English FL: Japanese	pragmatic routines	multi-method	–	–
	I	Wildner-Bassett (1984, 1986)* [long]	L1: German FL: English	pragmatic routines	role-plays	–	–
		Takahashi (2001)	L1: Japanese FL: English	request	DCT	–	–
		Martínez-Flor & Fukuya (2005)* [long]	L1: Spanish FL: English	suggestion/ downgraders	e-mail & phone activities	–	+
	A	House & Kasper (1981)	L1: German FL: English	discourse markers & strategies	role-plays	–	–
Explicit = Implicit (effective)	I	Martínez-Flor (2006) [long]	L1: Spanish FL: English	suggestion	appropriateness & confidence ratings	–	+
		Takimoto (2006a)	L1: Japanese FL: English	request	DCT, role-plays	+ (4 weeks)	+
		Takimoto (2006b)**	L1: Japanese FL: English	request	multi-method	+ (4 weeks)	+
		Takimoto (2007)	L1: Japanese FL: English	request	multi-method	+ (4 weeks)	+
Explicit = Implicit (incon-clusive)	I-A	Fukuya & Clark (2001)* [short]	L1: mixed SL: English	request mitigators (sociopragmatic)	comprehension, pragmatic recognition (no pretest)	–	+

Outcome	Prof	Study [length]	Languages	Target Features	Assessment Measures	Delayed Posttest	Control Group
	A	Fukuya et al. (1998)*	L1: mixed SL: English	request (sociopragmatic)	DCT	–	+
Mixed	B	Pearson (2001) [long]	L1: English FL: Spanish	multiple speech acts	written DCT, oral DCT	+ (six months)	+
		Tateyama (2001)*	L1: English FL: Japanese	pragmatic routines	multi-method	– (interim test)	–
	B-I	Koike & Pearson (2005)*	L1: English FL: Spanish	suggestion/ responses	recognition/ production tasks	+ (4 weeks)	+
	I	Kubota (1995)* [short]	L1: Japanese FL: English	implicature	implicature test	+ (1 month)	+
	A	House (1996) [long]	L1: German FL: English	pragmatic fluency	role-plays, interview	– (interim test)	–
		Shaw & Trosborg (2000)	L1: Danish FL: English	responses to complaints	role-plays, interview	–	–
	O	Rose & Ng (2001)*	L1: Cantonese FL: English	compliments/ responses	multi-method	– (posttest, 4 weeks)	+
		Alcón (2005, 2007)* [long]	L1: Spanish FL: English	request	awareness/ production activities	+ (3 weeks)	+

Note: Prof = proficiency, FL = foreign language, SL = second language
B = beginning, B-I = beginning to intermediate, I = intermediate, I-A = intermediate to advanced, A = advanced, O = Other (course/school levels, etc.)
* = Effect size (Cohen's *d*) available or computable, ** = Effect size (eta-squared) available

to higher-proficient (intermediate) learners (Wildner-Bassett 1984, 1986). A glance at the "Outcome" and "Proficiency (Prof)" columns in more recent studies also confirm that under certain pedagogical interventions, learners with lower L2 proficiency are able to learn at least "parts" of the targeted pragmatic features other than the routines: for example, request and/or request modification (Alcón 2005, 2007; Safont 2003, 2004, 2005), suggestion (Fernández-Guerra and Martínez-Flor 2006), suggestion and responses to suggestion (Koike and Person 2005), opening and closing (Edwards and Csizér 2004), and multiple speech acts (Cohen and Ishihara 2005; Person 2001; Witten 2002) (Please refer to the next section for more details on the learnable features identified in some of these studies). It should be noted here, however, that these studies all concentrated on the examination of pragmatic learnability by learners characterized with a single level of L2 proficiency. In view of this tendency, it is advisable to explore how learners with different levels of L2 proficiency cope with the same pragmatic intervention; the outcomes of such a research endeavor are highly expected to contribute to our further understanding of the relationship between proficiency and pragmatic learnability through intervention.

2.2. Pragmatic learnability and the nature of intervention

This section will focus on examining learnability in terms of the internal factors of the treatment, which include treatment tasks, treatment length, and assessment measures. The review of the 49 studies elicits six claims with respect to the nature of pragmatic learnability.

First, as expected, pragmatic learnability is highly attainable under explicit intervention, as observed in the large number of studies whose research outcomes are reported as "Effective" (Table 1), "Explicit > Implicit," or "Explicit = Implicit (effective)" (Table 3). However, a vast majority of the studies in the "Explicit Condition" category provide learners with various types of learning tasks in their treatment sessions; thus, it is almost impossible to detect which aspects of the treatment contribute to the positive effect of intervention (Lyster 1994). These treatment tasks include not only metapragmatic information but also various forms of awareness-raising tasks such as dialogue/conversation analysis, discussions, role-plays, video viewing, narrative reconstruction, translation exercises, and self-reflection. Many of the reviewed studies do not clearly mention whether metapragmatic information was also provided or used in such awareness-raising activities. There is a fair possibility that these activities, when compared to the metapragmatic information, were more likely to foster the learning of the TL pragmatic features. On the other hand, the studies that compare explicit and implicit conditions contain a design in which the effect of the provision of metapragmatic information or "rules" (through explicit intervention) is directly compared with the effect of the absence of such information (through implicit intervention). These studies clearly demon-

strate the significant role of metapragmatic information in increasing the learnability of the TL pragmatic features in the interventional framework.

Second, many of the studies examined in this review also provide mixed results, i.e., both positive and negative outcomes, with respect to the effectiveness of pragmatic intervention, irrespective of the explicitness of the input conditions. It is reported that the learnability of the TL pragmatic features depends on the types of target features (Alcón 2005, 2007; Cohen and Ishihara 2005; House 1996; Pearson 2001; Safont 2003; Salazar 2003; Shaw and Trosborg 2000; Trosborg and Shaw 2008), the types of assessment measures (Alcón 2005, 2007; Fukuya and Zhang 2002; Koike and Pearson 2005; Kubota 1995; Rose and Ng 2001; Takimoto 2007; Tateyama 2001; Taylor 2002; Witten 2002; Yoshimi 2001), and the method of data analysis (Olshtain and Cohen 1990). For instance, Cohen and Ishihara (2005) reported that a request is more learnable by learners of Japanese as a foreign language (JFL) through explicit intervention. Pearson (2001) found that American learners of Spanish tended to learn only the use of intensifiers while expressing apology and gratitude in the explicit condition (relative to the implicit one) because of their limited linguistic proficiency. Likewise, Safont (2003) detected a tendency in Spanish learners of English where they learned only specific request modification devices with less syntactical complexity through implicit intervention. The two latter studies thus simultaneously confirm the importance of developing L2 grammatical competence at an earlier stage (Bardovi-Harlig 1999; Kasper and Rose 2002). As an example of the influence of assessment measures on learnability, Rose and Ng (2001) found that, of their three measures, two quantitative measures – the self-assessment task and the metapragmatic assessment task – failed to detect significant effects of intervention, irrespective of the explicitness of the input conditions. In fact, Jeon and Kaya (2006) identified a relatively low effect size (Cohen's (1988) d) for their quantitative measures (explicit condition, $d = -0.05$; implicit condition, $d = 0.33$). However, their nonparametric statistical analysis of the discourse completion test (DCT) data indicated a marked increase in the use of the compliment formula by both treatment groups. With regard to the effect of the data analysis methods, Olshtain and Cohen (1990) reported that their quantitative analysis did not identify clear-cut improvement in the learners' speech act behavior; however, their qualitative analysis indicated the learners' obvious approximation of native-like performance for some of the targeted pragmatic features.

Third, sociopragmatic knowledge is difficult to acquire through implicit or less explicit interventions. Fukuya et al. (1998) examined the effect of Focus on Form (FonF), wherein the instructor held up a "sad face" to indicate sociopragmatic failures during role-play interactions, which were followed by a debriefing session in which the learners' consciousness with regard to communicative goals and the interlocutors' social and status differences was simply raised. This technique was compared to Focus on FormS (FonFS), in which the same "sad face" technique was employed during interaction, but it was followed by a debriefing session in which

explicit sociopragmatic information was provided to learners. In Fukuya and Clark (2001), a similar comparison was made, but by using an implicit input enhancement technique (highlighting the targets in yellow) for FonF and by providing explicit information for FonFS. Neither of these studies yielded any conclusive learning gains for the target features under the FonF condition, relative to the FonFS and control groups.[2] Furthermore, the findings obtained from the DCT data of Rose and Ng (2001) also indicated that sociopragmatic knowledge necessary for realizing the appropriate responses to compliments was more successfully acquired by the deductive (explicit) group. Notable exceptions, however, are Shaw and Trosborg (2000) and Trosborg and Shaw (2008). Both studies attempted to teach Danish learners of English "Golden Rules" – the most extensive prescription for handling business complaints in English. It was found that TL sociopragmatic conventions that have equivalents in the everyday handling of complaints in Danish were learned through the inductive (implicit) method to the same extent as the deductive (explicit) method. Furthermore, Trosborg and Shaw (2008) reported that sociopragmatic conventions alien to Danish business culture, such as placing "thank you" at the beginning of the interaction, were found to be more effectively acquired when the inductive method was combined with the deductive method (or vice versa) in some manner. This suggests that it would be worthwhile to more rigorously explore the synergetic effects of some deductive and inductive activities for gaining further mastery in sociopragmatic features.

Fourth, in contrast to the case of sociopragmatic knowledge, some pragmalinguistic features are learnable through implicit intervention (Fukuya and Zhang 2002; Martínez-Flor 2006; Martínez-Flor and Fukuya 2005; Safont 2003; Takimoto 2006a, 2006b, 2007). For example, as mentioned earlier, Safont (2003) demonstrated that some syntactically less complex request mitigators in English were learnable by Spanish learners of English as a foreign language (EFL) in the implicit condition. Fukuya and Zhang (2002) relied on recast – an implicit feedback technique presented during ongoing interactions – and found a large effect size for this implicit intervention with respect to Chinese EFL learners' performance of pragmatically appropriate and grammatically accurate requests in the posttest (d = 0.87). In their study on the suggestion modification devices learned by Spanish EFL learners, Martínez-Flor and Fukuya (2005) reported a relatively large effect size for both the post-treatment e-mail task (d = 2.13) and the phone task (d = 1.90) for implicit intervention (a combination of input enhancement and recast techniques) despite slightly lesser degrees of effect size than that obtained in the case of explicit intervention. Martínez-Flor (2006) also found that level of confidence of Spanish EFL learners in judging the pragmatic appropriateness of suggestions significantly improved through the implicit intervention as well as the explicit intervention.

Fifth, the possibility of gaining a greater degree of confidence in *producing* the target pragmatic features through intervention is questionable. While Martínez-

Flor (2006) confirmed the increase in confidence for the *judgments* of pragmatic appropriateness, as mentioned earlier, the studies that examined the possibility for an increase in confidence for the *production* of pragmatic features demonstrated rather negative outcomes in this respect. Takahashi (2001) investigated the effects of one explicit intervention and three implicit interventions, namely, form-comparison, form-search, and meaning-focused, on the Japanese EFL learners' learning of complex bi-clausal request forms. The learners in the explicit condition showed the greatest learning gains for the target forms; however, at the posttest, none of the input conditions could get the learners to formulate their request expressions with substantial confidence. Even the learners who provided the target bi-clausal request forms in the posttest felt less confident in their task performance (see Takahashi 2005b, for a more qualitative analysis of the same data, which indicates more clearly that the learners' mastery of the targets was incomplete even after the interventions). Fukuya and Zhang (2002) also addressed the issue of confidence in making requests. As mentioned earlier, their implicit intervention enabled Chinese EFL learners to formulate appropriate and accurate requests. However, both the experimental and control groups were able to build up confidence in speaking to an interlocutor of higher status, thereby showing little effect of the intervention with respect to the increase in confidence. Similar findings were also obtained by Rose and Ng (2001). The data from the learners' self-assessment task indicate hardly any effect of the explicit/implicit interventions on learner confidence for appropriate compliments.

Finally, the sixth claim, identified from this overview, concerns the constraint of the treatment length on pragmatic learnability. At least in the context of the current review, there appears to be no clear picture obtained with respect to the effect of this internal factor of the treatment. Undoubtedly, how a particular treatment is coded as "long" or "short" constitutes an influential factor in this respect. The treatment length has been considered as one of the crucial factors influencing the effects of intervention (Jeon and Kaya 2006; Norris and Ortega 2000; Ortega and Iberri-Shea 2005). In fact, Martínez-Flor (2006) contended that the duration of the treatment through an entire semester actually contributed to the efficacy of both her explicit and implicit interventions. On the other hand, Tateyama et al. (1997) reported that their JFL learners attained greater learning gains for the TL routine formula through the explicit intervention even for a duration as short as 50 minutes. It appears that the effect of the treatment length on pragmatic learnability depends entirely on the content of the treatment, i.e., what is taught and how it is taught. In view of this, it would be worthwhile to explore the effects of differential treatment lengths by rigorously controlling the target items and the intervention methods as this approach may provide us with a clearer picture of the effect of treatment length on pragmatic learnability.

3. Factors constraining pragmatic learnability through intervention

3.1. Reinterpreting pragmatic learnability

In the overview provided above, while the conclusively differential effects of proficiency and treatment length on pragmatic learnability through intervention are not observed, the positive effect of explicit intervention, particularly the significant role of metapragmatic information, is clearly confirmed. This trend is adequately attested in the learning of sociopragmatic features. However, in view of the mixed findings obtained from many of the studies reviewed in this chapter, the advantages of explicit intervention are not always assured. Moreover, some studies also demonstrate that the learners' confidence in formulating specific pragmalinguistic features in an immediate posttest is not sufficiently strong. On the other hand, we witnessed cases in which some pragmalinguistic features were, in fact, learned through implicit interventions. Then, the points at issue here are the robustness of the explicit and implicit interventions and the factors that may affect such robustness with respect to pragmatic learnability.

It should be noted that pragmatic learnability has thus far been assessed on the basis of research outcomes obtained through an immediate posttest. When we discuss the robustness of pragmatic interventions, however, it is natural to examine the durability of the treatment effects that is obtainable through a delayed posttest. From this section onward, I will reinterpret pragmatic learnability as the "durability of the treatment effects" and concentrate on examining the results of the delayed posttests, which will be obtained from parts of the 49 studies reviewed in this chapter. I will also shed light on the results obtained from the long-term studies that involved administering an interim test or a series of interim tests during treatment (or equivalents), instead of a single delayed posttest. This is because such studies are also expected to provide us with significant information on the possible reasons for the durability of particular interventions.

In doing so, I will adopt the following strategy. First, I will verify the durability and thus the robustness of the targeted explicit and implicit interventions and then explore the factors that are most likely to constrain pragmatic learnability. In this process, I will focus consistently on task-inducing factors that yield maximum learning outcomes, by excluding learner-attributable factors such as aptitude and motivation. Furthermore, in view of the fact that an increasingly great contribution of effect size is attested in research on instructional effects (Jeon and Kaya 2006; Norris and Ortega 2000), an attempt will be made to compute the effect size (Cohen's *d*) of the treatments of the targeted studies if the researchers of these studies fail to report it and whenever relevant descriptive statistics are made available by them. The next section will focus on the current objective in accordance with the research framework of the targeted studies; however, the "Implicit Condition" framework will not be discussed since the

studies in this framework lacked both a delayed posttest as well as an interim test.

3.2. Explicit Condition

In this category of pragmatic intervention research, Billmyer (1990) probably provides one of the most convincing results confirming the positive effects of explicit intervention and thus higher learnability of the target features. By focusing on English compliments and compliment responses, Billymer collected data from Japanese learners of English as a second language (ESL) who interacted with their American-English-speaking partners outside the classroom (through compliment-inducing tasks) on a weekly basis. In these activities, the learners were asked to audiotape their conversations, which served as the pretest and posttest activities. As for the treatment, before receiving metapragmatic information on the target speech acts, the learners were asked to analyze various natural data, including those collected by themselves outside the classroom, to identify the social rules that govern the performance of the target speech acts; through such analyses, the learners were provided with opportunities to reflect on their own pragmatic deficiencies related to the target speech acts. Furthermore, the posttest actually consisted of seven post-instructional tasks for an extended period, during which the learners performed the target speech acts in relatively natural communication settings. This suggests that the learners were, to a large extent, allowed to give compliments and respond to compliments based on their own communicative needs, rather than simply as a result of "practicing" the pragmatic features taught in class. Jeon and Kaya (2006) reported a relatively large effect size ($d = 1.22$) for Billmyer's study. Such a large effect size may strongly reflect the learning outcomes arising from the learners' conscious perception of their pragmatic deficiencies during treatment and their being given opportunities for engaging in substantially natural conversations based on their own immediate communicative needs at the posttest phase.

Unlike Billmyer's (1990) attempt to provide participants with several "posttests," Vyatkina and Belz (2006) provided their American learners of German with three interventions for German modal particles in an attempt to realize what they call "developmental pedagogical intervention." Their findings clearly demonstrated a relatively strong impact on the development of the learners' performance abilities in terms of both frequency and accuracy. Through the telecollaborative learning network, Vyatkina and Belz examined the learner corpus obtained from the Internet-mediated communication between learners and native speakers (NS) of German. Using the corpus as a basis, they developed treatment materials for each intervention; therefore, their materials were intended to cope with the immediate learning problems encountered by learners that were identified through natural communication on the Internet. Their findings thus also strongly suggest the importance of the learners' perception of their own pragmatic deficiencies and

the naturalness of communication for learning purposes, which might have played a role in the positive effect of their explicit intervention.

An approach similar to that of Vyatkina and Belz (2006) is seen in Yoshimi's (2001) study on the effect of pragmatic intervention on JFL learners' learning of three Japanese interactional markers in conjunction with the production of extended tellings. Yoshimi's intervention was initiated with metapragmatic information pertaining to the target items, followed by a rich array of awareness-raising activities. The most notable awareness-raising component was an "expanded feedback." It included the transcripts of the learners' tellings during one of the three ongoing sessions of communicative practice, corrective feedback on their problematic points with respect to the use of the target items, and the proposed version in which the target items were appropriately used. Therefore, this form of feedback revealed the learners' immediate problems related to their use of the target features, in a well-structured manner; moreover, the learners were provided with ample opportunities to compare their own performance with the normative one. The results demonstrated the overall beneficial effect of explicit intervention, though, precisely speaking, learnability was not confirmed equally among the three interactional markers. Furthermore, little progress was noted with respect to the learners' organizational/interactional abilities through the effective use of these markers. All these observations suggest that though the learners' conscious perception of their pragmatic deficiencies and their active "cognitive comparison" (Doughty 2001) may contribute to the learning of some aspects of interactional markers, their complete mastery of these markers in extended turns at talk would be relatively difficult even through well-structured intervention.

The importance of the learners' experiences of immediate communicative needs during treatment is also strongly addressed by Morrow (1995) in his study of ESL learners' acquisition of TL complaints and refusals. Unlike the three studies reviewed above, Morrow administered a delayed posttest six months after the treatment. Overall, he obtained relatively positive effects for the dimensions of clarity and politeness of both speech acts, and the effectiveness identified at the posttest was found to be maintained at the delayed posttest. In particular, for both speech acts, the explicit intervention attained a relatively high durability with respect to the clarity dimension, as shown in the relatively large effect size at the delayed posttest (complaints: $d = 0.73$; refusals: $d = 1.58$ [computed by Takahashi]). Morrow interpreted this high durability of the treatment effect (as well as the positive intervention effect found at the posttest) for the clarity dimension as follows: Learners prioritized accomplishing their personal goals by stating them in a clear-cut, rather than polite, manner; therefore, finding conventional strategies that can make the complaint and refusal messages clearer was their immediate need. At the same time, Morrow pointed out that the six-month interval between the posttest and delayed posttest might have induced some intervening variables such as naturalistic learning and the effects of instructions from concurrent ESL courses.

A high treatment durability was also found in Lyster's (1994) study on the effect of functional-analytic teaching on aspects of the sociolinguistic competence of French immersion students. Three Grade-8 experimental classes were taught by different instructors, and one of the classes was remarkable in improving the learners' abilities to recognize and produce socially appropriate language in context, with a relatively large effect size at the delayed posttest administered one month after the treatment ($d = 0.60$ to 2.60 [computed by Takahashi], depending on the assessment tasks). This class was taught by an instructor who made utmost efforts to provide cognitively engaging feedback that pushed students to be more precise in their language use and to deeply reflect on their performance. This suggests that task-inducing deeper cognitive processing may play a crucial role in learning pragmatic features.

In contrast to Morrow (1995) and Lyster (1994), the treatment durability was not fully confirmed by Liddicoat and Crozet (2001) at the delayed posttest administered one year after the treatment. Liddicoat and Crozet investigated the effect of explicit intervention on Australian learners' learning of the French interactional norm that an elaborated response should be provided to the greeting question "Did you have a good weekend?" The treatment was administered in a 13-week lesson module; the results revealed a positive effect of the intervention at the immediate posttest. However, the delayed posttest administered to some of the original participants revealed that only the content was retained, whereas the forms for responses were not. These findings indicate that without sustained practice after treatment, the gains made during intervention may be difficult to maintain. At the same time, they also suggest that sociopragmatic knowledge is more sustainable than pragmalinguistic knowledge as a result of explicit intervention.

3.3. Explicit Condition vs. Implicit Condition

First, it should be noted that since the comparison of the learner group receiving metapragmatic information with the group receiving no such information is central to this research framework, any significant positive effects found in a posttest or a delayed posttest are partially attributable to the positive effect of the metapragmatic information. For this framework, therefore, I would like to focus on the factors other than metapragmatic information, if the explicit group is found to be superior to the implicit group.

In the framework of "explicit condition vs. implicit condition," House (1996) focused on the development of fluency in conversational routines (gambits, discourse strategies, and speech acts) by German EFL learners. The learners in the explicit group received metapragmatic information on the sociopragmatic conditions for the use and functions of these routines. They were also provided with opportunities for reflecting on their own language behaviors and interpreting them with explicit reference to the metapragmatic information they had received (i.e., auto-

input and auto-feedback). The learners in the implicit group neither received metapragmatic information nor had opportunities for auto-feedback; they simply listened to their own language behaviors and received teacher-initiated corrective feedback (i.e., auto-input only). The interim test and posttest revealed that due to the auto-input and some forms of available feedback, both groups improved their pragmatic fluency, though neither group demonstrated much improvement in responding to the interlocutor-initiating acts. The learners in the explicit group, however, showed greater learning gains as a result of their deeper involvement in the cognitive analysis of their own pragmatic deficiencies and their own finding of alternative realizations regarding their production.

Unlike House (1996), Alcón (2007) administered a delayed posttest three weeks after the treatment. Using the format of "self-study lessons," Alcón investigated the interventional effects on Spanish EFL learners' learning of English requests in the framework of "FonFS (explicit) vs. FonF (implicit)." The posttest results revealed no significant differences between the two groups in terms of gains in awareness, but both groups outperformed the control group (explicit, $d = 6.61$; implicit, $d = 7.20$ [computed by Takahashi]).[3] This indicates that both explicit and implicit interventions are sufficiently effective. However, the learners in the explicit group were more likely to maintain the treatment effect till the delayed posttest, and this may be attributable to their greater depth of processing. Specifically, both groups received the scripted version of the excerpts of a television series. The explicit-group learners were instructed to read the metapragmatic information on the speech act, find request examples in the scripts *on their own*, and justify their choice. On the other hand, the implicit-group learners were engaged in the implicit awareness-raising tasks featured by typographical enhancement (requests and related sociopragmatic factors were in bold type or capitalized); they were simply required to find the requests *designated by the researchers*. In light of these treatment procedures, it appears that the learners in the explicit group were compelled to rely on their own cognitive capacity to deal with the assigned tasks, i.e., they were pushed to notice the target request strategies.

A high treatment durability, however, was not confirmed in Kubota's (1995) delayed posttest that was administered one month after the treatment. Kubota investigated the effect of interventions on Japanese EFL learners developing their abilities in L2 conversational implicatures. The learners in the deductive (explicit) group received both an explanation of the rules of conversational implicatures in English and the answers to the tasks. In contrast, the learners in the inductive (implicit) group were engaged in consciousness-raising tasks in small groups; they were instructed to find the rules of conversational implicatures and the answers to the tasks *by themselves.* No significant differences were found among the two experimental groups and the control group for the immediate posttest (deductive, $d = 0.37$; inductive, $d = 0.38$ [computed by Takahashi]); moreover, this treatment effect was not sustained till the delayed posttest (deductive, $d = 0.07$; inductive, $d =$

0.24 [computed by Takahashi]).[4] Despite the low treatment durability, the notable finding here is that the positive effect of intervention was more strongly maintained for the inductive group. This might be attributed to the inductive learners' deeper processing activated in their consciousness-raising activities even during the relatively short (20 minutes) treatment.

The lower durability of the treatment effects was also found in Pearson (2001) and Koike and Pearson (2005) but in a more complex manner. With English-speaking learners of Spanish as her participants, Pearson (2001) pursued her research goal with respect to her participants' acquisition of Spanish expressions of gratitude, apologies, commands, and polite requests. Only the explicit group was engaged in metapragmatic discussions on the forms and functions of the target speech acts and other related sociopragmatic factors. The implicit group simply watched videos, after which they were given a comprehension check and made to participate in role-plays. The results revealed that the explicit group outperformed the implicit group in the measures of intensifier use and appropriateness in apologies on the immediate posttest. However, this effect was not maintained till the delayed posttest administered six months after the treatment. The delayed-posttest results indicated that the explicit group, again, outperformed the implicit group but in different aspects of target features.

Koike and Pearson (2005) examined the effects of pragmatic interventions on the learning of Spanish suggestions and the responses to suggestions by English-speaking learners of Spanish. They set up four experimental groups, depending on whether or not metapragmatic information was provided at the beginning and whether or not such information was explicitly presented through feedback during the treatment tasks. These four groups had to perform the following treatment activities: listening to the dialogue read aloud by the instructor, reading it on their own, completing the multiple-choice and identification tasks, and formulating their own suggestions. At the posttest, learners receiving metapragmatic information and explicit feedback and those receiving no such information and implicit feedback showed greater learning gains (d = 1.15 [multiple-choice test] for the former group; d = 1.26 [open-ended dialogue] for the latter group [computed by Takahashi]). However, such treatment effects declined at the delayed posttest administered four weeks after the treatment (d = 0.67 for the former group; d = 0.08 for the latter group [computed by Takahashi]). For both these studies, the major role of metapragmatic explanation can conclusively be claimed; however, it appears that none of the treatment tasks adopted in these studies provided learners with sufficient opportunities to deeply process the target pragmatic features. In fact, the researchers' interventions are less likely to arouse the following cognitive activities on the part of the learners: (1) their perception of their own problems with respect to the use of the target pragmatic strategies vis-à-vis their engagement in cognitive comparison with the normative performance and (2) their own discovery of target pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic conventions. These cognitive activities are

deeply influenced by the learners' immediate communicative needs; however, it appears that this is also less likely to be induced by the interventions in Pearson (2001) and Koike and Pearson (2005). In light of the learners' relatively low proficiency in L2 – observed in the beginning level for Pearson (2001) and the beginning-to-intermediate level for Koike and Pearson (2005) – we cannot deny that some proficiency effects were also operative in the activities for their treatments and assessments (see 2.2. above).

In contrast to the studies reviewed above, Takimoto's (2006a, 2006b, 2007) studies are relatively unique in terms of both the research design and findings. In a series of studies targeting Japanese EFL learners, Takimoto investigated the effects of processing instruction, which was originally established by VanPatten and Cadierno (1993), during their learning of L2 request downgraders. All the studies demonstrated the high durability of treatment effects. Takimoto (2006a) investigated the relative effectiveness of two types of input-based interventions – consciousness-raising instruction and consciousness-raising instruction with reactive explicit feedback. The component subtasks of the consciousness raising task were as follows: (1) learners familiarize themselves with two target situations and the request dialogues for these situations, (2) they compare the request forms underlined by themselves in one of the two dialogues with those in the other dialogue, (3) they find and write the differences between the two requests, (4) they answer analysis questions on sociopragmatic factors, and (5) they suggest ways to make the requests more polite. The explicit metapragmatic information was provided only through the immediate feedback on the correctness of the learners' responses in the consciousness-raising tasks. It should be noted that the form-comparison tasks in (2) constitute one form of cognitive comparison, though it is not based on the learners' own request realization. On the whole, the subtasks (2)-(5) require cognitively demanding conscious efforts on the part of the learners to accomplish the tasks. Takimoto found through the posttest that the two treatment groups outperformed the control group; however, the explicit reactive feedback was not always a requisite in the consciousness-raising task. Moreover, these positive treatment effects were sustained until the delayed posttest administered four weeks after the treatment. Takimoto (2006b) compared the effect of a structured input task with that of a structured input task accompanied by explicit feedback. The structured input task consisted of the following procedures: (1) learners read each request situation and dialogue, (2) they choose the more appropriate request forms out of the two offered, and (3) they listen to an oral recording of the dialogue and underline the request used in the dialogue (the referential activities). Learners are further required to read each dialogue aloud and listen to the oral recording of the dialogue again, and to then rate the appropriateness of the designated requests (the affective activities). The structured input activities thus essentially push learners to process the target features that are manipulated in advance and basically do not require them to produce the target forms. For this second study, Takimoto arrived at the

very same conclusion. By following the same research framework as employed in the previous two studies, Takimoto (2007) is more elaborate in his study in the sense that the effects of the following three types of input-based interventions were pursued: (1) structured input tasks with explicit information, (2) problem-solving tasks (equivalent to the consciousness-raising tasks), and (3) structured input tasks without explicit information. The explicit information was provided through a teacher-fronted explanation of the target features. It was found that the three experimental groups outperformed the control group and no significant differences were observed among the three groups at the posttest, i.e., all the interventions were equally effective. Moreover, only the effect of the structured input tasks with explicit information was not maintained for one of the delayed posttest measures. Takimoto's studies thus suggest that explicit metapragmatic information may not be crucial, and implicit interventions alone may be sufficient to cause positive effects on pragmatic learnability.

3.4. Summary

To recapitulate, as far as the studies reviewed above are concerned, explicit interventions in the "Explicit Condition" framework are, on the whole, robust enough for enabling the learning of target pragmatic features, particularly some aspects of sociopragmatic features. Exceptions would include some interactional markers as applied to extended turns at talk and the linguistic realization of some sociocultural rules for conversation. With regard to the explicit interventions in the framework of "Explicit Condition vs. Implicit Condition," the crucial role of metapragmatic information was specifically confirmed; thus, it could be claimed that the robustness of such explicit interventions is, on the whole, assured. On the other hand, Takimoto's studies also lead us to argue that some forms of input-based implicit interventions are also robust enough to produce relatively large and positive learning outcomes in L2 pragmatics.

With regard to the factors constraining pragmatic learnability, the following four factors may be possible candidates for constraining pragmatic learnability: (1) learners' perception of their own problems with respect to the use of the target pragmatic features, (2) learners' active involvement in the cognitive comparison between their own performance with regard to the target features and the corresponding normative performance obtained from natural communicative interactions, (3) learners' reliance on their own efforts to discover pragmatic "rules" or conventions, and (4) learners' experiences of immediate communicative needs in relation to the treatment tasks.

4. Theoretical and pedagogical implications and directions for future research

For theoretical implications, I will further examine the findings of this review study using the framework of the noticing hypothesis by Schmidt (1990, 1993, 1995, 2001). Schmidt contends that learning requires awareness at the time of the learning of the target features. The hypothesis further postulates two levels of awareness – awareness at the level of noticing (i.e., identification of the targets without mentioning any rules) and that at the level of understanding (i.e., recognition of the targets with the explicit formulation of rules). In view of the crucial role of metapragmatic information as reflected in the positive effects of explicit interventions, particularly the learning of sociopragmatic features, awareness at the level of understanding is a must for pragmatic development; thus, the current review findings lend strong support to the stated hypothesis. However, a more critical point in this context is the importance of heightening the level of this awareness to the extent that learners can successfully and satisfactorily be engaged in communicating in L2 with greater confidence. In this respect, I contend that a shallow level of "understanding" cannot have learners cope with various L2 communicative situations, wherein the learners' L1 and TL sociocultural and sociolinguistic conventions confront each other. Then, how can we heighten this awareness at the level of understanding? In my review above, the interventions that demonstrated greater pragmatic learnability (or durability of treatment effects) were characterized by learners' pushing themselves to process the target pragmatic features. This deeper processing could be maximized when the interventions – irrespective of their explicitness – involve or assure parts or all of the following four factors identified as those constraining pragmatic learnability: (1) learners' analysis of their own pragmatic deficiencies, (2) learners' active engagement in the cognitive comparison of their own performance with the normative performance that appears in natural interactions, (3) learners' own discovery of the target pragmatic conventions, and (4) learners' experiences of immediate communicative needs in relation to the treatment tasks. It should be noted that my argument here agrees with Craik and Lockhart's (1972) contention on the nature of memory that long-term retention is realized by deeper levels of processing or analysis, which is further affected by the usefulness to the person of the continuation of the processing at that level. Pragmatic interventions requiring more of such elaborate processing on the part of the learners will surely provide them with more opportunities to successfully acquire knowledge of TL pragmatic conventions and consolidate such knowledge. Only through such accomplishment does awareness at the level of understanding become substantially robust.

With respect to the pedagogical implications, the most effective forms of pragmatic instruction must be those characterized by the four factors stated above, regardless of whether the intervention is explicit or implicit. However, when the instructional goal is concerned with the learning of the TL-specific cultures and/or

communicative behaviors, such as interactional markers as applied to extended discourses (see Yoshimi 2001) or sociocultural rules for conversation (see Liddicoat and Crozet 2001), it would be advisable for teachers to rely on more explicit forms of intervention accompanied by elaborate metapragmatic information. This is definitely the case when the learners' L1 sociocultural norms for language behaviors show a huge difference from their TL counterparts or when there is a greater possibility that the learners' L1 pragmatic conventions may easily be transferred to the L2 contexts, although rather detrimental consequences arise in their intercultural encounters. All these points suggest that teachers should be facilitators for the learners' learning of pragmatic features by encouraging them to think on their own; however, the features that learners find difficult to grasp by themselves should be intensively taught to them (see Cohen and Ishihara 2005; DuFon 2003; Kondo 2004; Silva 2003 for a similar claim). The ultimate objective of pragmatic intervention is then summarized in the following statement by Kasper (2001b: 20) (see also Bouton 1999; Kasper 1997; Yamanaka 2003 for a similar argument): "The great potential of SL teaching for developing learners' pragmatic ability lies in its capacity to alert and orient learners to pragmatic features encountered outside the classroom, encourage them to try out new pragmatic strategies, reflect on their observations and own language use, and obtain feedback."

As one aspect of the pedagogical implications, it is noteworthy that several studies dealt with in this review addressed the issue of sociocultural norms in pragmatic intervention (e.g., Alcón 2005; Eslami-Rasekh, Eslami-Rasekh and Fatahi 2004; Liddicoat and Crozet 2001; see also Barron 2005; Crandall and Basturkmen 2004; DuFon 2003; House 2003; Judd 1999; Kondo 2004; Meier 2003; Trosborg 2003 with regard to this issue). For cognitive-comparison activities, for instance, learners are required to compare their own language behaviors in L2 with the normative performance in TL. A question arising here pertains to which sociolinguistic variation should be considered to be a "normative" variety (Barron 2005). The convincing answer to this question is provided by Barron (2005: 531) as follows: "learners can be made aware that the chosen variety is only one possibility." Barron further emphasizes the cultivation of the learners' sensitivity toward variation. Another more critical question is whether or to what extent learners need to conform to their TL sociocultural norms in language use. A serious problem arises when learners do not value their TL sociocultural norms; such learners prefer to maintain their own identity by relying on their L1 norms. Pragmatic intervention thus potentially encompasses such a possible resistance to the TL-culture-oriented approach on the part of the learners. The most pertinent answer to this question would be that learners should be allowed to make this decision; in fact, this is the stance adopted by a vast majority of ILP researchers when learners are taught pragmatic features through any form of intervention.

In future research, more efforts should be invested in exploring whether there are any other factors that may constrain pragmatic learnability through interven-

tion. In order to accomplish this task, future studies need to have a robust research design with reliable assessment measures, including delayed posttests as measures for assessing the durability of treatment or the robustness of intervention. Furthermore, it is particularly necessary to substantially investigate the possible effects of learner-attributable factors such as information processing abilities (House 1996; Shaw and Trosborg 2000), motivation (Takahashi 2005a), learning strategies (Cohen 2003, 2008; Cohen and Ishihara 2005), and proficiency (see 2.1 above), on pragmatic learnability in classroom settings. More importantly, as Vyatkina and Belz (2006) note, there are very few studies that combine longitudinal (developmental) and interventional aspects in a single design (see also Ortega and Iberri-Shea 2005 for a similar claim). The basic assumption here is that pragmatic development is neither a linear nor an incremental process. In order to obtain more conclusive research outcomes on this underexplored aspect of pragmatic learnability, it is imperative to examine the effects of intervention on learners' pragmatic competence and performance at several points during the treatment. Such a longitudinal pedagogical intervention will surely lead us to more convincing and insightful findings about the nature of pragmatic learnability in classroom settings.

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Notes

1 Note that I have categorized Cohen and Ishihara (2005) and Trosborg and Shaw's (2008) studies under the "Explicit Condition" (in Table 1). Cohen and Ishihara's (2005) main purpose is to examine the effectiveness of "strategy training" for the pragmatic use of a foreign language. I categorized their study under "Explicit Condition" because their treatment included an explicit explanation of pragmatic features. Further, Trosborg and Shaw (2008) verified that the combined effect of the deductive and inductive methods is superior to that of each method used alone. However, I classified their study under the "Explicit Condition" category because their inductive activities are not complete without having access to the explicit knowledge that learners gain through the earlier deductive phase.

2 Fukuya et al. (1998) judged their results as inconclusive on the basis of their significance test. However, Jeon and Kaya (2006) indicate that the effect size estimates for Fukuya et al.'s experimental groups are large: FonF ($d = 0.89$), FonFS ($d = 1.06$). (Their FonF yields a large effect size estimate presumably because it is the "explicit" FonF.) With regard to Fukuya and Clark (2001), the following relatively small effect size estimates are provided by Jeon and Kaya: FonF ($d = -0.43$), FonFS ($d = 0.14$).

[3] Alcón (2007) is a follow up to Alcón (2005), which demonstrated the significant differences between the experimental groups in terms of gains in "production," in favor of the explicit group, for the immediate posttest. Because of this finding, the studies by Alcón (2005, 2007) are classified as studies showing mixed results (Table 3).

[4] Kubota's (1995) pretest, posttest, and delayed posttest contained the same test items; half of them were discussed in the treatment session (i.e., feedback items), whereas the remaining items were not (i.e., guessing items). Kubota (1995) is categorized as a study showing mixed results (Table 3) because the results from the "feedback items" demonstrated a superior performance of the two experimental groups as compared to the control group. The conclusion in this particular section is based on the results from the "guessing items" as they are considered to provide more accurate information on the treatment effect. Furthermore, the obtained effect size is an average of the two subtests for the guessing items.

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14. The teaching of speech acts in second and foreign language instructional contexts

Alicia Martínez-Flor and Esther Usó-Juan

1. Introduction

Over the last two decades, the development of learners' communicative competence in a second or foreign language has been one of the main concerns of language teaching professionals in the field of Second Language Acquisition (Kasper and Rose 2002). As recent models of communicative competence have shown (Celce-Murcia, Dörnyei and Thurrell 1995; Usó-Juan and Martínez-Flor 2006), communicating appropriately and effectively in a target language requires not only knowledge of the features of the language system, but also of the pragmatic rules of language use. In fact, as noted by Crandall and Basturkmen (2004), *error of appropriacy* on the part of the non-native speakers may have more negative consequences than grammatical errors. For example, while a grammar error when performing an impositive face-threatening speech act may be seen as a language problem by native speakers, an error of appropriacy may characterise the non-native speaker as being uncooperative, or more seriously, rude and offensive. Consequently, teaching pragmatic competence in instructed settings has been regarded as necessary to facilitate learners' pragmatic developmental process (Alcón and Martínez-Flor 2008; Kasper and Roever 2005; Tatsuki 2005).

Given this need, this chapter[1] focuses on an area within the field of pragmatics, that of speech acts, and attempts to present research-based approaches, techniques and activities that enable learners to overcome their pragmatic difficulties in a given context and subsequently help them in successfully communicating in the target language.With that aim in mind, the chapter first presents the resources used to introduce speech acts into second and foreign language classrooms and reviews the studies that have examined the advantages and disadvantages of those resources. Then, the activities and pedagogical proposals that have been elaborated to teach speech acts in instructed settings are reported. Finally, on the basis of the studies reported, issues to consider in future research on the area of speech acts are discussed.

2. Integrating speech acts into second and foreign language instructional contexts

The presentation of rich and contextually appropriate input has been regarded as a necessary condition for developing learners' pragmatic ability when understanding and performing speech acts in the target language (Bardovi-Harlig 2002; Kasper 2001; Kasper and Roever 2005; Rose 2005; Martínez-Flor and Usó-Juan 2010a). In this regard, the context in which a language is learned is essential in terms of both the quantity and quality of input to which learners are exposed (Barron 2003). Learners immersed in the second language community have more opportunities to come into contact with the target language, so exposure to it can facilitate their pragmatic ability. In contrast, learners in a foreign language context are in a disadvantageous position, since they depend exclusively on the input that arises in the classroom (Kasper and Roever 2005). According to LoCastro (2003), learners are exposed to three types of input in this particular setting, namely those of the teacher, the materials, and other learners.[2] Focusing specifically on the materials and resources that can be used to develop learners' ability to perform different speech acts, research has mainly considered those presenting written input (i.e. textbooks) and audiovisual input (i.e. TV and films). In the next two subsections, a review of the studies that have analysed the presentation of a variety of speech acts from these two types of sources is reported.

2.1. Written input sources

The main source of input presented in classroom settings has always tended to be textbooks. In fact, textbooks have been acknowledged by Vellenga (2004) as "the centre of the curriculum and syllabus in most classrooms". However, instructors are becoming more aware that the acquisition of speech acts through textbooks or other instructional materials is quite unlikely, since they do not provide learners with the three necessary conditions to develop their pragmatic competence, namely (1) exposure to appropriate input, (2) opportunities for collaborative practice in a written and oral mode and/or (3) metapragmatic reflection (Kasper 2001; Kasper and Roever 2005). With regard to the first condition, that of exposure to appropriate pragmatic input, several studies have illustrated that often textbooks do not present speech acts at all, and when they do it may not reflect real language use (Boxer and Pickering 1995; Mandala 1999; Salazar and Usó-Juan 2001, 2002; Kakiuchi 2005; Salazar 2007; Usó-Juan 2007).

Boxer and Pickering (1995) examined complaints in four American and three British ELT textbooks. They reported that teaching material focused mainly on direct complaining rather than on indirect complaining (although this is common in natural exchanges) and that the main aim of what was presented was to teach the learner the cultural value of softening the face-threatening act of complaining

through the use of certain expressions. The study conducted by Salazar and Usó-Juan (2001) investigated request realisation strategies offered in several textbooks following Trosborg's (1995) request typology. The authors found that the majority of strategies fell under the category of conventionally indirect (hearer-based) requests with a few instances of indirect or direct requests and they concluded that the input learners are exposed to in textbooks fails to offer examples of requests that reflect natural instances of language use in authentic situations. These findings however, should be seen as tentative, since no attention was paid in this study to those modifying devices that accompany the request head act to soften its degree of imposition. This was in fact the focus of attention of the studies by Salazar (2007) and Usó-Juan (2007). In these studies, the authors focused on whether the transcripts appearing in textbooks and the activities which learners have to carry out to practise requests respectively, pay attention to the use of request mitigating devices. As far as their presence in transcripts, results from Salazar's (2007) study showed a limited use of these devices. Transcripts would, thus, seem to fail to present natural instances of language use. Usó-Juan (2007) reported that although almost all request moves in the activities were modified by request mitigating devices, they were just presented as fixed chunks in single written sentences with no discourse context.

Other speech acts, such as suggestions and advice acts, have also served as the target of different studies. In the case of Salazar and Usó (2002), the focus was on the presentation of the suggesting and advising realisation strategies in several textbooks. The authors observed that the conventionally indirect realisation strategies were the most common ones presented in all courses analysed, with no instances of indirect or direct suggesting or advising strategies. Again, the authors were critical of the shortcomings of textbooks, claiming that realisation strategies of speech acts presented in textbooks should tackle a wider range of realisation strategies in order to be more realistic. For Mandala (1999), the target was advice realisation strategies. The author compared the structure of advice-giving exchanges in natural talk with such exchanges in textbook dialogues and found there was no correspondence between the two. It was observed that textbook dialogues were presented from an advice-giver's point of view therefore omitting the features of conflict resolution and mutual moves towards agreement that are common in authentic samples. Greetings were also addressed in the research carried out by Kakiuchi (2005), who analysed how this speech act is used by native speakers in natural conversations and compared these samples with those in textbook dialogues. The author found that while one-turn greetings were presented accurately in some textbooks, other features such as number of turn-takings and particular greetings expressions were not reflected appropriately. A possible explanation for such a lack of presentation of authentic language models in textbooks may be that such materials rely heavily on the intuition of native textbook developers about functions and speech acts realisations rather than empirical research, which is sometimes unreliable (Boxer 2003; LoCastro 2003).

Moving to the second and third conditions, textbooks have also been criticised for failing to provide learners with opportunities for collaborative practice as well as metapragmatic reflection (Meier 1997; Vellenga 2004). Meier (1997) criticised textbooks for presenting the speech act realisations as a mere list of phrases along a directness/politeness continuum with which to express a particular speech act. Additionally, she argued that such a presentation of strategies is typically associated with a role-play task which is likely to result in 'a concatenation of phrasebook-type expressions'. Vellenga (2004) conducted an empirical study which aimed at determining the quantity and quality of pragmatic information included in four English as a Second Language and four English as a Foreign Language textbooks. In doing so, the author focused specifically on i) the use of metalanguage, that is, how the activities were prefaced; ii) the treatment of speech acts, that is, how the speech acts were presented and practised; and iii) the metapragmatic information, that is, whether any commentaries on the usage of speech acts or contextual references were explicitly stated in the activities. Results showed that metalanguage in textbooks provided the learner with a poor model for pragmatically appropriate speech act realisation and that the treatment of most speech acts was not adequate, since contextual information or metapragmatic discussion was missing in the majority of the activities. In other words, speech acts were presented in isolation and decontextualised, which in itself neglects the acquisition of pragmatics since learners were not taught when it is appropriate to use a particular form depending on contextual variables.

All the above research has therefore showed that textbooks are a poor source of pragmatic input for learners in both second/foreign language classrooms, since the realisations to perform the different speech acts rarely match with those used in authentic exchanges. Therefore, they are not providing learners with the three necessary conditions to develop their pragmatic competence (i.e. input, output and feedback). However, this tendency is trying to change as it seems that the continuous criticism reported in all these studies has prompted some textbook writers to include examples and situations that involve more authentic-like dialogue models for learners in current textbooks. In fact, the studies by Gilmore (2004), Jiang (2006) and Usó-Juan (2008) have been devoted to examine the changes observed regarding the presentation of speech acts between old textbooks (i.e. those published before the 1990s) and recent ones (i.e. those published in the late 1990s and early 21st century). Findings from this research have showed some improvements regarding the selection of a wider variety of strategies to perform particular speech acts (Gilmore 2004). In spite of this fact, the way in which these structures are presented has been reported as just being an expanded list of linguistic forms with no mention of the contextual information in which they would be appropriately used (Jiang 2006). Consequently, although it seems that material writers are beginning to acknowledge that this fact may negatively affect language learners' acquisition of speech acts, more work needs to be done in this area. In fact, it is hoped

that the research conducted in the fields of cross-cultural and interlanguage pragmatics, as well as CA may be incorporated in future textbook development so that examples of authentic speech acts appear as obtained from real conversational exchanges (Usó-Juan 2008).

2.2. Audiovisual input sources

In an attempt to compensate for the static and decontextualised presentation of speech acts in textbooks, alternative sources have been proposed to bring authentic pragmatic input into second and foreign language settings. The most frequent has been the use of audiovisual materials. In fact, video input has long been used as a valuable resource that enhances the language learning process in the classroom, as it provides learners with realistic models to imitate, as well as enabling them to strengthen their audio/visual linguistic perceptions (Arthur 1999; Canning-Wilson 2000; Sherman 2003). The use of video sequences has also been employed as a way to raise learners' motivation towards a particular instructional target feature and to lower their anxiety when practising listening (Stempleski and Tomalin 1990; Ryan 1998; Larimer and Schleicher 1999). Moreover, Canning-Wilson (2000) reports that video provides a contextualised view of language that can help learners visualise words and meanings and get them to understand how the setting reveals the norms for appropriate language use. Therefore, the use of video can be regarded as an alternative source for introducing pragmatic issues in the classroom (Rose 1993, 1994, 1997, 1999), as well as increasing learners' awareness of other cultures (Summerfield 1993; Arthur 1999; Charlebois 2004). From this perspective, research has been conducted to support the fact that authentic audiovisual input provides ample opportunities to present learners with different speech acts in a variety of social and cultural contexts (Rose 1994, 1997, 1999, 2001; Martínez-Flor and Fernández-Guerra 2002; Alcón 2005; Kite and Tatsuki 2005; Tatsuki and Nishizawa 2005; Martínez-Flor 2007; Fernández-Guerra 2008).

The studies by Alcón (2005), Tatsuki and Nishizawa (2005) and Fernández-Guerra (2008) addressed the value of using TV to introduce pragmatics in the foreign language classroom. Alcón's (2005) study dealt with learners' exposure to requests included in different excerpts from the series *Stargate*. After a period of instruction, the author provided positive evidence of the value of employing this type of audiovisual material as the instructional base to make learners aware of the sociopragmatic and pragmalinguistic aspects involved in making requests. Similar findings regarding the use of TV interviews as a reliable model for presenting the pragmalinguistic forms typical of compliments were also obtained by Tatsuki and Nishizawa (2005). However, after comparing the occurrence of this speech act in 40 videotaped TV interviews, film data and naturally occurring data, the authors observed that some sociopragmatic features, such as gender, did not correspond with natural language use, which may have been influenced by the gender of the

data collectors who gathered the corpus from natural language use for that study. More recently, Fernández-Guerra (2008) compared the differences and similarities of request realisation strategies and modifiers found in TV series and in some real conversations extracted from a corpus. Results from her study indicated that the examples found in the TV episodes corresponded rather closely to those taking place in naturally occurring discourse. TV sources may, thus, be seen as realistic representations of actual language use.

The potential of films as a way of presenting language input in rich cultural contexts has also been examined by researchers such as Rose (1993, 1994, 1997, 1999, 2001), Martínez-Flor and Fernández-Guerra (2002), Kite and Tatsuki (2005) and Martínez-Flor (2007). In fact, Rose (1997: 283) has praised the use of scenes from films as opportunities to observe pragmatic language use, since "in foreign language contexts, exposure to film is generally the closest that language learners will ever get to witnessing or participating in native speaker interaction". He therefore conducted a good number of studies involving activities designed to implement the use of film in the classroom (Rose 1993, 1994, 1999), and to determine the authenticity of film excerpts when compared to naturally occurring data (Rose 1997, 2001). In his 1997 study, Rose compared the occurrence of compliments in forty-six American films with a corpus of compliments (collected by Manes and Wolfson 1981), and found that, for global categories, such as the distribution of syntactic formulae, the film data closely matched naturally-occurring speech. Later, Rose (2001) supported this finding in a follow-up study which showed that syntactic formulae, compliment topic and compliment strategy responses were found to be similar in film data and in naturally-occurring speech (i.e. pragmalinguistic forms), although some differences were identified regarding gender distribution (i.e. sociopragmatic features). Focusing on a different speech act (i.e. apologies), Kite and Tatsuki (2005) obtained similar results to those reported by Rose (2001), since the pragmalinguistic strategies employed to express apologies in both films and naturally-occurring discourse were equivalent, whereas sociopragmatic factors, such as the gender of participants, also appeared to differ in both sources. Martínez-Flor and Fernández-Guerra (2002) compared the occurrence of three exhortative speech acts, namely requests, suggestions and advice acts, in coursebooks and films. The authors found that in contrast to the artificial and inappropriate presentation of these speech acts in the textbooks analysed, the occurrence of them in the films that were examined appeared highly contextualised and displayed a wide variety of linguistic formulae. Finally, the focus of Martínez-Flor's (2007) study was that of examining the presentation of request modification devices in different films. Results indicated that all types of internal and external modification devices were found in the data, thus showing the whole variety of pragmalinguistic forms that may be used to modify the speech act of requesting. Additionally, all devices appeared in fully contextualised situations illustrating therefore the potential of films in helping learners raise their pragmatic awareness

towards those sociopragmatic factors that influence an appropriate use of these modifiers.

All this research has therefore reported the benefits of bringing audiovisual input into the classroom, since learners are exposed to authentic language samples in which speech acts appear contextualised. However, this particular source has also received criticism, since as Rose (2001: 310) states, "an obvious issue that arises in considering the use of film for research and teaching is the validity of film language. That is, how closely does the language in film correspond to face-to-face interaction?" To this respect, some researchers have examined the use of another type of resource, namely that of corpora, in order to examine its suitability as a useful resource to help language learners develop their pragmatic competence and knowledge of speech acts (Koester 2002; Jiang 2006; Schauer and Adolphs 2006). Results from these studies have showed that speech acts appear in naturally occurring conversations, and that activities can be prepared to raise learners' awareness of the different sociopragmatic assumptions underlying various pragmalinguistic forms for the same speech act. It would be interesting therefore, to design future studies that present practical and appropriate activities to exploit this material in second and foreign language classrooms. Similarly, it would be desirable to conduct more research that examines how new technologies, such as synchronous and asynchronous computer-mediated communication, may play a key role nowadays in developing activities that foster learners' acquisition of a variety of speech acts (Biesenbach-Lucas 2005, 2006; Ishihara 2007; Sykes 2005). In the meantime, the activities and approaches that have already been developed to teach speech acts in instructed settings is presented in the next section.

3. Teaching speech acts

As previously mentioned, the particular context in which learners are immersed, namely second versus foreign language classrooms, influences their chances to be in contact with the target language (Kasper 2001; Kasper and Roever 2005). Whereas in second language settings learners have rich exposure to the target language outside the classroom and a lot of opportunities to use it for real-life purposes, in foreign language contexts the chances to directly observe native-speakers' interactions and opportunities to be engaged in communicative situations are very scarce. For these reasons, it seems that creating the necessary conditions to foster learners' pragmatic competence and acquisition of speech acts would be especially necessary in foreign language contexts, although it has also been highly recommended in second language settings. Indeed, in spite of all the advantages that these particular settings may offer for pragmatic development, it has been claimed that even after a long period of contact with the target language, some pragmatic aspects still continue to be incomplete (Bardovi-Harlig 1996, 2002). In

this sense, teaching speech acts in both second and foreign language classrooms has been regarded as necessary, since through instruction learners can be provided with knowledge of the different pragmalinguistic choices that may be employed to perform a particular speech act depending on the situation they are involved in and whom they are talking to. Therefore, considering the benefits that learners in both types of settings may obtain after being engaged in an instructional period, several researchers have proposed different techniques and activities, as well as particular pedagogical models to teach speech acts in these settings (Olshtain and Cohen 1991; Rose 1994, 1999; Bardovi-Harlig 1996; Judd 1999; Yoshida et al. 2000; Koester 2002; Bardovi-Harlig and Mahan-Taylor 2003; Fujimori and Houck 2004; Eslami-Rasekh 2005; Tatsuki 2005; Martínez-Flor and Usó-Juan 2006, 2010b; Félix-Brasdefer 2006; Kondo 2008; Usó-Juan and Martínez-Flor 2008).

3.1. Techniques and activities to teach speech acts

Focusing on those techniques and activities designed to teach speech acts, the use of transcripts of naturally occurring conversations as awareness-raising activities (Koester 2002), written and listening identification tasks (Fujimori and Houck 2004) or what Bardovi-Harlig (1996) has termed *the culture puzzle* and *the classroom guest* have been developed with the aim to increase pragmatic awareness. In performing *the culture puzzle*, learners are first encouraged to think about how a particular speech act functions in their own language and culture. Then, they are made aware of the differences between the pragmatic rules that distinguish their mother tongue speech community from that of the target language they are learning. *The classroom guest* activity allows the incorporation of natural language samples in the classroom by preparing an interruption to the class. During this interruption, the teacher and the guest hold a conversation that includes the speech act under study and learners' attention is directed towards this conversation. At the same time, the teacher is recording the whole conversation so that learners have the chance to listen to the exchange again. After a discussion about this exchange, two students are to prepare a role-play based on the same situation and, then, the two recorded conversations are compared and discussed. This particular activity offers a lot of opportunities for interaction in the classroom context and several empirical studies have already been conducted to examine its potential in facilitating learners' ability to perform different speech acts (see the studies by Ohta 1995, 1997, 2001, 2005; Tateyama and Kasper 2008). Other techniques have also been suggested for developing consciousness-raising activities (Rose 1994, 1999), including the use of video and the design of what has been regarded as *the pragmatic consciousness-raising* technique. This technique is based on an inductive approach in which learners first collect data in their mother tongue and, after having familiarised themselves with the strategies employed for the specific speech act, a comparison with the target language is made.

All these techniques, namely those of using transcripts of authentic conversations, arranging pre-planned conversations, employing video scenes or implementing the pragmatic consciousness-raising technique, are aimed at developing learners' pragmatic awareness about the particular speech act under study (see also all the activities proposed by Eslami-Rasekh (2005) to achieve this aim). Apart from them, tasks involving productive activities are also necessary since learners need to be provided with opportunities for communicative practice. Among the activities designed to practice different speech acts, namely those of role-play, simulation and drama, role-play has been the activity most frequently recommended for use (Rose 1994; Trosborg 1995; Kasper 1997; Koester 2002; Fujimori and Houck 2004; among many others). Therefore, both awareness-raising and productive activities need to be incorporated in the teaching of particular speech acts. In fact, Bardovi-Harlig and Mahan-Taylor (2003) claim that the main goals of instruction in pragmatics are to raise learners' pragmatic consciousness in an attempt to help them become familiar with the different pragmatic features and practices in the target language, as well as make them practice those aspects being taught. The authors present a volume accessible online consisting of lesson plans that can be employed with learners from different proficiency levels and cultural backgrounds. These lessons focus on a variety of pragmatic features, among which speech acts are the most outstanding aspect being proposed, such as complaints, compliments, disagreements, greetings, refusals, requests, request mitigating devices or a variety of speech acts. A similar structure is adopted in Tatsuki's (2005) volume in which the author presents a section devoted to examining pedagogical innovations with a pragmatic focus. Here, different authors propose useful and innovative activities to help students develop their knowledge about a variety of speech acts, such as refusals, requests or suggestions. A common aspect shared by all the proposals presented in this volume is the importance of promoting learners' active participation in the activities by making them collect and analyse data, nominate topics or report and examine critical incidents in which speech acts are necessary to use.

3.2. Pedagogical models to teach speech acts

Moving on to the pedagogical models to teach speech acts, Olshtain and Cohen (1991) were the first authors to propose a framework consisting of different steps. According to these authors, learners first need to be exposed to the most typical realisation strategies of the particular speech act under study. After this presentation, they should be explained the factors that are involved in selecting one specific form rather than another, and finally they should be provided with opportunities to practice the use of the speech act. In order to be able to plan and implement these suggestions, Olshtain and Cohen (1991) elaborated five steps that included the three conditions for learning any aspect of the target language, namely those of input, output and feedback. The first step, *the diagnostic assessment*, was proposed

with the aim of determining learners' level of awareness of speech acts in general and, more particularly, the specific speech act under study. By means of acceptability rating tests and oral/written tests, the teacher could establish learners' ability to both comprehend and produce the speech acts. *The model dialog*, the second step, consists of presenting learners with short natural examples of dialogues where they can observe the speech act in use. The purpose of this activity is to make learners guess whether the participants involved in the dialogues know each other and other aspects such as their age or status. In this way, learners become aware of the social and pragmatic factors that may affect speech acts. The third step, *the evaluation of a situation*, is regarded as a technique that reinforces learners' awareness of the factors that affect the choice of an appropriate speech act strategy, since learners are asked to discuss and evaluate different situations. Then, learners are involved in various *role-play activities* that are suitable for practising the use of speech acts. An important aspect when preparing these activities is to give enough pertinent information regarding the situation and the participants intervening in it. Finally, learners should be provided with both *feedback* and *discussion* to make them realise whether any possibly inappropriate expressions have been used during the role-plays. They should also be given the opportunity to express their perceptions and any differences they have noted between their mother tongue and the target language.

Some of the suggested pedagogical practices involving exposure to pertinent input through the presentation of natural dialogues, opportunities to produce output by performing role-plays, and feedback on their performance proposed by Olshtain and Cohen (1991), have also been addressed in Judd's (1999) model. According to him, the model he presents for teaching speech acts has to be adapted to the specific conditions of each classroom. In this sense, it has to be taken into account whether it is a second or a foreign language classroom, whether the teacher is a native speaker or a non-native speaker of the language, the learners' needs to learn the target language and the materials available for use. After considering all these aspects, the author proposes a framework that, like Olhstain and Cohen's (1991) model, also involves five steps. First, a *teacher analysis of the speech act* is suggested in order to relate the content of what is to be taught to learners' actual needs. Second, the development of learners' *cognitive awareness skills* is also important so that learners have exposure to the speech act being taught in order to make them understand the appropriate linguistic realisations that can be employed to express that particular speech act. Third, *receptive/integrative skills* are necessary to make learners recognise the speech pattern within actual language use, that is, as part of a discourse excerpt rather than as isolated forms out of context. Then, *controlled productive skills* enable learners to put into practice the speech act that has already been recognised and incorporated into their pragmatic knowledge. Finally, students engage in *free integrated practice* that makes them produce not only the particular speech act studied, but also other forms of language in a natural con-

versation. According to Judd (1999), this last step would be considered as the real test of learning, since at this point learners should be able to employ the speech acts appropriately not just in isolation but while engaged in actual communicative interaction.

Taking suggestions from the two previously described models into account (Olshtain and Cohen 1991; Judd 1999), Martínez-Flor and Usó-Juan (2006) propose an instructional framework for the speech acts of requesting and suggesting with the aim to gradually attract learners' attention to the importance of the contextual and sociopragmatic factors that affect which of the two speech acts has to be made and how. Their framework, called the *6Rs Approach*, consists of six steps. In the first step, that of *Researching*, learners are explained what pragmatic competence is, as well as the definition and difference between requests and suggestions. After this explanation, learners are asked to collect naturally occurring requests and suggestions in their mother tongue, and to write down sociopragmatic information about these speech acts in different situations. In the second step, that of *Reflecting*, learners are asked to work on the data they have collected and answer a variety of awareness-raising questions that focus on both pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic issues. They are also encouraged to compare their data with their partners in order to gain access to a wider sample of strategies for both speech acts and reflect about how the social factors surrounding the performance of a particular speech act affect the choice of specific strategies. Having worked on data from their mother tongue, they move on to the third step, that of *Receiving*, in which they are provided with explicit instruction on the pragmalinguistic forms employed for making requests and suggestions in the English language. Once they receive instruction in all possible forms, they are asked to compare them with the ones they found in their mother tongue, so that learners notice similarities and differences between the two languages. In the fourth step, that of *Reasoning*, learners are involved in three different types of awareness-raising activities that deepen their understanding of how the form that a speech act takes may depend on the sociopragmatic factors surrounding them, as well as the speaker's intention and the setting in which the speech act occurs. After being engaged in a variety of activities designed to develop their pragmatic awareness, learners get engaged in the fifth step, that of *Rehearsing*. Here, learners are provided with opportunities to put all that knowledge into practice by participating in two types of production activities, namely controlled and free. As far as the controlled activities are concerned, learners are engaged in both oral production tasks, involving the use of video or digital video, and written production tasks related to sending emails. Once they have participated in these oral and written controlled production activities, they are ready to engage in free activities to actually see if they have acquired the pragmatic knowledge to appropriately use the speech acts of requesting and suggesting. An example of this type of activities in second language settings would be to interview native speakers to obtain information about a particular topic, and to make use of

the new technologies, such as computer-mediated communication tasks, in foreign language contexts so that learners could interact with students from English-speaking countries. Finally, in the sixth step, that of *Revising*, learners receive the teacher's feedback regarding their performance when using requests and suggestions in the free activities assigned in the previous step.[3]

Considering the fact that most pedagogical proposals dealing with the speech act of requesting have just focused on those strategies used to perform the head act without considering the importance of paying attention to those elements that serve to soften and mitigate this face-threatening speech act, Usó-Juan and Martínez-Flor (2008) have recently elaborated a learner-based method for teaching request mitigating devices that consists of three main stages. In the first stage, that of *learners' exploration*, learners are provided with opportunities to explore the pragmalinguistic forms and the sociopragmatic factors that influence the appropriateness of request mitigating devices by getting engaged in two types of awareness raising activities. Once learners' awareness about the connections between request pragmalinguistic patterns and sociopragmatic information has been raised, they move to the second stage. In this stage, that of *learners' production*, learners are provided with written and oral opportunities to produce request head acts together with their mitigating devices. In the third and final stage, that of *learners' feedback*, learners are provided with feedback from their peers about their performance in the communicative practice activities in terms of the pragmalinguistic forms selected to express their request head acts and their mitigating devices, as well as the sociopragmatic factors considered for an appropriate requestive performance in the given situations.

Finally, the volume by Yoshida, Kamiya, Kondo and Tokiwa (2000), reported by Kondo (2008), presents the procedure to be followed to teach a variety of speech acts, such as apologies, complaints, compliments, refusals, requests or thanking. The lessons proposed in this volume are organised in five phases with the aim to help learners "recognize that "speaking is doing", to think about their own language use, and to discover common and different aspects of conducting speech acts between Japanese and Americans" (Kondo 2008: 155). The first phase, that of *Feeling*, involves a listening comprehension task in which learners have to listen to two different dialogs that deal with a particular speech act and answer some questions. In the second phase, that of *Doing*, learners are presented with another hypothetical speech situation in which they are asked to respond in a way similar to a discourse completion task, and to role-play the situation with their partners. In the third phase, that of *Thinking*, learners are asked to analyse their own speech act performance by participating in several activities, such as looking at classifications of different strategies for a given speech act, listening to dialogues and write down key expressions of each strategy and analysing their own speech act performance according to those strategies. The fourth phase, that of *Understanding*, involves taking some cross-cultural communication notes, since learners have to look at

some graphs and discover the characteristic differences that exist in Japanese and American English when various speech acts are performed. After a discussion that involves the whole class, learners move to the last phase, that of *Using*, in which they are provided with oral activities so that they can put into practice the knowledge they have acquired in the previous phases.

After presenting and revising the frameworks and pedagogical proposals that have been elaborated to teach particular speech acts in second and foreign languages, it seems that a common characteristic underlying all of them is the adoption of a consciousness-raising approach along with production activities. However, as argued by Félix-Brasdefer (2006), features related to interaction and negotiation are rarely taught in either second or foreign language contexts. To this respect, in line with Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford (2005) and Kasper (2006), the author advocates for the teaching of speech acts at the discourse level by adopting a conversation-analytic perspective[4]. Thus, he presents an instructional model for the teaching of refusals which consists of three pedagogical units. The first pedagogical section, that of *Communicative actions and cross-cultural awareness*, involves two activities related to present learners with those actions (i.e. speech acts) that people engage in during everyday interaction, two activities with the aim to develop learners' cross-cultural awareness of refusing in Spanish and English, and two additional activities in which learners are presented with pragmalinguistic input regarding those expressions that are used to make refusals in both English and Spanish languages. In the second pedagogical unit, that of *Doing conversation analysis in the classroom*, learners are exposed to a complete refusal interaction by having a look at characteristic features of conversation, such as sequences, actions, linguistic and non-verbal expressions used to perform those actions or multiple turns realised during the interaction. In this particular unit, the CA tools proposed by Pomeranz and Fehr (1997) are followed, namely i) selection of a sequence by looking at identifiable boundaries; ii) characterization of the actions in each sequence; iii) packaging and delivery of the actions; iv) organization of turns; and v) accomplishment of the actions and the construction of roles and identities. The last pedagogical unit, that of *Communicative practice and feedback*, allows learners to practice the knowledge acquired in the previous units by getting engaged in role play activities.

As can be observed after revising the three main sections presented in the model elaborated by Félix-Brasdefer (2006), the necessary conditions to foster knowledge about pragmatics in general and about a specific speech act in particular (i.e. refusals) are provided, namely pertinent input, opportunities for practice and provision of feedback. Additionally, his pedagogical proposal includes a section devoted to examine not just the pragmalinguistic forms used in performing a refusal or the sociopragmatic factors affecting their appropriate use, but to those interactional features such as sequencing or turn-taking necessary to maintain an appropriate conversation in the target language. Consequently, since the main goal of

teaching practices is to develop learners' overall communicative competence in a target language, and it has been ascertained by several proposed models that discourse competence is the core component (Celce-Murcia, Dörnyei and Thurrell 1995; Usó-Juan and Martínez-Flor 2006), it seems that teaching speech acts at the discourse level is the road to follow. In this sense, taking the above described pedagogical models as a point of departure and additional research conducted in the field of CA, it would be interesting to examine in future empirical studies the effect such pedagogical activities actually have on learners' acquisition of speech acts in instructed settings.

4. Conclusion

The review of instructional frameworks and techniques for the teaching of speech acts presented in this chapter shows the continuous interest that instruction on pragmatics arises in both second and foreign language contexts. In this line, more research is needed to examine the effectiveness of these activities and pedagogical models depending on certain individual and social variables, such as gender, age, level of education, power and social distance. In fact, as claimed by Kasper and Rose (2002), it has already been ascertained that those variables affect learners' awareness and production of a variety of speech acts. Consequently, future studies that focus on the relationship between these individual variables and their pragmatic development are called for. This direction of research will strongly enhance our understanding of the effects of instruction on pragmatics and hence improve teachers' performance. Through proper instruction and suitable selection of material, teachers may well prepare learners to interpret others' speech acts as well as appropriately produce them in the authentic cross-cultural exchanges they may face.

Notes

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[2] It is the focus of the present chapter to deal specifically with materials, since we find the role they play in helping learners develop their pragmatic competence in instructional settings is of paramount importance and few reviews have been done in this respect.

[3] It is worth pointing out that we have already implemented such an approach in the foreign language classroom. At the moment, we are analysing data so results from it will be published in a near future. However, we can advance that results, regarding the pragmatic learning of requests and suggestions by the learners involved in the study, seemed positive.

[4] See also the approach by Huth and Taleghani-Nikazm (2006) on telephone openings.

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15. Correcting others and self-correcting in business and professional discourse and textbooks.

Winnie Cheng and Pang Cheng

In the literature on speech act studies, the performing of the speech act of repair, both self-repair and other-repair, by speakers of English and the learning of repair by English language students have rarely been discussed. This paper aims to contribute to this area by reviewing the literature on repair, and describing and illustrating the procedure of a corpus-based study of repair, as part of a large-scale speech act project based in Hong Kong. This paper discusses the functions, patterns and linguistic realizations of repair, in a corpus of spoken busines discourse in Hong Kong. It also compares real-life usage of repair with the ways in which the speech act is taught and learned in the senior forms of secondary schools in Hong Kong, and makes suggestions for enhancing the quality and validity of English textbooks and other instructional materials. The paper also discusses how the use of English language corpora can be promoted for genuine and authentic examples of speech acts, such as repair, for instructional purposes.

1. Introduction

The present paper on speech acts concerns the scientific study of language functions and patterns of linguistic action. The purpose of this paper is two-fold. First, it reviews the literature on the speech acts of self-repair and other-repair which are essential to "the study of social organization and social interaction" (Schegloff et al. 1977: 361) with a particular focus on the research methodologies adopted by the studies. The investigation and description of speech acts have grown since the 1970s with the contribution of the ordinary language philosophy (Austin 1962, Searle 1969, 1979) that aims to examine utterances from the perspective of their functions, postulating that the meanings of utterances are not merely described in terms of truth or falsity but also in terms of felicity or infelicity (Grice 1975, Levinson 1983, Cummings 2005). Pragmatics deals with meaning-in-context. Contextual investigations of naturally-occurring speech act behaviours, coupled with more recent corpus approaches to the study of speech acts, have shifted research focuses from the general aspects of speech acts such as types of utterance and classifications of speech acts (Austin 1962, Searle 1969) to the usage of particular speech acts for specific communicative purposes and how linguistic forms are linked to pragmatic and social rules (Croody 2001, Gries 2001, 2008, Wulff 2003).

The second purpose of the paper is to make suggestions for future research into the speech act of repair as well as the learning of speech acts such as repair. This is achieved by describing and illustrating the procedure of conducting a corpus-based speech act study which aims to compare how English language textbooks in Hong Kong present different speech acts and the forms and strategies people employ to perform them with how the same speech acts are performed in real-life spoken interaction. The paper discusses the important issue of the extent to which the instructional materials presented to students in schools and universities, and in the education of professionals, resemble the realities of actual language use.

2. The speech act of correction

Explicating the preference for self-correction in the organization of repair in conversation, Schegloff et al. (1977: 363) compare 'correction' and 'repair'. While 'correction' is "commonly understood to refer to the replacement of 'error' or 'mistake' by what is 'correct'" (p. 363), they find that 'repair/correction' can occur where there is "no hearable error, mistake, or fault", for example, when there are hearing problems due to noise interference. They also find that "hearable error does not necessarily yield the occurrence of repair/correction" (p. 363) but, for example, can lead to a search for a better word and a request for information. As a result of these observations, Schegloff et al. (1977) shift the focus from "a distinction between self- and other-correction to self- and other-repair" to a discussion about "a distinction between repair-INITIATION and repair-OUTCOME" (p. 365). Conversational repair is a mechanism used to deal with trouble in speaking, hearing, or understanding, and consists of three components: the trouble source, the repair initiation (i.e. the indication that there is trouble to be repaired), and the repair-outcome (i.e. the success or the failure of the repair outcome) (Schegloff et al. 1977).

Schegloff et al. (1977) describe two types of repair, self-repair and other-repair, and two sub-types of these repair types: self-initiated self-repair, other-initiated self-repair, self-initiated other-repair, and other-initiated other-repair. Self- and other-initiated repairs are found to deal with similar trouble types, namely word search, word replacement (correction), repair of person references, and repair of next-speaker selection (pp. 370–372). Other-initiated repairs can be initiated from four types of positions: within the same turn as their trouble source, in that turn's transition space, in next turn to the trouble source turn, and in the third turn to the trouble source turn, whereas self-initiated repairs can occur in three positions: same turn, transition space, and third turn (p. 366).

As for self- and other-correction, Schegloff, et al. (1977) find empirical evidence for a social-organisational preference for self- over other-correction, which is attributable to the phenomenon that at same-turn or transition-space, speakers

of the trouble source have the opportunity to initiate repair on the repairables and this regularly results in successful self-repair/correction. In the case of other-initiated repairs, the other speaker usually uses the turn to locate the trouble source in order to provide the speaker of the trouble source with another opportunity to repair the trouble source in the turn that follows, i.e. not at same-turn or transition-space. This accounts for the finding that other-initiated repairs also yield self-correction (p. 377). Faerch and Kasper (1982) restrict repair work to 'corrections' and observe that the preference for self-repair reflects the face-saving phenomenon when the producer of the unsuccessful utterance initiates self-repair to restore face. Norrick (1991) argues against the "preference for self-correction" notion proposed by Schegloff et al. (1977), suggesting that conversationalists negotiate corrective sequences based on "their respective abilities to complete the correction" (p. 59).

Self-repair, according to Schegloff et al. (1977), is characterized by the basic format of initiation with a non-lexical initiator followed by the repairing segment. They discuss and exemplify two strategies for self-repair initiation: cut-off and lengthening of sounds, both of which are non-lexical initiators. They also describe four strategies for other-repair initiation: question words *who, when,* and *where*, partial repeats of the trouble-source turn + question words, partial repeats of the trouble-source turn, and *you mean* plus a possible understanding of the prior turn. To the list of self-repair initiation, Rieger (2003: 49) adds quasi-lexical fillers (non-lexical initiators); and to the list of other-repair initiation, Liebscher and Dailey-O'Cain (2003: 376) add unspecified targeting, e.g., *pardon?, huh?* and *hmm?*.

With reference to Levelt (1983), Brédart (1991) and Postma and Kolk (1992), Koroms (1999a) proposes a taxonomy of self-repairs in L1. Koroms (1999a) discusses four self-repair strategies, namely ambiguity repairs (correcting ambiguous reference), appropriate-level repairs (specifying the informational content of the original message more precisely), coherence repairs (correcting the terms that are not coherent with previously used terminology), and repairs for good language (to either comply with the perceived canonical rules of "good language" or become socially appropriate). Koroms (1999a) also describes three types of error repairs: lexical repairs, that is correction of "any lexical item, color words, direction terms, prepositions, articles, etc." (Levelt 1983: 54); syntactic repairs; and phonetic repairs. The last type of repairs described by Koroms (1999a) is covert repairs. For covert repairs, the reparandum is not articulated, and one can only infer the existence of this process from its indirect manifestations such as word or phrase repetitions, blocking, prolongation, syllabic repetition, or silent pauses (Postma and Kolk 1992).

A review of the empirical studies on the speech act of repair/correction shows the examination of the language functions and patterns of linguistic action of repair in a variety of contexts of interaction, using a variety of theoretical approaches and

methodological frameworks and generating rich findings. Kormos (1999b), for instance, examines the effect of speaker variables on the self-correction behavior of L2 learners. Studying the self-report data of 30 Hungarian learners of English of different proficiency levels, Kormos (1999b) finds differences in how frequent accuracy- and fluency-centred learners produce rephrasing-repairs. Accuracy-centred learners are inclined to focus more on monitoring their speech, and fluency-centred learners on speedy production. The study also finds that L2 learners with differing speech habits may make a conscious decision to not correct an error with varying frequency (Kormos 1999b: 207).

Levelt (1983) studies the perception, production and central control in self-repair by analysing a corpus of 959 spontaneous self-repairs. Levelt (1983) discusses three phases of making a self-repair in speech. The first phase involves the speaker monitoring his/her speech and when trouble is detected, the speaker interrupts the flow of speech promptly. In the first phase, it is also observed that the detection of trouble by the speaker improves toward "the end of constituents" (p. 41). In the second phase, the speaker uses hesitation, pausing, and specifically editing items. In the third phase, the speaker makes the repair proper, the linguistic well-formedness of which depends on "the structural relation between original utterance and repair" (p. 41). Levelt (1983) also studies what makes the listener decide how the repair should be related to the original utterance, and finds that in almost all situations, the editing item and the first word of the repair proper contain sufficient information for the listener's decision.

Noticing that self-repair is usually regarded as 'dysfluent' or 'ungrammatical' by linguists and therefore not studied as a syntactic phenomenon, Fox and Jasperson (1995: 77) explore the syntactic organization of first-position self-repair in naturally-occurring English conversation, arguing that "self-repair is in fact highly patterned, non-chaotic, and organized by, indeed partially constitutive of, syntax" (p. 78). Self-repair means repair produced by the speaker of the repairable (Schegloff et al 1977, Schegloff 1979) and 'first-position repair' refers to "repair which takes place within the same Turn Constructional Unit as the repairable" (p. 79). Fox and Jasperson (1995) discuss seven types of syntactic organization of repair:

TYPE A	recycle word
TYPE B	replace word
TYPE C	recycle prior phrase including word
TYPE D	recycle prior phrase, replace word
TYPE E	recycle prior phrase, add new elements
TYPE F	change syntactic framework
TYPE G	abandon structure, start new structure
	(Fox and Jasperson 1995: 90)

Examples are provided to illustrate each of the types:

1. Type A (recycle word) involves the repetition of a lexical item, *school* in the example below. The repairing segment and repaired segment are lexically identical (p. 91):

   B: I don't know. The [school-*] **school** uh, (1.0) bookstore doesn't carry anything anymo (h) re,

2. Type B (replace word) involves the replacement of a cut-off word. The word that is being replaced is the one that contains the repair initiation. Repairing segment and repaired segment are different. In the example below (p. 91), **moo-** is replaced by *thing*:

   H: I hadn't either … hhh But anyways, u-en theh the [moo-*] **thing** was the Dark at the Top of the Stai://rs

   N: Mn hm:

3. Type C (cycle phrase) involves the repetition of several words. The repairing segment and repaired segment are lexically identical. In the example below, a*nd this* is repeated (p. 91):

   B: [And this-*] **an::: this** guy for linguistics lass-laughs at h i s own: jo:kes (h)y'know

4. Type D (recycle phrase with word replacement). Part of the repaired segment is repeated in the repairing segment, and another part is replaced. Below, *the* is repeated followed by the replacement of *syst-* by *program* (p. 91):

   G: So [the syst-*] u- eh- y'know **the program** would- (.) world fork, Netus would- (0.1) pause, and-and wait,

5. Type E (recycle with addition) involves the repetition of a clause or phrase and the addition of new elements before the repetition. The added lexical items modify the clause or phrase or add background information. Below, *a da-* is modified through repetition with the addition of *blind*, making 'a blind date' out of the 'date' (p. 103):

   H: .hh And tshe- this girl's fixed up on [a da-*] **a blind date**.

6. Type F (change syntactic framework), being a variation of type E, also consists of a repetition plus the addition of new elements, which frame the repetition. In the example below, *the main* is replaced by *I mean the main* (pp. 91–92):

   D: Okay, so [the main-*] **I mean the main** thing you do, is you figure out the Field at A due to this charge,

7. Type G (abort) involves abandoning the portion of talk that is being cut off and a restart. The restart may or may not be semantically and pragmatically linked to the abandoned part. The example shows how *and we k-* is abandoned for 'and there was a little opening'. It is very likely that B was about to say, 'and we came to a little opening'. In that case, repairing segment and repaired segment are semantically and pragmatically related (p. 96):

   [And we k-*] **and there was a little o:pening**.

Fox and Jasperson (1995) conclude that the relationships between repair and syntax is not one of structure and use, that is, there is not a pre-existing set of structures that are put to use in a conversation. As demonstrated by the speakers who "use repair to expand the syntactic resources available to them in a given context" (p. 127), "syntax is **created** during the course of a conversation" (p. 127, bold in original), and repair "creates grammatically/interpretable utterances out of apparently 'ungrammatical' segments" (p. 127).

The role of intonation in the organization of repair sequences in conversations is studied (Selting 1988). An important finding is that intonation is used as "a type-distinctive device" (Selting 1988: 293). In another study, Egbert (1998) finds that the repair mechanism occurs differently in everyday conversation and classroom discourse, and attributes the difference to two primary influences: incomplete student L2 learning and nonnaturalistic techniques students have been taught for initiating repair. Other influences include the unique ways in which teachers and students used repair as a classroom resource to manifest their respective roles. Wong (2000) examines the conversation in English between Mandarin speakers and native speakers of English and finds indirect support for Schegloff et al.'s (1977) "claim that the primary site of other-initiated repair is in the next turn of relative to the trouble-source talk" (Wong 2000: 244).

Rieger (2003) conducts a socio-linguistic study of conversational self-repair strategies used by English-German bilingual speakers, with a focus on repetitions of one word or several words in order to "gain linguistic and/or cognitive time for the speaker or when used to postpone the possible transition-relevance place" (p. 47). 'Repair' is defined as "error correction, the search for a word, and the use of hesitation pauses, lexical quasi-lexical, or non-lexical pause fillers, immediate lexical changes, false starts and instantaneous repetitions" (p. 48). Repair, according to Rieger (2003: 48), consists of three components. The first component, the repairable, although not necessarily audible, can be inferred from the presence of repair initiation and the repairing segment. The second component, repair initiation, can consist of a cut-off, a filler, or a combination of these. The third component, the repairing segment, repairs the trouble that the speaker has perceived. Rieger (2003) presents a repetition formula. In between the utterance of a lexical item and the repetition of the identical lexical item, Rieger notes a few possible verbal strategies, as follows:

		no lexical element pause		
lexical item	+	quasi-lexical item (e.g. *uh*)	+	identical lexical item
		different lexical item lengthened sound		

(Rieger 2003: 62)

Rieger (2003) also finds that bilingual speakers tend to use more repetitions of personal pronouns, pronouns and conjugated verb forms or verbal phrases, and prepositions when speaking English than when speaking German, and that they tend to use more repetitions of demonstrative pronouns when speaking German than when speaking English. The differences suggest that the adoption of self-repair strategies by the participants is motivated linguistically to reflect differences in the morphosyntactic structure of English and German respectively. Based on the findings, Rieger (2003) draws three conclusions. First, the structure of a particular language appears to shape the repair strategies of language users because it creates opportunities for recycling. Second, repetition as a self-repair strategy is a very orderly phenomenon; and third, self-repair is a well-organized, orderly, and rule-governed phenomenon but not a chaotic aspect of spoken discourse (Schegloff et al. 1977, Schegloff 1979, Hayashi 1994).

In another study, Kurhila (2001) compares correction in non-pedagogic conversations between Finnish native (NS) and non-native speakers (NNS) in different contexts, primarily educational institutions, and finds no NNS correcting the grammar in the NS's turn. In contrast with the predominant repair pattern observed in both equals' talk (Schegloff et al. 1977) and pedagogic interaction (McHoul 1990), no examples are found in the conversational data of the NS initiating repair by repeating the trouble turn or by inviting the NNS to self-repair; instead the NS provides the correct form to the NNS. The reasons for greater frequency of outright other-repair are that first, the NS does not think the NNS has adequate knowledge to correct their own errors. Second, outright other-repairs shorten the repair sequence and boost interaction. Finally, the conversations are different from a pedagogic context such as the classroom where other-initiated repair is prevailing. Kurhila (2001) concludes that the basis for the NS's selection of which mistakes to correct does not lie on the types of deficiencies of the NNS, but rather "the kinds of repairs that can be done and the kinds of environments in which the deficiencies occur" (p. 1083). Another conclusion is that other-correction occurs frequently, although constrained, in asymmetrical conversation.

Liebscher and Dailey-O'Cain (2003) examine the ways in which students and the teacher in a content-based German as a foreign language class use repair to negotiate meaning and form, and compare six student-initiated and teacher-initiated repair strategies: (1) (partial) repeat, (2) (partial) repeat and question word, (3) candidate understanding, (4) unspecified understanding check, (5) request for repeti-

tion, and (6) request for definition, translation/explanation. The authors identify instances of repetition by teacher for teasing, confirmation, and correction purposes. An example of repeat by teacher for correction is given (p. 383):

Student: es ist ähm (.) SYSTEM[orientiert? *{It is um (.) system-oriented?}*
→**Teacher:** [sysTEM orien[tiert {*system- oriented}*
Student: [sysTEM
Teacher: OKAY was bedeutet das *{okay what does that mean?}*

In the excerpt, the teacher initiates repair at a point where the student uses the English pronunciation for the German word *system11* in an otherwise German stretch of talk. The student acknowledges this correction by reformulating the trouble source with the suggested correct pronunciation. Liebscher and Dailey-O'Cain (2003) conclude that repair initiation in classroom interaction clearly differs from that in discourse outside the classroom in terms of types, the ways in which various types are used, and the ways in which students and teacher use repair initiation types. Students are found to show a marked preference for more specific repair techniques, particularly to ask for specific vocabulary items and to show that they follow the classroom discourse by providing a candidate understanding.

Buckwalter (2001) identifies repair sequences in Spanish L2 dyadic discourse and classifies repair sequences in terms of which learner points out the trouble source and which learner resolves it. The researcher finds a clear preference for self-repair and for self-initiated self-repair, and that both collaborative repair and unsolicited other-repair are exclusively lexicon-related and self-initiated self-repair includes morphosyntax (p. 380). The study concludes that talk is used for cognitive and for social purposes (Vygotskian 1986).

Investigating other-initiation of repair, Svennevig (2008) observes the "preference hierarchy" (p. 333) where addressees, when responding to other-initiated repair of the trouble source, prefer to address problems as hearing problems, which are the least serious, complicated or sensitive, rather than to address them as problems of understanding or acceptability (p. 333). Svennevig (2008) discusses realizations of the preference hierarchy when understanding and acceptability problems are dealt with by the addressee initially as hearing problems, and when occasionally addressees of hearing repair initiations react by anticipating understanding and acceptability problems and offer "explanations or modifications of their original utterance" (p. 333).

Self-repair has been examined with the use of social-psychological tests (Gilbert 2007), with the results showing firstly, an overall effect of task complexity on self-repair behaviours of L2 students, and secondly, similar self-repair behaviour between low and high proficient students.

The above review of previous studies shows that the speech act of correction/repair has been examined in a variety of interactional contexts and investigated in terms of types of repairs, repair strategies, and the associated linguistic forms and

reformulations, as well as the possible social-organisational, cognitive, and morphosyntactic factors that contribute to the use of correction/repair by speakers. In addition, the review shows a variety of research methodologies and data, including intonation analysis (Selting 1988); corpus analysis of spontaneous speech in English (Levelt 1993); self-report data from English learners (Kormos 1999b); analysis of naturally-occurring conversation (Fox and Jasperson 1995); comparative analysis of everyday conservation and classroom discourse (Egbert 1998); comparative analysis of the conversation between Mandarin speakers and native English speakers (Wong 2000), between German and English native speakers (Rieger 2003) and between native and non-native Finnish speakers (Kurhila 2001); Spanish L2 dyadic discourse (Buckwalter 2001); classroom discourse (Liebscher and Dailey-O'Cain 2003); and socio-psychological tests (Gilbert 2007).

The following describes a speech act project based in Hong Kong which sets out to compare English language textbook materials and naturally-occurring human interactions, using corpus research methodologies.

3. Speech act study in Hong Kong

The Hong Kong speech act project described in this paper involves examining a variety of speech acts found in the 2-million-word Hong Kong Corpus of Spoken English (HKCSE). To date, a number of speech acts have been investigated, namely compliment and compliment response (Cheng 2003), disagreement (Cheng and Warren 2005), giving an opinion (Cheng and Warren 2006), checking understandings (Cheng and Warren 2007), and thanking (Cheng 2009a). The findings of these studies have been discussed in terms of direct implications for identifying both the functions and linguistic forms of specific speech acts that need to be included and prioritised in learning and teaching materials. Across these studies, substantial differences are found between the linguistic realizations, meanings and functions of these speech acts in the real world context of Hong Kong and those presented in upper secondary English language textbooks in Hong Kong. A serious gap has been identified between abundant corpus evidence and the traditional language descriptions, based on intuitive models of English language, found in most language textbooks still being used in Hong Kong.

In the literature on speech act studies, the performing of the speech act of repair (including correction), both self-repair and other-repair, by speakers of English and the learning of repair by English language students have rarely been discussed. This paper contributes to this area of research by describing the methodological approach to investigating the functions, structures and linguistic forms of repair in an intercultural corpus of spoken business discourse in Hong Kong, then comparing real-life usage of repair with the ways in which the speech act is taught and learned

in the senior forms of the secondary schools in Hong Kong, and finally making suggestions for enhancing the quality and validity of English textbooks and other instructional materials in this regard. The paper also shows how English language corpora can be exploited for both genuine and authentic (Widdowson 1984) examples of speech acts for learning and assessment purposes.

4. Data of Hong Kong speech act study

The data for the present study were the Business sub-corpus (246,816 words, 27.42 %) of the one-million-word prosodically transcribed Hong Kong Corpus of Spoken English (HKCSE) (Cheng, Greaves and Warren 2008). Table 1 lists the nine discourse types in the Business sub-corpus, made up of 112 recordings. Job and placement interviews that took place in hotels, business companies and universities constitute 31 % of the sub-corpus, followed by presentations and Q&A sessions (19.74 %), business meetings (13.98 %), informal office talk (10.54 %), presentations (7.47 %), service encounters (5.57 %), and so on.

Table 1. Composition of Business sub-corpus in HKCSE(prosodic)

Content of business sub-corpus	**Proportion (%)**	**Number of recordings**
Job and placement interview	31.00	25
Presentation and Q&A session	19.74	4
Business meeting	13.98	9
Informal office talk	10.54	4
Announcement and Q&A	8.52	3
Presentation	7.75	10
Service encounter	5.57	52
Conference call/video conferencing	2.32	2
Workplace telephone talk	0.58	3
TOTAL	100	112

The reason for the choice of the Business sub-corpus, HKCSE(prosodic), is that it contains discourse types whose communicative purposes can be directly comparable to those of the textbooks for senior form school students which are designed and written to prepare students for the workplace. Specifically, the sections in the textbooks where speech acts are described focus on preparing students to take the oral examinations at the end of Form 5 (Hong Kong Certificate of Education Examination) and Form 7 (Hong Kong Advanced Level Examination) respectively, which are in the formats of group discussions and oral presentations.

Data analysis began with examining a corpus of fifteen English language textbooks for Form 4–6 students in Hong Kong schools (Appendix 1). At the time the textbooks were acquired, the fifteen titles represented all of the textbooks available in the market. The textbook corpus was compiled by scanning relevant pages which contain learning and teaching materials related to speech acts. The scanned pages were converted and saved as plain text format so that the text corpus can be processed by computer software programs. Based on the textbook findings that suggest explicit teaching of words and phrases used for repair, the Business sub-corpus (246,816 words) was then searched, with the use of a computer software program, *ConcGram* (Greaves 2009), to identify any instances of use of the words from the textbook corpus and to obtain quantitative findings. This was followed by qualitative analysis of the Business sub-corpus for a closer analysis of the instances of repair in terms of functions, structures and forms.

5. Illustrating the methodological approach to the study of repair

5.1. Repair in Hong Kong textbook corpus

As described above, searches were performed to the textbook corpus to identify content that deals with repair/correction. While many textbooks contain materials on such speech actions as 'Suggesting alternatives', 'Conceding a point, then persuading', 'expressing doubt about suggestions', 'Giving negative response', 'Disagreeing with someone', 'Avoiding giving an opinion', 'Checking understanding', 'Clarifying a point', and 'Asking for repetition and rephrasing', some of which can be related to the speech actions of self-repair and other-repair, only two textbooks explicitly describes the speech actions of 'Making self-correction' and 'Correcting others politely' (Esser 2003) and 'Good intonation for self-correction' (Sutton 1999). The following is extracted from Esser (2003):

Making self-correction

1. Oh, no actually I mean …
2. No, in fact I think we shouldn't … we should …
3. Sorry, I think I was wrong to say … In fact, come to think about it, it is better …

(Esser 2003: 144)

The above three example utterances show that self-correction can be used for correcting the meaning that has just been expressed or the word or words that have just been uttered by the speaker by mistake. In addition, the act of self-correction can be prefaced with a negation (*No*), an apology (*Sorry*), or the hedged *I mean* and *I think*. The third example begins with an apology, followed by utterances explicitly stating that an error or a problem has been made and announcing a correction is forthcoming.

Correcting others politely

1. Sorry, Miss Y, I think it is not right to say … because …
2. Sorry, I think you are wrong/it is wrong to say …
3. Sorry, I think it is not suitable to say …

(Esser 2003: 145)

These three example utterances show that the speakers are explicitly saying that there are problems with either the correctness or appropriateness of what has just been said by the others. The other-correction always begins with an apology *Sorry*, followed by a hedged *I think*. A reason for the other-correction can be given introduced by *because*.

In another textbook (Sutton 1999), a tapescript example is given to show 'Good intonation for self-correction', which in fact is the use of an apology (*sorry*), hesitation markers and verbal fillers (*um* and *er*) to signal self-correction of instances of lexical-grammar such as tenses (e.g. from *that is ever happened to me* to *that was ever happened to me* to *that ever happened to me*):

Tapescript (Good intonation for self-correction)
Student 5: ***Um***, the most embarrassing thing, ***er***, that is ever happened to me, ***er***, that was ever happened to me, ***er sorry***, that ever happened to me was, ***er***, was when I was talking to a friend about another girl and I was said, ***um***, I said how much I don't, ***er***, how much I didn't like her. And ***um***, the other girl is standing, I mean was standing, er, **er**, was standing right behind me, ***er***, you know, and ***um***, and she is hearing, and she heard everything. (Sutton 1999: 142; bold type not in orginal)

5.2. Comparing Hong Kong textbook corpus and Business sub-corpus

The words and phrases for performing repair taken from the textbooks became the user-nominated words when searching the Business sub-corpus for instances of use of repair/correction with *ConcGram* (Greaves 2009). Table 2 lists the nine words/phrases (Sutton 1999, Esser 2003) and the corresponding frequencies in the Business sub-corpus.

The concordances for the ten words/phrases were generated and printed out for analysis in order to find out how many of the instances of occurrence perform repair/correction function. It is found that only 14 (13.73%) instances perform a repair function (lines 1, 9, 14, 39, 45, 53, 65, 68, 76, 81, 82, 85, 95 and 100) (Figure 1).

In line 1, for example, the speaker initiates self-correction to change 'much more unit' to 'a larger number of units'. An interesting finding is that while the two textbooks suggest the use of *sorry* for both making self-correction and correcting others politely, all the 14 instances of *sorry* in the Business sub-corpus are found to be used for self-correction.

Table 2. Frequencies of 'textbook' words for self-correction in Business sub-corpus

Words from textbook	Frequencies of occurrence
1. I think	1,002
2. No	766
3. Actually	422
4. I mean	406
5. Sorry	102
6. in fact	66
7. wrong	37
8. not right	5
9. not suitable	3

1 UCH] more < Unit > } { = [< ER >] } { [< _**SORry** >] } { a [LARger] number of < Units > of } {
9 >] } { [< ^ MIDnight >] } * { i mean [< _**SORry** >] } a1:
10 < TRANscripts > } B: ** { = [< ^ **SORry** >] } a2: { = but it's [< JUST >] the } { in
14 < COMpany >] } { ? and [< WHICH >] } { [< _**SORry** >] } { and [WHICH] < diVIsion > } { [< deP
39 GOing] to < ^ TAIPEI > } { = [< ER >] } { [**SORry**] < BANGkok > } B: { = [< BANGkok >] } { = [<
45 beijing ((inaudible)) in the < NORthern > } { = **sorry** [< EAStern >] } { [< _ PART >] } { = [< AN
53 >] of } { = [< TWO >] thous } { [TWO] < _**SORry** > } { = [< HONG >] kong dollar } { [TWO] hu
65 you [< WANT >] to buy } { = [< ER >] } { [**SORry**] if you < WANT > to buy } { = < ((inaudible)) > }
68 the < BEST > } b: { [< YEAH >] } a: { [<**SORry** >] } { it isn't [< SEven >] } { it's [< TE
76 [< ER >] } { = er [< ER >] er } { not [< _**SORry** >] } { [MAKE] < PAD > } { [< PAD >] produ
81 PROfit > of hundreds } { = [< AND >] } { [<**SORry** >] } { = [< ONE >] hundred and } { = [eLEven]
82 [< _ ER >] } { = over [< THERE >] } { i'm [**SORry**] over < ^ HERE > } { = and then you've [< GOT >
85 d and < NINE > } { [< MILlion >] } { [< _**SORry** >] } { [SIX] hundred and SEven < MILlion > }
95 >] thousand } { = [TWO] < HUNdred > } { [<**SORry** >] } { = [< TWELVE >] thousand } { [THREE]
100 < _ esTAblished > } { = [< I >] mean } { [<**SORry** >] } { = [< WHEN >] } { = [< WHEN >] } { th

Figure 1. S***orry*** used when self-repairing

The same procedure was adopted for analyzing all the nine words/phrases extracted from the textbook corpus. This aspect of comparison aims to compare textbook language taught to students with genuine language used by real people to perform repair/correction.

5.3. Repair types in Business sub-corpus HKCSE (prosodic)

The entire Business sub-corpus (90,153 words) was then analysed to identify instances of repair, and to classify them into different repair types. The result shows that repair sequences are found in 74 of the 112 transcribed recordings (66.1 %). In total, 3672 instances of repair are identified (Table 3), with self-initiated self-repair occurring in over 99 % of all the instances, indicating the participants in the busi-

ness interactional contexts in Hong Kong tend to correct themselves far more frequently, indeed almost exclusively, than correct others. The finding concurs with Schegloff et al. (1977) who find "a strongly skewed distribution of correction in the direction of self-correction" (p. 378).

Table 3. Frequencies of repair types in Business sub-corpus

Self-initiated self-repair	Other-initiated self-repair	Self-initiated other-repair	Other-initiated self-repair	TOTAL
3640 (99.13 %)	28 (0.76 %)	4 (0.11 %)	0	3672 (100 %)

The three repair types are illustrated below:

Self-initiated self-repair

B006

10 b: did you took the min- from the mini-bar
The trouble source is *the min-* and the repair outcome is *from the mini-bar*.

Other-initiated self-repair

B054

1 b: Mister B____ you're going to Jakarta (.) and Mister B____ may I have er one hundred
2 dollar for the airport tax please (trouble source)
3 B: how much (repair initiation by other)
4 b: sorry er one hundred (repair outcome by self)

The trouble source is speaker b's *one hundred* (line 1). Speaker B initiates repair by asking *how much* (line 2), probably due to a hearing problem. In response, speaker b initiates a self-repair by repeating *one hundred* (line 3), prefaced with an apology *sorry* and a verbal filler *er*.

Self-initiated other-repair

B059

798 a1: but I meant but er just from er A____ er A____'s point of view there there may be this
799 point may may be relevant and and and valid if if the arrangement is to convert
800 all er student assistant hours to RA hours then if ev- if er then then er plus the
801 several projects the um the contract will end the end of at the end of October (.)
802 no
803 B: no [the end of August

In this extract, the trouble source exemplified is speaker a1's *at the end of October* (line 801). Immediately after making the trouble source, a1 herself says *no* (line 802) to self-initiate repair. The repair is provided by the other speaker B, saying *no [the end of August* (line 803). In fact, B's *no* is a realisation of other-initiation, and so there are both self-initiation and other-initiation of repair in this extract.

While the naturally-occurring business interactions provide authentic and genuine instances of three types of repair which can be described in terms of language forms and organizational structure, it has been observed that the textbooks do not provide any example of repair sequence.

The Business sub-corpus is made up of nine genres, which can be analysed to compare the use of repairs across different business genres. For illustration purposes, Table 4 shows a comparison between two of the genres: service encounters and job interviews.

Table 4. Comparison of repair types between service encounters and job interviews

Repair type	Frequency of occurrence in service encounters	Frequency of occurrence in job interviews
Self-initiated self-repair	416	3143
Self-initiated other-repair	4	0
Other-initiated self-repair	17	3
Other-initiated self-repair	0	0
TOTAL	437	3146

5.4. Strategies of self-repair and other-repair in Business sub-corpus

This paper so far has described the relative frequencies of occurrence of self- and other-repair types and illustrated each type of repair with examples of authentic, contextualised interactions in Hong Kong. The next step is to analyse the different strategies that participants employ to perform self-repair and other-repair in the Business interactions.

5.4.1. Self-repair

For illustration purposes, only 90 instances (about 2.45 %) of repair sequences have been randomly selected from the Business sub-corpus and analysed, and different repair strategies/techniques have been identified. (The trouble source is underlined; repair initiation or pause is boxed; and self-repair outcome is in bold.)

1. Direct utterance of repair without a repair initiation

e.g., A: cos I don't **I didn't** bring any chance … (B003)

The direct utterance of repair *I didn't* occurs immediately after the trouble source
I don't without any repair initiation.

2. Quasi-lexical filler(s) + repair

e.g., b7: will be the best time so I have decided to [er] **I already checked with** (B018)

The self-repair *I already checked with* occurs after a quasi-lexical filler *er*.

3. *I mean* + repair

e.g., a1: … transcriptions as well and those are natural recordings from [I mean] **natural conversations** (B078)

The instance of self-repair *natural conversations* is preceded by *I mean*.

4. *I mean* + Quasi-lexical filler(s) + repair

e.g., b7: … on August twenty sixth but the organizer [I mean] **the** [er] **education staff** … (B018)

The corrected version *the education staff* is preceded by both *I mean* and *er*; to be exact, with *er* occurring in the middle of the repaired phrase.

5. Cut-off + repair

e.g., a3: … the whole text would be in er Eng- in in **Chinese** and then the transcription will be … (B076)

The trouble source, *Eng-*, is cut off before the word is completed, followed by the repair-outcome (*Chinese*).

6. Cut-off + Quasi-lexical filler(s) + repair

e.g., a1: … a corpus of spoken dis-[er] **public discourse** (.) [right and um I I just like to start by asking you … (B076)

The trouble source *spoken dis-* is incomplete, followed by a quasi-lexical filler *er*, and is repaired (*public discourse*), all in the same turn.

7. Pause + repair

e.g., a2: … to remember that not to er not to make it reoccurent [(.)] **reoccur** again

The self-correction occurs after a brief pause (.).

8. Pause + *I mean* + repair

e.g., a2: [we don't want to do [(.)] decide [I mean] **divide** that into different section oh this is a (B061)

The trouble source is *do (.) decide*, which is corrected to *divide*; in between the trouble source and repair is *I mean* (repair initiation).

5.4.2 Other-repair

Other-repair has been found to be performed, using different strategies. The more frequent ones are illustrated in the following:

1. Pause + repair

e.g. (B001)

1. B: um I want to check out eight two two one
2. (pause)
3. B: Mister G____
4. (pause)
5. b: let me see
6. (pause)
7. b: it's **eight one two two**

Speaker B's trouble source *eight two two one* (line 1) is repaired by speaker b (*eight one two two*) after a pause, during which speaker b is checking the hotel room number.

***2. no/not* + repair**

e.g., (B059)

798. a1: but I meant but er just from er A____- er A____'s point of view there there may
799. be
800. this point may may be relevant and and and valid if if the arrangement is to
801. convert all er student assistant hours to RA hours then if ev- if er then then
802. er plus the several projects the um the contract will end the end of at the end
803. of October (.) no
804. B: no [**the end of August**

In this example of other-repair, speaker B utters no before making the repair-outcome (line 804).

3. Direct utterance of repair without repair initiation

e.g., (B121)

530. a2: Singapore is not like Hong Kong because (inaudible) it only has I think two
531. and a half million you know population erm
532. b2: **three million**

Speaker b2's repair-outcome (*three million*, line 532) directly follows speaker a2's *two and a half million* (lines 530–31).

The distribution of repair strategies across the randomly selected 90 instances of repair sequences is summarized in Table 5. Direct utterance of repair without any initiation is found to be the most frequently employed by speakers to the same extent for both self-repair (63 %) and other-repair (62.5 %).

Table 5. Comparison of self-repair and other-repair strategies

Self-repair		**Other-repair**	
Strategy	**Frequency**	**Strategy**	**Frequency**
Direct utterance of repair without an initiation	52 (63.4 %)	Pause + repair	1 (12.5 %)
Quasi-lexical filler(s) + repair	7 (8.5 %)	*no/not* + repair	2 (25 %)
I mean + repair	4 (4.9 %)	Direct utterance of repair without repair initiation	5 (62.5 %)
I mean + Quasi-lexical filler(s) + repair	3 (3.7 %)		
Cut-off + repair	6 (7.3 %)		
Cut-off + Quasi-lexical filler(s) + repair	5 (6.1 %)		
Pause + repair	4 (4.9 %)		
Pause + *I mean* + repair	1 (1.2 %)		
TOTAL	82 (100 %)	TOTAL	8 (100 %)

5.5. Comparing real-life and textbook repairs

Pragmatics is concerned with the scientific study of language functions and patterns of linguistic action. The paper has so far described and illustrated a methodological approach to researching into the speech action of repair. This has been achieved through the comparison of the findings from two distinct corpora, as a result of which six major differences have been identified. First, the incomplete utterances listed in the textbook (Esser 2003: 144–45) are decontextualised. Second, repair is found in 66.1 % of the business contexts in the sub-corpus with a total of 3672 instances of occurrence, and this speech act is markedly under-represented in the textbook corpus. Only two of the fifteen (13 %) textbooks contain explicit teaching of repair. Third, the words or phrases recommended in the textbook corpus to perform repair are not derived from an objective and scientific inquiry into

genuine interactive discourse, and no information is provided as to the relative importance of the words in performing repairs. Fourth, the textbook (Esser 2003) only presents a few incomplete utterances but does not have any explicit instruction about repair strategies. Analysis of naturally-occurring discourse, however, reveals a variety of repair strategies, such as 'Direct utterance of repair without an initiation', 'Cut-off + repair', 'Pause + repair', and their variations. Fifth, in the textbook showing a tapescript punctuated by quasi-lexical fillers *um* and *er*, the strategy is described as "good intonation" (Sutton 1999: 142) which is found to be unclear. Sixth and lastly, the corpus analyses show the relative distribution of self- and other-repair, and their sub-types, and most importantly of all, the relative distribution of self- and other-repair initiation strategies, while none of these are presented in the textbooks.

6. Conclusion and suggestions for further study

The major observation emanates from the literature review on the speech act of repair is that research studies to date have been conducted in different interactional contexts, mainly classroom discourse and conversation, both naturally-occurring and elicited, and employed different methodologies, primarily discourse analytic methods. It is therefore considered a meaningful study to compare genuine English in business contexts and English usage, usually contrived, presented to learners as models, and to integrate different research methodologies, which are namely corpus research methods to search for the forms used to realise repairs and the relative frequencies and patterns of use of various types of repair acts, and qualitative analyses of extracts of repairs from the corpus in terms of strategy use.

The comparative study reported in this paper has found mismatches between naturally-occurring English and the English that is taught to learners as a model. The paper has discussed major differences between self- and other-repair speech acts in the spoken Business sub-corpus of the HKCSE(prosodic) and the Hong Kong upper form textbook corpus, in terms of functions, structural patterns, strategies, and linguistic realizations. As discussed in other studies of the Hong Kong speech act project (Cheng 2003, 2009a, Cheng and Warren 2005, 2006, 2007), the language functions and patterns of linguistic action characteristic of the speech acts taught in Hong Kong schools are both decontextualised and extremely limited, and thus failing to conform to the pragmatic focus on meaning-in-context. The textbooks tend to rely on either the intuition or the introspections of the writers rather than real-world language use. The results of the speech act project suggest that the writers of English language textbooks or other instructional materials are in need of referring to relevant corpora for both context-specific descriptions and genuine examples of speech acts, such as self- and other-repair. Also, the rather prescriptive ways in which these speech acts are presented in the textbooks are

misleading because they omit the variety of linguistic realisations available to speakers when they perform these speech acts.

The results of the study also have important implications for the promotion of intercultural communicative competence. They show that Hong Kong students using the textbooks are not taught what has been found to be appropriate and authentic ways of self-repair and other-repair, which could potentially adversely affect their pragmatic competence. The Business sub-corpus, containing contextualized examples of the speech action of repair, will also be useful for professionals for the development of discursive competence (Bhatia 2004) which contributes to the development of professional communicative competence (Cheng 2009b).

The study also makes important implications for the methodological approaches in speech act research in future. For the last two or three decades, corpora and corpus evidence have been used in language teaching (Sinclair, 1987, 1991; Johns, 1989, 1991); however, as remarked by Sinclair (2004: 2), corpora have yet to become part of the "pedagogical landscape". The present study suggests that textbook writers and teachers need to incorporate a more accurate and wider range of forms, strategies, and structural patterns into their teaching materials in order to better reflect the realities of actual language use, and the topic of speech acts used to perform verbal actions warrants to be a primary focus. Teaching materials writers should draw on the findings of corpus researchers when they write and revise materials, tasks and activities. The findings are presented, not only in the form of research papers, but also dictionaries, grammar books, and other resources, such as Collins Cobuild books and resources developed from Bank of English, Carter and McCarthy's (2006) *Cambridge Grammar of English*, Biber et al's (1999) *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English*, Hunston and Francis's (2000) study of pattern grammar, and Sinclair's (2003) *Reading Concordances*.

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Appendix 1
Fifteen textbooks

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2001 *Expression: Oral Practice for AS-level*. Hong Kong: Precise Publications.
Duncan, J. and M. E. Sutton
1999 *Speaking Precisely 2*. Hong Kong: Precise Publications.
Esser, D.
1999 *Teach & Practice: AS-level Oral English for Form 7*. Hong Kong: Pilot Publications.

Esser, D.
2003 *Teach & Practice: AS-level Oral English for Form 6.* Hong Kong: Pilot Publications.
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2002 *The Use of English Oral Handbook*. Hong Kong: Free Press.
Gran, B. J.
1993 *Use of English Oral Practice Papers Form 7*. Hong Kong: Macmillan New Asia.
Lee, I. and V. Holzer
1999 *Skills Building for AS Use of English*. Hong Kong: Longman.
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16. Testing interlanguage pragmatic knowledge

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1. Introduction

Pragmatics within L2 studies is usually referred to as interlanguage pragmatics (ILP) (Kasper and Rose 2002). ILP, as the study of L2 use, examines how non-native speakers (NNSs) comprehend and produce action in a target language, and investigates, as the study of L2 learning, how L2 learners develop the ability to understand and perform action in a target language (Kasper and Rose 2002). Since the idea of ILP was introduced into language education, it has received more and more attention in language courses. Studies have been done to investigate the relationship between language education and interlanguage pragmatic development, for example, whether grammatical development guarantees a corresponding level of pragmatic development (Bardovi-Harlig and Doernyei 1998; Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford 1991, 1993; Hill 1997; Omar 1991; Roever 2005; Takahashi and Beebe 1987; Yamashita 1996). Meanwhile, some studies (e.g., Bardovi-Harlig 2001; Cohen 2008; Fukuya et al. 1998; Golato 2003; Matsuda 1999; Rose and Kasper 2001) have shown that interlanguage pragmatic knowledge is teachable. The necessity and importance of teaching pragmatics have also been recognized (Eslami-Rasekh 2005; Rose and Kasper 2001), but still language teachers hesitate to teach pragmatics in their classrooms. Thomas (1983) notes that for the language teachers the descriptions offered by theoretical pragmaticists were inadequate. Matsuda (1999) lists two reasons for this reluctance of pragmatics teaching. First, teaching pragmatics is a difficult and sensitive issue due to the high degree of 'face threat' it often involves; and second, the number of available pedagogical resources is limited. Liu (2006b) adds that the reluctance should also be attributed to the lack of valid methods for testing ILP knowledge. More attention should be paid to and more studies should be conducted on the assessment of ILP knowledge. This paper first introduces the status quo of ILP competence assessment, followed by a survey of relevant research. Then it discusses some of the major problems and difficulties in ILP assessment, and finishes with some suggestions for further research.

2. Research on testing interlanguage pragmatic knowledge

Compared with studies on the teaching of pragmatics, research on ILP knowledge assessment has gained less attention (Rose and Kasper 2001). The field of lan-

guage testing does not seem to offer much research in this respect. Not many tests to assess learners' pragmatic proficiency have been produced (Liu 2006b). Indeed, testing of ILP is still a young field in need of much development (McNamara and Roever 2006). Existing studies on pragmatics testing mainly deal with different methods (Hudson, Detmer and Brown 1995; Liu 2006b, 2007; Roever 2005); different pragmatic abilities such as speech acts (e.g., Ahn 2005; Tada 2005; Yamashita 1996; Yoshitake-Strain 1997; Youn 2007), implicature (Bouton 1988, 1994; Roever 2005), routines (Roever 2005, 2006); sociopragmatics (Brown 2001; Hudson 2001; Hudson, Detmer and Brown 1995; Liu 2006b), and pragmalinguistics (Liu 2006b; Roever 2005, 2006); different language contexts such as English as second or foreign language (e.g., Enochs and Yoshitake-Strain 1999; Liu 2006b, 2007; Yoshitake-Strain 1997), Japanese as second or foreign language (Yamashita 1996), and Korean as second or foreign language (Ahn 2005; Youn 2007).

Table 1 summarizes the existing studies in terms of their tested pragmatic abilities, test takers' L1s and L2s, test formats, and participant information.

Oller (1979) first introduced the notion of a pragmatic proficiency test, though his study was not specifically intended for ILP. In Oller's view, the meaning of language understood or produced in pragmatics tests must link somehow to a meaningful extralinguistic context familiar to the proficiency examinee. Oller (1979) stressed the approximation of language tests to the real world. This inevitably would include knowledge about interlanguage pragmatics, though he did not explicitly mention it.

One of the pioneering research efforts to systematically develop means of measuring ILP competence was Farhady (1980), who used a functional approach to develop multiple-choice (MC) questions to assess students' ability on such functions as expressing and finding out intellectual attitudes and getting things done (including requesting, suggesting, disagreeing, etc.). The context of test items was limited to academic settings. Item stems for the tests were invented first by the author according to a preset scheme and then reviewed by a panel of professors and students for their authenticity. Then the test was developed in three phases. In the first phase, test items were administered to native speakers (NSs) from various academic backgrounds. The items were in open-ended form to elicit socially appropriate and linguistically accurate responses for each item. The most frequent response for each item was then selected as one of the alternatives for that item (keyed response). In the second phase, the same procedures were followed with NNSs. Then their responses were compared to those of NSs' to identify deviant responses. Depending on the type of deviance, three other alternatives with specific characteristics were developed for each item: socially appropriate but linguistically inaccurate, socially inappropriate but linguistically accurate, and neither socially appropriate nor linguistically accurate. In the third phase, 56 developed multiple-choice items were pretested with both NSs and NNSs to assure the appropriateness of the alternatives. Finally, they were divided into two counterbalanced

forms before they were administered. Departing from standard practice with MC questions, scoring was based on different weights given to different options with two points for the key, zero point for the both linguistically inaccurate and socially inappropriate option, and one point for other two distractors. The results suggested that the functional tests were valid and reliable, and it was possible to shorten the length of functional tests without losing significant information about the examinees' language abilities. The results also suggested that students from different sex, university status, major field of study, nationality, and native language performed significantly differently on various subtests of the test which were related to different language skills. The findings of his study revealed that functional testing had some qualitative advantages over discrete-point and integrative tests.

Following Farhady (1980), Shimazu (1989) did research to construct, develop, and validate a new test called Pragmatic Competence of American English (PCAE) test to measure a student's pragmatic competence in the case of requests. Results demonstrated moderate ranges of concurrent validity coefficients between the PCAE and the Functional Test and the TOEFL.

Cohen and Olshtain (1981) were interested in refining a measure of productive performance in sociocultural aspects of speaking. Their study focused on the learners' ability to use the appropriate sociocultural rules of speaking in the case of apology, by reacting in a culturally acceptable way in context, and by choosing stylistically appropriate forms for that context. The central question of their study was 'Can a rating scale be developed for assessing sociocultural competence?' Participants were asked to role play their responses in eight situations in which an apology was expected. Four of the eight situations were specifically intended to assess intensity of regret in expressing an apology and the other four were intended to assess not only cultural competence but stylistic competence as well. The results of their research showed that it was possible to identify culturally and stylistically inappropriate L2 utterances in apology situations, but the rating scale they developed was "at best a crude measure of sociocultural competence"(Cohen and Olshtain 1981: 130).

The largest project was done by Hudson, Detmer and Brown (1992, 1995), who devoted their efforts to develop other methods which could be used to assess pragmatic competence. They first identified the nature of the instruments to be used in their study and finally arrived at three test types of indirect measures, semi-direct measures, and self-assessment measures. Additionally, each type of measure involved two test formats that varied along a scale of cued to free examinee response. The indirect measures that were identified for use were a free response discourse completion test (DCT) and a cued response multiple-choice DCT. The semi-direct measures involved a more cued response language laboratory DCT spoken sample, and a free response face-to-face structured interview. The self-assessment measures included a cued response rating scale of how the participants believed they would perform in situations depicted in the DCT, and a freer response scale

Table 1. Summary of studies on testing interlanguage pragmatic knowledge

Study	Focus	L1/L2	Subjects	Test format
Farhady (1980)	Expressing attitudes, request, suggestion, disagreeing,	Various/English	Academic (413) Nonacademic (413)	MC
Shimazu (1989)	Request	Various/English	Male (83) Female (75)	MC
Cohen and Olshtain (1981)	Apology	Hebrew/English	Native Hebrew (32) Americans (12)	Role play
Hudson et al. (1995)	Request, apology, refusal	Japanese/English	Japanese EFL learners (17)	Open DCT, MC DCT, LL DCT, Role play, SA, Role play SA
Yamashita (1996)	Request, apology, refusal	English/Japanese	JSL learners (46)	Open DCT, MC DCT, LL DCT, Role play, SA, Role play SA
Yoshitake-Strain (1997)	Request, apology, refusal	Japanese/English	Japanese EFL learners with different overseas experience (25)	Open DCT, MC DCT, LL DCT, Role play, SA, Role play SA
Enochs and Yoshitake-Strain (1999)	Request, apology, refusal	Japanese/English	Japanese EFL learners with different overseas experience (25)	Open DCT, MC DCT, LL DCT, Role play, SA, Role play SA
Roever (2005, 2006)	Request, apology, refusal, implicature, routines	Various/English	EFL learners in the US, Germany, and Japan (316)	web-based, MC DCT, Open DCT
Liu (2006, 2007)	Request, apology	Chinese/English	Chinese EFL learners (200)	MC DCT, Open DCT, SA

Study	Focus	L1/L2	Subjects	Test format
Hudson (2001)	Request, apology, refusal	Japanese/English	Japanese ESL learners (25)	Open DCT, Role play, LL DCT
Brown (2001)	Request, apology, refusal	English, Japanese/ Japanese, English	JSL learners (46) ESL learners (25)	Open DCT, MC DCT, LL DCT, Role play, SA, Role play SA
Tada (2005)	Request, apology, refusal	Japanese/English	Japanese ESL learners (48)	Computer-based, production test, perception test
Ahn (2005)	Request, apology, refusal	English/Korean	KFL learners (53)	Open DCT, Role play, SA, role play SA, MC DCT
Youn (2007)	Request, apology, refusal	Vietnamese, English, Japanese, Spanish/ Korean	KFL learners (24)	Open DCT, role play, LL DCT
Grabowski (2007, 2008)	Grammatical knowledge, pragmatic knowledge (sociolinguistic appropriateness, sociocultural appropriateness)	Various/English	ESL learners (90)	Written interactive DCTs using role plays
Walters (2007)	Pragmatic competence (assessment response, compliment responses, pre-sequence response)	Various/English	ESL learners (42)	Role play

for the participants to evaluate their performance in a taped interview setting. Three social variables (power, social distance, and degree of imposition) and three speech acts (requests, refusals, and apologies) were included in their study. In examining the interactions of these variables and speech acts, 24 cells were identified, which permitted an examination of each particular variable within each speech act. The DCT was adopted as the motivator for the development of the other test instruments. They developed the DCT in several stages which included the writing, piloting, and revising of item specifications, the writing of DCT items, and the development of three alternate forms of the DCT. The item situations and cell designations of other test methods are identical to the three forms of the final DCT. The tests were administered to 17 Japanese students studying English in an ESL context, but the authors did not further examine the reliability and validity of the test methods they developed.

It was Yamashita (1996b) who undertook the task of investigating the reliability and validity of these test formats for measuring the cross-cultural pragmatic competence, but in the context of English speaking learners of Japanese, including Japanese as a second language (JSL) and Japanese as a foreign language (JFL). She used translated and somewhat modified Japanese versions of the same six tests, with the purpose of exploring how reliable, valid, and effective their six English-language cross-cultural pragmatic measures were. The results showed that the multiple-choice discourse completion test (MC DCT) had many problems, but the other five tests, i.e. the self-assessment (SA), the language lab oral production test (LL DCT), the open discourse completion test (Open DCT), the role play test, the role play self-assessment test (role play SA), were found to be highly reliable and reasonably valid. In addition, the results indicated that, with a few minor adjustments, the translated version of measures of cross-cultural pragmatics, developed originally in English by Hudson, Detmer and Brown (1992, 1995) for testing cross-cultural pragmatics of learners of ESL could also be used with English speaking populations who were studying Japanese. Yamashita also found that the participants' length of exposure to the target culture was related to performance on the two oral production pragmatics tests (role play and LL DCT). The levels of proficiency of the participants also appeared to be associated with the three productive language tests (the open-ended discourse completion test, listening lab oral production test, and role play test). She suggested that each test had strengths and weaknesses, and that the decision as to which test to use should be based on the purpose of the test along with the desired levels of reliability and validity.

Later, Enochs and Yoshitake-Strain (1996, 1999) carried out similar studies, but in a Japanese EFL context. They used the six prototypic tests previously developed by Hudson et al. (1992, 1995) without any modification. Their participants were 25 Japanese EFL learners, divided into three groups according to their overseas experience (instead of their English proficiency levels). The results showed that the tests designed by Hudson et al., with the exception of the Open DCT and

MC DCT, proved highly reliable and valid in assessing pragmatic competence when administered to Japanese university EFL students. Their study also showed that the tests clearly differentiated those students who had a substantial amount of overseas experience from those who had not. The TOEFL scores, however, were found not to correlate with the pragmatic competence of the students.

While Yamshita (1996) and Enochs and Yoshitake-Strain (1996, 1999) focused on the quantitative analyses of the six measures developed by Hudson et al., Yoshitake-Strain (1997) qualitatively evaluated this framework in the Japanese EFL background. Four of the multi-test framework instruments (open DCT, MC DCT, LL DCT, and role play test) consisting of the six tests developed by Hudson et al. were given to 25 Japanese EFL students. Data were collected through written production, multiple choice recognition, and oral production. Analyses focused on examining the pragmatic features and strategies used by the students. The results indicated that speech act strategies could vary in accordance with language environment (e.g., target language, native language), that interlanguage pragmatic features and combinations of those features varied widely according to both speech acts and situations (e.g., imposition, power relationship), and that the presence of an interlocutor generated longer speech utterances and interactive feedback which modified pragmatic realizations.

Hudson (2001), in a comparison of Yamashita (1996) and Yoshitake-Strain (1997), discussed the quantitative and qualitative approaches that were applied in the development of the instruments and examined the results of the assessments in terms of instructional implications. He noted that an important issue in developing instruments that assessed ILP competence was associated with the variability of speaker behavior in discourse. That is, the study of pragmatic ability inherently involved addressing two contributors to variability in performance: variability associated with the social properties of the speech event, and the speaker's strategic actional, and linguistic choices for achieving communicative goals; and variability resulting from the particular types of data collection procedures and associated instruments (Rose and Kasper 2001). Brown (2001), on the other hand, compared the six measures for statistical test characteristics such as task difficulty, score distributions, reliability, and validity. Based on the data collected by Yamashita (1996) and Yoshitake-Strain (1997), Brown (2001) explored the differences between the EFL and JSL groups. He found the variance in JSL scores was consistently and significantly higher than those of the EFL group on the open and LL DCT and the role play, though not on the MC DCT. This result might be due to sampling differences. Brown also found that, with the exception of the MC DCT, whose reliability was poor in both data sets, all measures proved highly reliable in the JSL data, whereas the open and LL DCTs were quite unreliable in the EFL study. The validity of the measures was also compared in the two settings through correlations and factor analyses. It was found that the concurrent validity of the measures was low in the EFL data but reasonably high in the JSL data. Factor analyses showed a

productive language use factor in the EFL data, with high and exclusive loadings for the open and LL DCT and the role play, and a receptive factor, including the MC DCT and the two self-assessments. For the JSL data, by contrast, an oral language use factor (LL DCT, role play, and two self-assessments) and a paper and-pencil factor (open DCT, MC DCT) emerged. In both cases, test method effects were clearly observable, but these effects were quite different in the two language groups. Brown concluded that the comparison of the results of six parallel tests administered to separate EFL and JSL populations clearly illustrated that a test did not in-and-of-itself have certain characteristics. Rather, testing characteristics would vary depending on the version administered (English or Japanese in this case) or population of students to whom it was given.

Tada (2005) investigated Japanese EFL learners' pragmatic production and perception tests of three speech acts (refusal, request, and apology), using computerized video prompts, focusing on the relationship between perception and production. Tada found that there was a stronger correlation between learners' proficiency and pragmatic production than between learners' proficiency and pragmatic perception in all three speech acts, which indicates that pragmatic perception may develop more independently as learners' proficiency develops.

The Hudson et al. model was followed by several studies also in some languages other than Japanese. Liu (2006a, 2006b, 2007) developed and validated three test papers to test the interlanguage pragmatic knowledge of Chinese EFL learners. Three test formats (Open DCT, MC DCT, and SA), and two speech acts (requests and apologies) with three sociopragmatic variables (imposition, power, and familiarity) were included in his study. Steps included exemplar generation, to collect situations from the Chinese EFL learners and investigate the likelihood of each situation; metapragmatic assessment, to elicit participants' assessments of the context variables involved in each scenario; and pilot testing (both paper-and-pencil and think-aloud), to validate preliminarily the test papers. Validation was based mainly on Messick's (1989) framework, which included a range of statistical procedures and analyses of test-taking process by means of verbal protocols. All the three methods investigated in this study were shown to have measured learners' interlanguage pragmatic knowledge of English in the Chinese EFL context, specifically in terms of the speech acts of requests and apologies. Reliability studies revealed that open DCT and SA were highly reliable and MC DCT was also reasonably reliable. Different quantitative analyses showed that the tests tapped the intended construct and the test methods measured a similar construct. Analyses of verbal reports yielded results which supported the quantitative analyses and revealed that the construct-relevant knowledge was involved in the test takers' cognitive activities. Participants of higher level of English proficiency seemed not to have correspondingly higher interlanguage pragmatic ability. Cognitive processes involved and strategies the participants adopted in answering questions with different test methods appeared to differ.

Ahn (2005) investigated the reliability, validity, and effectiveness of five different test measures of cross-cultural pragmatic competence of English-speaking learners of Korean (LL DCT, role play, role play SA, open DCT and MC DCT). With the primary goal of finding effective methods for testing the cross-cultural pragmatics of English speaking learners of Korean (KFL), three pragmatics tests were translated into Korean from the English-language prototype tests developed by Hudson et al. (1995). A total of five direct, indirect, open-response and selected-response type tests were used to gather data from 53 participants. Results demonstrated reasonable reliability and validity of the five pragmatics measures, which, she concludes, indicates that Hudson et al.'s test instruments are also applicable to KFL contexts. Also, Ahn reported that the level of examinees' language proficiency is closely related to role play SA, LL DCT, and open DCT.

Another study of L2 Korean pragmatics assessment was conducted by Youn (2007) who investigated whether various factors, including test types, speech acts, groups of candidate, and test items, affect raters' assessments of the pragmatic competence of KFL learners. Interactions between rater bias and test types, rater bias and speech acts, rater bias and item difficulty, and rater bias and examinee levels were analyzed. The three pragmatics tests were also adapted from Hudson et al.'s (1995) pragmatics prototype tests: Open DCT, LL DCT, and role play, measuring test takers' interlanguage pragmatic ability in refusal, apology, and request. Results indicated that raters showed different degrees of severity in their ratings, depending on the test type and speech act.

One more study which employed verbal protocols but jumped out of the Hudson et al. model was carried out by Roever (2005, 2006), who conducted research to develop and validate a web-based test that assessed ESL/EFL learners' pragmalinguistic knowledge, operationalized as knowledge of implicatures, routines, and the speech acts of apology, request, and refusal. MC items were employed for testing implicatures and routines, while open DCT items using rejoinders were used for speech acts. The pilot study encompassed three phases of data collection. In the first phase, studies were done to identify MC items with malfunctioning distractors and to evaluate the feasibility of the two-rejoinder speech act items as well as the general suitability of the test for the target language group. Ultimately, a one-rejoinder format was adopted. In the second phase, the revised test was administered to 38 German EFL learners to evaluate the general suitability of the test. In the third phase, concurrent verbal protocols from 6 NSs of English were collected. Corresponding changes were made according to the participants' comments. 316 ESL and EFL learners in the US, Germany, and Japan and a comparison group of NSs of American English who participated in the study in the final data collection phase were divided into six groups: standard group, multimethod group, oral group, NNS protocol group, NS protocol group, and NS standard group. Data were collected through the web, with subgroups completing a multimethod version, an oral version, and a verbal

protocol version. Validation followed Messick's (1989) framework. The results showed the instrument was internally consistent, and differences between groups were generally consistent with findings from previous studies. However, analyses comparing test takers with and without exposure to an English-speaking environment revealed a strong dependence of knowledge of implicature on proficiency, rather than exposure. Method effects on scores were found to be negligible and verbal protocols showed that the test engaged pragmalinguistic knowledge in test takers and NSs.

Attempting to address some of the limitations of prior pragmatics assessment research, namely, the issues of construct underrepresentation, the lack of highly contextually constrained reciprocal tasks, and the use of less sophisticated statistical tools to support claims of validity, Grabowski (2007, 2008) investigated the extent to which scores from the test designed for her study can be interpreted as indicators of test takers' grammatical and pragmatic knowledge. In an attempt to better measure both the conveyance and interpretation of a range of implied meanings in situated language use, she used six paired, written interactive DCT role play tasks. Through many-facet Rasch analysis and interactional sociolinguistic analysis, she concluded that the tasks in her study elicited the pragmatic meanings which could be systematically identified by raters. A high level of grammatical ability does not necessarily predict a comparably high level of pragmatic use.

Walters (2007) developed a test of ESL pragmatic competence, the specifications of which, as well as data-analyses, reflect application of findings and concepts from conversation analysis (CA). Two CA-trained raters applied a holistic rubric to responses on a test of ESL oral pragmatic competence. Results revealed low reliabilities, but showed that CA-informed testing could be practical, though applying CA methodology may pose epistemological and practical challenges to psychometrics-driven language testing. Post-rating hermeneutic dialogues between the raters, despite its practicality, provided evidence that valid inferences of examinee oral ESL pragmatic ability could be made through iterative, rater recourse to empirical data in a conversation-analytic mode.

In summary, research on the assessment of ILP knowledge has investigated the reliability, validity, and practicality of different test methods. Results of these studies were not consistent. For example, Farhady (1980), Shimazu (1989), and Liu (2007) found that MC DCT was valid and reliable, whereas Yamashita (1996) and Enochs and Yoshitake-Strain (1996, 1999) demonstrated a low reliability and validity for MC DCT. This calls for more studies to further validate the MC DCT and other test methods (McNamara and Roever 2006).

3. Problems and difficulties

Research on testing interlanguage pragmatic knowledge is at its beginning. As pointed out by Hudson (2001: 297), the instruments should be used for research purpose only, and no examinee level decisions should be made in pedagogical settings. More research is necessary. Many issues remain to be resolved.

3.1. Test methods

One crucial point in interlanguage pragmatics tests is what to test and how the designated abilities can be tested. Unfortunately, measures for measuring ILP knowledge have not been readily available.

Existing methods for measuring ILP knowledge were derived mainly from the ILP data collection measures. Kasper and Rose (2002) differentiate nine ILP data collection methods: elicited conversation, authentic discourse, role plays, production questionnaires, multiple-choice instruments, scales, interview, diaries, and think-aloud protocols. However, methods for ILP assessment have their own special characteristics. So far, researchers have used different types of test methods, such as Open DCT, MC DCT, LL DCT, role play, SA, role play SA, etc. A summary of the practical characteristics of these six types of tests is given in Brown (2001). All the six measures are reviewed in detail in Yamashita (1996), Yoshitake-Strain (1997), Brown (2001), Ahn (2005), and Liu (2006b). Roever (2005, 2006) used web as the medium to deliver his tests, and Tada (2005) used computerized video prompts. However, the test methods used in all these studies are confined to the six types developed by Hudson et al. (1995). Do we have any other possible test methods which we can use to assess ILP competence? Cohen (2004) proposed using portfolio assessment, but this is so far still only an idea. Furthermore, can we jump out of the ILP data collection measures and devise other new effective test methods? These all remain to be seen.

Studies (Enochs and Yoshitake-Strain 1999; Liu 2006b; Yamashita 1996) demonstrated method effect in ILP testing, and showed that the existing test methods are different in terms of reliability and validity. Yamashita (1996) concluded that all the six measures developed by Hudson et al. (1995) are reliable and valid except MC DCT and open DCT, while Yoshitake-Strain (1997) revealed quite acceptable reliability and validity for open DCT, and Liu's (2006b, 2007) MC DCT was shown to be reasonably reliable and valid. This inconsistency requires more studies to further investigate the reliability and validity of all available test methods. Advantages and disadvantages of the existing test methods are scrutinized (Ahn 2005; Brown 2001; Liu 2006b; Yamashita 1996), but more practical experimental studies are necessary to further validate the assertions.

Coming to details of the methods mentioned above, each has its variations. For example, open DCT can take different forms, such as DCT with rejoinder,

DCT with single rejoinder, DCT with multiple rejoinders, etc. Studies revealed form effects in such tests. Varghese and Billmyer (1996), for instance, found that adding more detail to a prompt produced longer responses. Decisions have to be made as to which form to use in different situations. Also the validity of DCTs in pragmatics tests requires more empirical studies (McNamara and Roever 2006).

One more point which should attract researchers' attention is, with the existing test methods, what should be tested in pragmatics tests. Existing studies (Ahn 2005; Brown 2001; Hudson 2001; Hudson, Detmer and Brown 1995; Liu 2006b; Tada 2005; Walters 2007; Yamashita 1996; Yoshitake-Strain 1997; Youn 2007) mostly focus on speech acts such as requests, apologies, and refusals. Roever (2005) also assessed test takers' ability on understanding implicature and routines. Pragmatics, as a broad field, covers diverse areas such as speech acts, implicature, routines, deixis, conversational management, and others (Leech 1983; Levinson 1983; Mey 1993). Pragmatic ability in an L2 requires offline sociopragmatic and pragmalinguistic knowledge and online control of these linguistic and sociocultural aspects of pragmatics (McNamara and Roever 2006). Besides speech acts, what else can be included in pragmatics tests? Are the existing test methods applicable to other speech acts like compliments, complaints, refusals, and expressions of gratitude?

On the other hand, teachers could perhaps assess for the use of the appropriate semantic formulas for a specific speech act situation, i.e. the speech-act-specific strategies which alone or in combination with other strategies serve to constitute the speech act. They could also check to see if learners are able to make appropriate modifications in the delivery of the speech act (Cohen 2008). In addition, teachers could check to see how much control they appear to have over both the sociopragmatic factors (i.e., whether the speech act can be applied in a given situation) and pragmalinguistic factors (i.e., the language forms that are appropriate in the given situation) (Cohen 2004). These all require further studies.

3.2. Rating

In case of pragmatics tests which require rating, such as open DCTs, role plays, etc., rating rubrics are the first problem we need to consider. Designing rating rubrics for pragmatics tests is not an easy task at all (Hudson, Detmer and Brown 1995). Different from traditional language proficiency tests, standards for rating pragmatic ability are not absolute. Ratings are based on the judgment of the degree of suitability of the responses given by the test takers. A radical problem here lies in the standards we base on to make judgments. Thomas (1983) notes that pragmalinguistic failure occurs when the pragmatic force mapped on to a linguistic token or structure is systematically different from that normally assigned to it by NSs. This norm of NSs is generally taken as the criteria for teaching and assessing

pragmalinguistic knowledge and behavior. Davies (1991, 1990) also points out that it is difficult to talk about quality of performance without reference to some (probably native speaker) norm as a point of comparison. When we talk about L2 learners, language ability always implies some comparison to NSs (goal) in deciding an acceptable level of performance at a particular level (standard). Any judgments of accuracy, sociolinguistic appropriacy, sociocultural savvy, discourse conventions, etc., can only be made by reference to the norms of the native speaker culture(s) (North 2000).

However, a native speaker norm in ILP has been challenged. Kasper (1998) summarizes the problems of NS criteria related to foreign language learners in six respects:

1. Determining such a norm is difficult because of the sociolinguistic variability in native speaker behavior. Selecting the variety or varieties most relevant for a particular learner population in a principled manner is not a straightforward task for any target language.
2. It is unrealistic to posit an ideal communicatively competent native speaker as target for L2 learners since communication among NSs is often partial, ambiguous, and fraught with potential and manifest misunderstanding.
3. Little is known about adult L2 learners' ability to attain native proficiency in pragmatics.
4. Learners may not aspire to L2 native speaker pragmatics as their target. Foreign language learners may not feel that the effort is worth their while, since they do not intend to become part of the L2 community.
5. L2 NSs may perceive NNSs' total convergence as intrusive and inconsistent with the NNSs' role as outsiders in the L2 community.
6. The communicative style developed by NNSs in interaction with L2 NSs or other NNSs may differ significantly from that of L2 NSs.

Nonetheless, in language testing, an evaluation standard is a must. The performance of learners is checked against the standard. Although taking a native speaker norm as the standard is problematic in the assessment of learners' pragmatic knowledge, this norm is by far the most reasonable standard testers can depend on. As North (2000: 59) points out, while it is not only unnecessary but in fact misleading for scales of language proficiency for foreign language learners to have a top level of the native speaker or expert user in defining standards for degrees of skill of performance at different levels of proficiency, reference will have to be made either to native speaker norms or to interlanguage norms. Davies (1990) also says that despite the elusiveness of a point of reference for defining what is acceptable at different levels, there appears to be no alternative to the standard native speaker variety. A better standard, if any, has yet to emerge.

Now that native speaker norm, despite its problems, is by far the only possible standard we can apply, what we must do is to avoid as much as possible the

negative effect caused by applying this norm so that the reliability and validity of the tests are maximally enhanced.

Hudson et al. (1995) set rating criteria for six aspects of pragmatic competence: the ability to use the correct speech act, typical expressions, amount of speech and information, and levels of formality, directness, and politeness. For ability to use the correct speech act, they noted that as long as the response included the intended speech act, it should be considered appropriate and rated accordingly by the NSs. Typical expressions included use of gambits. They reminded the NS raters that grammaticality was not considered an issue for the rating. Because it is difficult to decide how much speech and/or information is appropriate for a given situation, raters were advised to use their NS intuition to judge when a response seemed particularly abrupt or seemed to provide too much unnecessary information. For the three distinct yet often overlapping elements of speech (levels of formality, directness, and politeness), raters were asked to try to keep these three concepts as distinct in their minds as possible. Formality could be expressed through word choice, phrasing, use of titles, and choice of verb forms. Use of colloquial speech could also be appropriate, depending on the NSs' judgment. NS intuition was also the standard raters could rely on in rating the appropriateness of the level of directness found in the responses. NS intuition also served as the basis for judging the politeness of the responses. On the whole, their rating scale belongs to an analytic one. Liu (2006b), based on the analytic scale developed by Hudson et al. (1995), designed a holistic rating scale which was shown to have reasonable reliability and validity. Another holistic rubric is used by Walters (2007, 2004) who applied conversation-analytic hermeneutic rating protocol to assess L2 oral pragmatic competence.

The rating rubrics developed by Hudson et al. (1995) and the extended holistic one by Liu (2006b) and Walters (2007, 2004) are still waiting for further validation. In fact, many more problems concerning the rating scales in pragmatics testing need to be resolved. For example,

1 Since the rating rubrics developed by Hudson et al. (1995) have not been validated in a systematic way, what standards should the rating scales be based on? Are there any alternative rating scales that can serve the purpose?
2 What kind of rating scales should we use, holistic or analytic? Are there any differences between the two rating scales?
3 Differences in terms of age, sex, social background, social class, etc. may affect the judgment of the appropriacy of the native speakers about the responses provided by test takers. What will be the effect and how will the differences affect ratings in pragmatics tests?
4 In a foreign language context, although native speakers can serve as standard providers, the main force for rating test takers' responses is foreign language teachers. As nonnative speakers, can the foreign language teachers, however high their foreign language proficiency is, apply the native speaker norm ap-

propriately? How should the foreign language teachers use the native speaker norm in a correct way?

5 How should the raters (mainly nonnative speakers) be trained? How can we control rater effects as expressed by Myford (2003, 2004)?

3.3. Social variables

Leech (1983) and Thomas (1983) break general pragmatics into two components which deal with concrete, language-specific phenomena: pragmalinguistics and sociopragmatics. Pragmalinguistics refers to the resources for conveying communicative acts and relational or interpersonal meanings. Such resources include pragmatic strategies such as directness and indirectness, routines, and a large range of linguistic forms which can intensify or soften communicative acts (Rose and Kasper 2001). Sociopragmatics is described as "the sociological interface of pragmatics" (Leech 1983: 10), referring to the social perceptions underlying participants' interpretation and performance of communicative action (Rose and Kasper 2001: 2). It refers to the study of how pragmatic principles operate in different cultures, in different social situations, among different social classes, etc., including knowledge of degrees of relative power, social distance, and degree of imposition (Brown and Levinson 1987). Thomas (1983) also suggests that for an utterance to be pragmatically successful involves two types of judgment: the pragmalinguistic assessment of the pragmatic force of a linguistic token, and sociopragmatic judgments concerning the size of imposition, cost/benefit, social distance, and relative rights and obligations. Thomas (1983) and Beebe and Takahashi (1989) suggest that correcting pragmatic failure stemming from sociopragmatic miscalculation is a far more delicate matter for the language teacher than correcting pragmalinguistic failure. This has implications on testing. First, what is to be tested in such a test, sociopragmatic knowledge, paralinguistic knowledge, or both? Sociopragmatic competence is concerned with social factors and very difficult to test. In fact, few studies have touched the sociopragmatic side of the interlanguage pragmatic ability, though it is an indispensable part of the ability.

One common practice in ILP testing is to put the sociopragmatic variables under control, only paralinguistic knowledge is tested. However, to control the social variables is itself not an easy task at all. What social variables (pragmatic variables) should be controlled? How can they be controlled?

Hudson et al. (1995) considered three social variables: degrees of relative power, social distance, and degree of imposition. They determined the social variables only by the intuition of the researchers, mostly native speakers. However, studies (Liu 2006b, 2007) showed that judgments made by researchers, native speakers, and ESL students about the same scenario are not always consistent. Sometimes the difference is quite large. Spencer-Oatey (1993) also notes that assuming that all participants will perceive situational variables in similar ways is

problematic in crosscultural pragmatics research, and perhaps even more problematic in studies of interlanguage pragmatics (Kasper and Rose, in press). Some studies (e.g., Blum-Kulka 1991; Spencer-Oatey 1993) have shown that pragmatic expectations and assessments are culture-specific and learners perceive sociopragmatic elements such as social distance, relative power and status, and the severity of a specific apology situation differently. This requires us to find ways to effectively make the judgments made by all people involved similar, if not identical. The way of metapragmatic assessment proposed by Liu (2006, 2007) showed satisfactory results.

Metapragmatic assessment, in the form of questionnaire, helps to determine the social variables of a scenario, to establish degrees of equivalence between two or more languages both at the sociocultural and pragmalinguistic levels (Olshtain and Blum-Kulka 1984). To ensure that the situational variables were perceived similarly by Chinese university students and English native speakers, Liu (2006a, 2007) asked respondents to indicate the degree of imposition and the social distance (familiarity) between the speaker and hearer on a scale of 1 to 5, and the power relationship (status) of the hearer and speaker (which, if either, had the higher status). Initially, mean scores for all the questions were obtained. Those below the value of 3 were considered as belonging to the lower level (i.e., low in imposition and familiarity), while those above the value of 3 were considered to be at the higher level (i.e., high imposition and familiarity). Questions with a mean of 3 were excluded. A 90 % agreement was first set as the threshold of acceptance, but results showed it was virtually impossible to get that level of agreement among the respondents for most of the items. Therefore, a 70 % criterion was adopted (Rose 1994; Rose and Ng, 2001). However, it was found that very few items achieved even that reduced level of agreement for each of the variables. The 5-point scale did not seem to be producing satisfactory results. He conducted another round of investigation, abandoning the 5-point Likert scale system. A specific term was used to show the level of the variable. For the variable imposition, "high" and "low" were used; for familiarity, the terms were "familiar" and "unfamiliar"; and for power, "high", "low", and "equal" were the terms used. Results showed that this worked well for the purpose.

3.4. Scenario generation

A test measuring ILP knowledge contains different communication situations, requiring the respondents to answer or respond appropriately according to the given scenarios. The testees are judged according to the pragmatic appropriacy of their answers or responses. Scenario generation is the first thing test designers should do. Since scenario factor would influence the performance of the test takers (Liu 2006b; Yamashita 1996), efforts should be made to design the scenarios of a pragmatics test. Farhady (1980) and Hudson et al. (1995) invented the situations

for their studies. Yoshitake-Strain (1997) adopted the tests developed by Hudson et al. (1995) without any modification. Though Yamashita (1996) translated the scenarios into Japanese and made considerable modifications so that some of the scenarios would fit the Japanese cultural situations, she did not carry out a detailed investigation of the fitness of each scenario in the Japanese context. The decisions made on the basis of assessment through the prototypic instruments, as pointed out by Hudson (2001), must be carefully scrutinized. Cohen and Olshtain (1981) and Roever (2005, 2006) selected their scenarios from different studies, but still failed to investigate the appropriateness of the situations to the test takers. This brings us to a question: besides investigating the authenticity of the scenarios with English NSs and NSSs, what else can we do to ensure greater validity of the scenarios? One possible solution is exemplar generation (Groves 1996; Ostrom and Gannon 1996; Rose and Ng 2001). In exemplar generation, a questionnaire is designed in which participants are asked to describe the most recently occurring events which contained the pragmatic abilities under study, like requesting, apologizing, refusing, complimenting, etc. A suggestion is that the number of scenarios collected through exemplar generation should be at least three times greater than the number needed for the final test paper (Liu 2006b), as many situations collected at this stage will have to be abandoned because of the restriction of the test development.

The exemplar generation is normally followed by a likelihood investigation to double check that the situations collected are familiar to the test takers. This questionnaire asked the respondents to indicate on a scale of 1 to 5 the likelihood that the situations would occur in their daily life. Situations which obtain the highest marks (most probably will happen to the test takers) are chosen (Liu 2006b, 2007).

4. Conclusion and future directions

As narrated above, interlanguage pragmatics testing, at its beginning stage, has many problems to solve. Despite the existing six measures, more test methods are expected to cover more aspects of interlanguage pragmatic knowledge. Issues related to raters, rating scales, test items, and test takers are far from being resolved. Ways of dealing with the sociopragmatic aspect of interlanguage pragmatics are still lacking, notwithstanding some proposed methods in controlling this variable in measurement. Exemplar generation appears to be fine in generating scenarios for tests (Liu 2006b, 2007), but more valid methods are necessary.

Unfortunately, the fact is that there are more questions about assessing pragmatics than there are answers (Cohen 2008). More research studies are badly needed. The problems mentioned in the previous part are all directions for future research in interlanguage pragmatics testing. These future directions can be summarized and extended as follows, which may be food for thoughts in future studies:

1. Native speakers as raters may come from different countries or regions, and may differ in age, sex, personal characteristics, etc. What effects may all these differences have on the raters' judgments?
2. The rating rubrics developed by Hudson et al. (1995) are applied in many studies, but no study has been conducted to systematically validate the rubrics. Studies validating other rating methods or rubrics (holistic or analytic) are greatly needed.
3. Are there any other methods which can be used to measure interlanguage pragmatic knowledge? Are the validated test methods applicable to other pragmatic abilities?
4. Roever (2005) and Liu (2006b) found the difficulty of requests in pragmatics tests is higher than that of apologies. This emphasizes the necessity to study the difficulty of different speech acts so that the difficulty level of a pragmatics test can be rationally controlled and adjusted.
5. Some studies (Liu 2006b; Yoshitake-Strain 1997) showed that the EFL students' pragmatic ability is not proportional to their English language proficiency, while others (Roever 2005; Yamashita 1996) reported different results. This gives doubt to the judgment of the students' pragmatic ability according to their general language proficiency. More studies in this respect are needed.

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17. Pragmatics and research into corporate communication

Hilkka Yli-Jokipii

1. Background

Corporate communication may be defined as strongly goal-oriented communication that takes place in organizations geared towards making a financial profit. The purpose of such communication is to achieve primarily higher-level goals associated with the mission of the organization, or what Scollon and Scollon (1995: 173) aptly refer to as "corporate branding". This definition gives the concept a narrow scope. It is, however, feasible for the present purposes because it excludes the types of professional and institutional discourse that take place in non-profit-making organizations, such as educational, charitable, or governmental, on the grounds that the conditions regarding tactical and strategic considerations do not tally with the realities and practices that apply to strictly profit-making organizations. Furthermore, with the vigorous globalization of commercial and economic activity that has taken place in recent years, the concept of corporate communication is to be understood as implicitly referring to communication in international settings. Yet, in broad agreement with Scollon and Scollon (1995: 173), it does not exclude locally run and owned companies.

In certain connections, the term corporate communication might be interchangeable with *business communication*, but these terms are not synonymous because business communication applies to a wider range of situations than corporate communication. At its broadest, business communication may namely be taken to cover any communication occurring in professional, workplace contexts. For example Kogen (1989: xiv) defines 'business' broadly as signifying "any working situation, whether corporate, governmental, professional, or industrial." In particular, the term is popular in instructional settings, such as education material and course programs. It also occurs widely in research, not only in strictly corporate contexts. Yet, there is much controversy and no agreement among scholars as to the respective scopes and definitions of these terms. In North America in particular, scholars seem to be preoccupied by what business communication ultimately covers (for accounts of the controversies in defining the concept, see Bargiela-Chiappini 2009). In the present paper, narrowing down the focus to corporate communication is justified, whereas business communication is understood as a superordinate term also subsuming fields of professional and institutional communication other than corporate. Furthermore, corporate communication falls under the notions of business communication, organizational communication, professional

communication and workplace communication, with the choice and hierarchy depending on the specific focus of the topic and/or research design at hand. Although we might argue that all types of professional communication are goal-oriented, the fact remains that in using the phrase corporate communication we are taking a stand as to the type of goal concerned, i.e. ultimately that of making a profit for the shareowners.

Regarding intercultural matters, I would hesitate to go so far as claiming that corporate communication invariably refers to multinational companies (see, however, Scollon and Scollon 1995: 174), but will admit that the notion of communication – or discourse – between representatives of different cultures is immediately present when the subject of corporate communication emerges. This means that when talking about corporate communication that takes place across national boundaries, we by default have intercultural corporate communication in mind, even if this is not explicitly emphasized.

In research into intercultural issues within corporate communication, scholars have in recent couple of decades sharpened their focus considerably. There is a transition from assuming that the principles prevailing in national cultures also apply in business organizations towards making efforts to find out what is characteristic to the specific company in question, in other words, to find evidence of *corporate culture*, as distinct from national culture, and to explore how corporate culture is manifested in communication. We might define corporate culture with a quotation from Hofstede ([1991] 1994: 180), who describes it as "the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one organization from another." According to Hofstede (1994: 179), the term became popular in the 1980s, with the publication of Deal and Kennedy's (1982) book entitled *Corporate Cultures: The Rites and Rituals of Corporate Life*. Yet, it is Hofstede's two research projects (1980, 1994, see also Hofstede et al. 1990) that have had an undisputable role in spelling out differences between national cultures and corporate cultures, despite certain criticism directed towards the 1980 project in particular (see, e.g., Beamer 2000: 111–114). The first project featured a survey among a large number of IBM employees in 58 countries, complemented with interviews of selected individuals. The IBM project led to the identification of four dimensions of national cultures, power distance, individualism vs. collectivism, masculinity-femininity, and uncertainty avoidance. Because the subjects in this study represented one single company, the study did not produce any direct information about the corporate culture of IBM, but its methodology served as a model in the research project on specifically organizational cultures, which was carried out in the latter part of the 1980s. The surveys carried out in 20 "organizational units" (Hofstede 1994: 18) in Denmark and in the Netherlands yielded considerable differences between organizations in practices, but smaller differences in values (Hofstede 1994: 181–182), thus pinpointing the need for viewing corporate cultures as distinct from national cultures.

Whereas the foregoing projects were designed to reveal other than linguistic matters, in contemporary research into corporate communication, the linguistic and non-linguistic aspects are frequently intertwined, and so are the spoken and the written, where necessary. Cultural, or intercultural, issues, largely drawing on the Hofstedian (1994) findings and the discussion in Scollon and Scollon (1995), for example, have been subjected to a treatment in which the language of the interaction plays a role. Such research has understandably been prolific in Europe where business communication more or less by definition involves more languages than one. That this European multilingualism is an integral element in European research into business communication has been enunciated to international business communication scholars from time to time (e.g., Charles 1998, 2007; Yli-Jokipii 1998a; Bargiela-Chiappini [2004] 2007; Bargiela-Chiappini, Nickerson and Planken 2007: 26–28; for accounts of Asian business discourse, see Bargiela-Chiappini and Gotti 2005). In North America, in particular, corporate communication is strongly rooted in rhetoric (Reinsch 1996: 27), and disciplinary identities and boundaries are frequently emerging concerns for research (Bargiela-Chiappini, Nickerson and Planken 2007: 28; for a survey of such concerns, see, e.g., Louhiala-Salminen 2009), whereas the research community shows less interest in developing a framework that would accommodate the linguistic realities of international communication, as Locker (1998: 24–27) noted as recently as ten years ago (see, however, e.g., Varner 2000).

The aim of the present contribution is to offer an account of how a pragmatic approach has been employed in research into corporate communication in the past fifteen years or so. Such research views communication in context, as discourse. It not only deals with textual issues, but enables bringing into focus extra-textual context, such as the complexities of the professional situation in which communication takes place, interactants in the communicative instance concerned, their professional roles and the power issues contained in such roles, and their mutual relationship with regard to the social distance between them. Cultural and linguistic backgrounds not only cut across these issues but are frequently forefronted.

Two prime principles run throughout the present paper. First, it is mainly concerned with research that uses genuine, real-life material investigated within a pragmatic framework. Second, attention is paid to cultural issues involved in and findings yielded by such a research setup. The former principle means that, with one or two exceptions, research into business classroom communication representing L2 research is excluded from the present discussion, whereas the latter principle means that the prime focus, with some well-grounded exceptions again, is on intercultural corporate communication. The issues brought into focus will be approached from the point of view of written as well as spoken discourse, as need be.

Launching from research inspired by the intricacies around the use of certain speech acts, such as requests, apologies, and complaints, the present discussion will touch on politeness issues and the higher-level concept of imposition that is

central in intercultural corporate interaction. The influence of the distribution of power between the interactants and the prevailing social distance between them will be dealt with as well. While the aforementioned concepts were in the forefront in the 1990s in studies dealing with general language in particular, they remain important in current research into corporate communication even today. Furthermore, the paper will focus on research in which genre-oriented issues are forefronted. This covers recent research dealing with the canonical business letter as well as topics such as the fax, e-mail communication, and multimodal corporate communication. Where relevant, distinction will be made between external and internal corporate communication. In addition, the paper will make an attempt to identify the emerging trends in corporate communication research and its findings and, in particular, identify the potential of the pragmatic approach in achieving such findings. Finally, the paper will take a look into the future needs and suggest some opportunities for research into corporate communication within a pragmatic framework.

The present contribution is restricted to interactive modes of corporate communication, in other words to such communication in which the two-way direction or mutuality in communication in other ways is in the foreground (Yli-Jokipii 2005: 85). This means that research into the various genres contained in annual reports is excluded from the discussion here. For such studies see, for example, Skulstad (2006) on the genre of annual report, Isaksson (2005) on mission statements, Garzone (2005) and Nickerson and De Groot (2005) on chairman's statements and letters to shareholders, and consult the two special editions of *The Journal of Business Communication* devoted to annual reports (see Penrose 2008a, 2008b).

Readers seeking to explore matters dealing with business and corporate communication further than covered in the present contribution are referred to such refereed journals as *Journal for Business Communication*, *Journal for Business and Technical Communication*, *Business Communication Quarterly*, *Management Communication Quarterly, Language for Specific Purposes* and *Journal of Pragmatics*, and such volumes as Bargiela-Chiappini and Harris (1997), Gibson (1998), Bargiela-Chiappini and Nickerson (1999), Hewings and Nickerson (1999), Gillaerts and Gotti (2005), Trosborg and Jørgensen (2005a), Palmer-Silveira, Ruiz-Garrido, and Fortanet-Gòmez (2006), Candlin and Gotti ([2004] 2007), Bargiela-Chiappini, Nickerson, and Planken (2007), Garzone and Ilie (2007), and Bargiela-Chiappini (2009), among others.

2. Speech act-derived research

How is it that an individual gets things done by uttering certain utterances? Responding to this question is not just about describing the variation in the linguistic means employed to achieve the assigned purpose(s) in the communicative situation, but it is about setting out to explain why such variation takes place. Indeed,

with certain speech acts the frequent incongruence between the form of the utterance and its *communicative/interactive purpose* (Trosborg 1995: 21) or *discourse function* in the communicative situation has been a constant source of interest among scholars up to the present day, as exemplified, for example, by the discourse-oriented discussion within the business context in Bargiela-Chiappini (2009: 239–245) and the sociolinguistics-derived discussion within a larger professional discourse perspective in Gunnarsson (2009: 38–43). The discrepancy between the form and the function of the utterance brings about a dilemma concerning the descriptive model that would honour the possible implicitness, or the deep discourse function, of the utterance. For example, in such directive speech acts as requests, this theoretical – and methodological – dilemma is crystallised into the question of how to account for situations in which an utterance seems to convey one thing on the grammatical level (e.g. declarative), and actually conveys it in its meaning or semantic level (e.g. statement), but is still intended and understood as a requestive message. In Weizman's (1989: 71) words, how can you issue a request and enjoy its outcome and still be able to deny having made it. These utterances seem to have "one meaning too many" (Clark and Schunk 1980: 111) to be squeezed into a neat descriptive framework. Several levels of approach will therefore have to be incorporated into the descriptive apparatus, in which the pragmatic level helps account for the indirectness or implicitness of the message in the light of its function in discourse.

The notion of politeness, drawing on Brown and Levinson's ([1978] 1987) framework in particular, has been widely employed in order to explain the variation in speech acts, especially requests, apologies, complaints, and their derivatives, in spite of the strong voices raised in the early 1990s by representatives of the Asiatic cultures, such as Japanese, against the alleged universality of certain politeness issues contained in the framework. Fortunately, the 'politeness studies turn' in research into corporate discourse gained ground somewhat later than in general language politeness studies, so that scholars were and have been well warned against treating politeness phenomena as universals (see, for example, Charles 1994; Yli-Jokipii 1994, 1998b; Morris 1998; Jung 2002; Kankaanranta 2005).

The concept of *face*, central in Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory, is a useful tool in research into linguistic variation in corporate discourse. The theory also accommodates the concepts of *power* bestowed on the interactants and the social *distance* between them, such as the level of acquaintance between the interactants and the professional *situation*, including the nature and depth of the business relationship and the *degree of imposition* contained in the communicative act. The latter, however, is difficult to scale, as Jørgensen (2005a: 44) points out. The speech acts of request, apology, complaint, and their derivatives, such as compliance-gaining and responses to apologies and complaints, are among the intriguing ones in terms of dealing with the complexities of facework in corporate communication.

In what follows, I will draw attention to selected pieces of research into realizations of speech acts in corporate contexts. These do not easily fall into neat categories, but for the sake of a structured view, they are classified here into the following groups: First, studies that take the speech act of requesting alone into in-depth analysis; second, studies that take another single speech act into in-depth analysis; third, studies that examine the use of several speech acts in corporate communication, and fourth, studies into responses to selected speech acts. For the most part, these studies explore native-speaker strategies against non-native speakers' choices.

Let us first view studies on the single speech act of requesting. Yli-Jokipii (1994) studied quantitatively and qualitatively how requesting is realized in written corporate communication, business letters and telefax messages. She compiled a corpus of 375 authentic texts, notwithstanding the fact that large corpora of genuine, uncensored texts are known to be difficult to get hold of for linguistic analysis, as Pilegaard (1997: 225) also observes. Yli-Jokipii (1994) employed a multidimensional approach to investigate real-life British and real-life American business writing in English and compared these two groups against a corpus of genuine Finnish business messages. Further, she compared the English data to a parallel corpus of corresponding textbook messages. The analysis revealed variation in the language-internal group, that is between the British English and American English business discourse, as well as between the cross-language group, that is between the English usage and the Finnish usage. The issues of power and distance vis-à-vis the transactional situation stood out in the findings as affecting linguistic variation. The study revealed a Finnish tendency to resort to indirectness and implicitness in making requests, especially in situations in which the interlocutor was in a negative power situation. Linguistically, the indirectness was realized using evasive and circumlocutionary strategies (Yli-Jokipii 1994: 255–257). A similar arrangement was subsequently employed in Vuorela (2005a, 2005b) to study humour in multicultural business negotiations (see section 3). Likewise, Bargiela-Chiappini and Harris (1996) took a sample of 32 authentic British business letters containing requests and investigated the influence of power, social distance, imposition and status in the variation in making requests.

Neumann (1997) analysed requests made in German and Norwegian managers' business discourse that took place in German, face-to-face and on the phone, and found that the native speakers of German used notably more requests than the non-native German speakers. In addition, the Norwegian non-native speakers of German chose more indirect strategies than the native speakers. To illustrate the pragmatic notions of directness and distance, Bülow-Møller (2001) examined, among other issues, how Danish and the English speakers made requests or imposed obligations in general, and found that native speakers of English tended to be more explicit than the Danes (Bülow-Møller 2001: 153–154, see also section 3). This seems to be in fair agreement with what was prompted by the findings regarding

non-native Finnish and native British requests in business writing in Yli-Jokipii (1994, 1998b). Further on writing, Yeung (1997) looked into requests in English and Chinese business correspondence in the light of politeness. Politeness was also highlighted in Pilegaard's (1997) study on requests in written business discourse. Employing a modified version of Brown and Levinson's (1987) approach, he analysed the requests in the data of 323 business letters on the basis of distance, power and the ranking of imposition. Although the study is restricted to British data, it deserves to be mentioned here because it provided a text-sequential perspective that is applicable to intercultural descriptions of variation in the linguistic realizations of cultural politeness perceptions.

Approaching requests from a genre-based orientation, Kankaanranta (2005: 363–399) looked at requesting moves in company-internal e-mail communication in order to find out, i.a., how Finnish and Swedish employees of a multinational company realized such moves in e-mail messages. She found that the impositions contained in the requests tended to repeat themselves as the same actions were requested, and in about 60 per cent of all requests the same impositions occurred twice or more frequently (Kankaanranta 2005: 372). This study is representative of the situations in which English was used as the lingua franca of the writers. The results stimulated Kankaanranta (2008: 28) to point out that it is also important to appreciate basic pragmatic phenomena in business, such as politeness, when the interactants are using English as a lingua franca.

Second, with respect to speech acts other than requests, Bilbow (2002) compiled a data set of commissive speech acts that occurred between English-speaking western and Cantonese-speaking Chinese interlocutors in Hong Kong. Whereas the absolute frequencies of these speech acts were fairly identical, there was, not unexpectedly, variation in the linguistic realizations as well as in the conditions in which they occurred. Likewise, spoken interaction was the subject of Pohle's (2007) study into offers in English and German business negotiations.

Third, regarding studies focusing on several speech acts, Jung (2002) took 194 business letters from Korean companies and investigated requests, compliments, giving bad news, and showing disagreement. He analysed the data qualitatively and quantitatively and also employed a hand-tagged moves-analysis. His data consisted of internal as well as external correspondence, e-mail messages and formal letters. He complemented the research with interviews focusing e.g., on media choice and corporate culture, including sensitivity to hierarchy, attitude to business partners or subcontractors, and sexual discrimination e.g., in promotion. Jung (2002) employed Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory in a somewhat modified form, and found that bald on record and off record strategies appear in Korean correspondence, and are realized in showing interest and using in-group language. In particular, Jung (2002) found that a static or traditional view of culture cannot be invariably employed to approach the data from Korean correspondence; instead, the significance of corporate culture needs to be highlighted. Thus,

he agrees with those scholars who strongly advise against cultural stereotyping in dealing with pragmatic phenomena, especially where politeness issues are concerned. Jung's (2002 ii–iii) findings suggest that rhetorical structures in Korean business correspondence are not conventionalized and should not be so because of politeness reasons and corporate culture. In particular, corporate culture may make the conventional rhetorical structure inadequate in business correspondence. Findings of a somewhat similar nature are reported by Bagwasi (2008), who explored the differences and similarities in letter-writing by and to British administrators in Botswana. The research showed that letter-writing in Setswana requires forms that convey respect and politeness more explicitly than what was found in the British data of the study. This was realized in long salutations that involved greetings and wishes, as well as longer introductions to issues.

Fourth, there is also research focusing on responses to certain speech acts. For example, Trosborg and Shaw (2005) studied how customer complaints were handled in business, and found that the role of remedial acts in business is much greater than in everyday situations (Trosborg and Shaw 2005: 197). Shaw et al. (2005: 248) investigated how people evaluated complaint-handling but did not find evidence that the subjects applied different standards to international and intranational interaction, the former being English and the latter the subject's native language. Nevertheless, in terms of cultural preferences to manifestations of politeness, they found that Italians and Japanese were more tolerant to positive politeness than were subjects from what the authors label as Germanic Northern Europe, i.e. Britain, Denmark, Flanders, and Sweden. Although the study was carried out on a body of students as subjects, it is certainly indicative of the likely trends in the thinking of future business professionals.

Overall, the realisations of given speech acts in intercultural business interactions, spoken or written, provide feasible data for investigating cultural characteristics, differences and strategies along the pragmatic notions of politeness, power, and distance, in particular (Bargiela-Chiappini, Nickerson and Planken 2007: 193–196).

3. Negotiation research

One significant advantage offered by the pragmatic approach to studying communication is that it enables scholars to focus on spoken discourse. This has been possible because pragmatics has from the outset offered tools to escape the confinement to strictly defined units of observation, such as the clause and the sentence, which had posed a hindrance to investigating spoken discourse. This has opened up the fields of business negotiations and service situations. Regarding business negotiations, Charles's (1994) research involving Finnish and British interactants set out to investigate the ostentations of power between sellers and buyers in cross-cultural

business negotiations with a focus on native vs. non-native variation, but revealed that there is variation within the same nationality and the same business party, such as among the sellers on one side and the buyers on the other. In particular, the research revealed that power also mattered in internal discourse, where the position of interlocutors in the company hierarchy affected the linguistic outcome of the negotiation situations in terms of power issues. Regrettably, this research was not published as a monograph (see, however, e.g., Charles 1995, 1996).

Charles's (1994) research involved British native speakers and Finnish non-native speakers of English, while Öberg (1995) studied authentic negotiation types from formal business negotiations to conglomerate meetings, and from face-to-face negotiations to telephone negotiations. In the data between British and Swedish interlocutors, English was the lingua franca. In addition, the study included an audiotape recoding in which the negotiation took place between solely Swedish counterparts, in Swedish. Öberg (1995: 51) was able to conclude that "the development of relational and face-related goals are much more important to negotiators than previous studies imply, and that these are frequently realized by instances and different uses of laughter and humour." Somewhat similar conclusions have been made regarding the role of humour in negotiations between Finnish and British interlocutors (Vuorela 2005a, 2005b; on the ostentations of humour in international business meetings, see also Rogersson-Revell 2007).

Bülow-Møller (2001) taped business negotiations between native British and native Danish speakers, as well as between native vs. non-native English negotiators, and examined how the interactants made requests or presented other impositions in terms of directness. Bülow-Møller (2001: 153–154) found that native speakers of English tended to be more explicit in their discourse, and overall they used more formal register than the Danes, both as native and non-native speakers. She claims that in the light of the study, the non-native speakers' discourse can be characterized as re-active against the pro-activity of the native speakers, and even when non-native speakers show less polite indirectness than the native speakers, they do so in reaction to the other party initiative. All in all, such conclusions are valuable and deserve wide attention. This is related to what was prompted by findings regarding non-native Finnish and native British requests in business writing in Yli-Jokipii (1994, 1998b).

Poncini's (2004) research arrangement was on the cutting edge of the globalised business environment. She recorded a substantial volume of data from meetings between representatives of an Italian company and its distributors from over 14 countries. Among the innovative aspects in her research setup was the fact that all the interlocutors were non-native speakers of English and that the study focused on what seemed to work towards achieving the aspired goals rather than on where miscommunication may have taken place. The research arrangement included the researcher observing some of the meetings and conducting interviews of selected participants in the meetings.

Further examples of studies that focus on two or more languages in business negotiations include Grindsted's (1995) work into how Spanish and Danish sequenced their discourse in negotiations and how this was connected to the relationship between the negotiators, whereas Neumann (1997) studied negotiation discourse between German and Dutch as well as German and Norwegian interlocutors, and Pohle (2007) looked at how offers are made in Irish English and German business negotiations. On a more global note, Okamura (2005) studied the role of power in native English and non-native Japanese business professionals' discourse and found evidence supporting the findings made on general language that, for example, in Japanese discourse, power overrides familiarity, and the choice of address forms carries much pragmatic significance (Okamura 2005: 169).

Studies comparing discourse realities between different languages and cultures have tended to yield variation among the groups investigated, but interestingly, Shaw et al. (2005: 248) found "no evidence as yet that people apply different standards to international (English-language) and intranational (mother-tongue) interaction." They recommend an increased degree of sophistication in research arrangements and suggest that a difference should be made between an acceptable form and a preferred one. Regarding cultural issues, Shaw et al. (2005: 248) warn against converting relative culture-derived differences into categorical ones.

All in all, negotiation research involving international and intercultural variables has produced worthwhile insight into cultural variation as well as variation – or lack of it – in corporate culture, and so has contemporary research into, for example, the linguistic variation in e-mail messages in English.

4. Applied genre analysis

Genre has become a useful concept in research into business communication. In fact, the appearance of Swales's (1990) book on academic discourse, especially on research article introductions, created a mushrooming enthusiasm for genre-based research into corporate communication, as well. Likewise, Orlikowski and Yates's (1994) contribution is much quoted in research in the Anglo-American tradition, although it does not provide such practical research tools as Swales (1990) and Bhatia (1993). The latter volume, with its focus on professional genres outside the academia, is especially significant for scholars of corporate communication (see also Bhatia 2004, 2005a). Nevertheless, the concept of genre is difficult to define, as shown by the nearly fourteen pages that Swales (1990: 45–58) needs for a "working definition of genre." For the purposes of the present paper, genre might simply be defined as a cluster of texts in their professional purpose. It is therefore closely associated with and even dependent on the large-scale context in which it occurs. As established in section 1 above, sensitivity to context and its social and

cultural features are essential elements in pragmatic knowledge (Trosborg and Shaw 2005: 188; see also Trosborg 1995).

An approach enunciating the large extra-textual element in text analysis has become known as Applied Genre Analysis, primarily introduced by Bhatia (1993). This has been a useful framework for research into business communication (Trosborg 2000, 2001), and provides tools for analysing variation and creativity in business messages. It focuses on message planning as well, as Trosborg and Jørgensen (2005b: 8) explain. Applied genre analysis in the corporate contexts is far from simple. In particular, Bhatia (2005a: 24) warns that "surface level generic similarities across disciplines must be viewed with caution." Bhatia (2005a: 20–21) illustrates the complexities of the genre-based thinking within business contexts and shows how varied disciplines, such as accounting, economics, management, finance and marketing regard their own genres as specific and different from the other disciplines, whereas these are confused by students, teachers and even scholars. To accommodate an inevitable degree of overlap, he recommends the concepts of hybrid genre and embeddedness, and points out that business genres are especially dynamic in their construction, interpretation and use, and that "they have a greater tendency to appear in hybrid forms which may include both mixed as well as embedded forms" (Bhatia 2005a: 25; see also 2004, 2005b; Bhatia and Lung 2006). Bhatia (2005a) makes a call for a multiple perspective that deserves to be quoted here:

> In order to deal with the complexity of generic patterns so commonly intertwined in disciplinary discourses, one needs a system which is powerful enough to account for the intricacies of genres across disciplines and sub-disciplines. This will essentially require a multidimensional view of genre and will inevitably require a set of multi-perspective procedures for analysis which takes into consideration genre features beyond the textual. (Bhatia 2005a: 34)

The multidimensional analytic perspective of genre proposed in the foregoing quotation could, according to Bhatia (2005a: 35), consist of the textual, ethnographic, socio-cognitive, socio-critical perspectives. While few of the studies accessed for the preparation of this chapter had, to my knowledge, pursued such intricate multidimensionality yet, three strands of research around the concept of genre might be identified within the corporate communication research community. First, there are studies focusing on the concept of the business letter. Second, there are studies dealing with genres associated with the technical devices available for communication, such as fax and e-mail. Third, there are studies that explore the similarities and differences in discourse practices in different genres.

The business letter is approached as a cover genre, as it were, in the recent volume on *Genre Variation in Business Letters* (Gillaerts and Gotti 2005). This volume contains an extensive bibliography of publications from 1990 to 2004 in which the business letter is dealt with as a linguistic unit (Gillaerts 2005:

369–399). Regarding subsequent research, Jørgensen (2005b) combined applied genre analysis and marketing communication theory to examine the genre of sales letters and came to the conclusion that "a business document may appear in new and creative designs and yet remain immediately recognizable as a sales letter" (Jørgensen 2005b: 148). The analysis reveals considerable creative variation, but when writers try to do something new and unexpected, the power balance between writer and reader is easily upset. Yet, when writers resort to the conventional, their letters appear dull and predictable (Jørgensen 2005b: 172–173). The model of genre analysis employed in his study enables determining the distinctive features of an established genre, such as the letter, but also allows us to identify creative solutions. Likewise, sales letters are included in Zhu's (2005) cross-cultural study which compares Australian and New Zealand English business genres to Chinese in the People's Republic of China (see also Zhu 2000, 2006).

Second, there is a group of scholars who view the adoption and/or role of new technologies in businesses, concentrating first on the fax (Akar and Louhiala-Salminen 1999; Louhiala-Salminen 1997, 1999) and subsequently on the use of the e-mail (e.g., Mulholland 1999; Nickerson 1999; Gimenez 2000; Garzone 2002; Bargiela-Chiappini 2005; Bondi 2005; Louhiala-Salminen and Kankaanranta 2005; Poncini 2005). The role and use of the medium of communication is, however, not as recent an idea as scholars might be inclined to think, perhaps because of the recent introduction of novel, state-of-the-art means of communication, which tend to reach the corporate world much sooner than the academic world. For example, Firth's (1991) doctoral dissertation focused on the telex, the telefax, and the telephone. Besides combining different media of communication, the study was innovative in its time because it involved the written as well as the spoken modes of communication.

Third, regarding comparisons between the discoursal properties of different media, there is Jung's (2002) doctoral dissertation, in which internal e-mail messages were used to investigate the politeness strategies and corporate culture policies in Korean enterprises as compared to formal business letters used in external business communication. Likewise, Zhu (2005) looked into English and Chinese business genres with multiple methodologies, primarily from a user-oriented focus. Kankaanranta (2005) studied the qualities of internal e-mail messages of a multinational company. English was the lingua franca in these messages, because they were written mostly by Finnish and Swedish employees. Drawing on Bhatia (1993), Kankaanranta (2005) employed the genre framework in studying varied aspects of these messages, and rather than approaching the e-mail messages as examples of one technology-derived genre, she set out to classify the messages on the basis of their high-level communicative purpose. The message types, or genres, identified in the e-mail message data were notice board messages, postman messages and dialogue messages. Although the research design did not include a comparison between the discourse used in e-mail messages and that used in other com-

munication media, the study gives a comprehensive overview of certain discoursal phenomena in the corporate communication strategies at the turn of this decade. In the case of Kankaanranta's (2005) company sample, 80 per cent of all communicative events were reported to take place internally (Kankaanranta 2005: 400). The study puts realizations of requests much in the focus, as explained in section 2. Somewhat previously, Mulholland (1999) discusses the uses of e-mail in institutional settings, paying attention to the issues embedded in this type of message, and Nickerson (2000) gives a holistic analysis of Dutch writing strategies and preferences in multinational settings.

In corporate communication research employing the genre framework, the trend in the past decade or so has been a gradual transition from the pursuit of identifying fixed, or relatively fixed, generic characteristics to trying to cope with the somewhat contrasting phenomena in real-life corporate communication. On the one hand, there is the communication policy contained in lingua franca communication (Vandermeeren 1999; Nickerson 2000; Kankaanranta 2008), but at the same time, there is the wide array of modes and means of communication. For example, the division into the spoken and written has lost much of its significance, and both written and spoken texts can be viewed from mutual reference points (Loos 1999: 328). E-mail messages are exchanged to conduct a dialogic purpose (Kankaanranta 2005), a formal negotiation may be carried out as a teleconference, and telephone contacts are still in use. Therefore, if we are to describe the complexity involved in corporate situations, we need much more research into the diversity prevailing in today's communicative choices. Kankaanranta's (2005) and Zhu's (2005) triangular methodology, as well as Bargiela-Chiappini's (2005) and Jørgensen's (2005a, 2005b) studies, among others, have offered some maps for the road.

In conclusion, the genre framework provides feasible means of looking for regularities in given modes of professional communication, because professional genres are each "characterized by their own set of patterned communicative utterances whose order and content are immediately sensitive to changes in situational context" (Trosborg and Jørgensen 2005b: 8). However, what remains to be developed for research in intercultural corporate communication is the methodology to help establish a link between the communicative intentions and the actual outcome of the message. The intricate model developed and tested by Jørgensen (2002) for analysing compliance-gaining strategies and their outcome in the EU lobbying context might serve as a stimulus for corporate communication research as well. Furthermore, research has not suggested that there would be complete homogeneity in international business communication even though we have more and more broadly shared standards in the corporate world, and even though new media of communication are created at an increasing pace, as discussed in the ensuing section.

5. Towards investigating multimodal communication

A challenging theoretical and methodological issue in today's corporate communication research is concerned with the multimodality in business messages brought about by World Wide Web technology. To illustrate the concrete nature of the problem, let us view a US automobile company website (http://planetsubaru.com). At the time when the website was visited, there was some text on this site, with varied fonts and font sizes, there were full colour pictures, there were video clips in which some representatives of the personnel of the company were seen and heard talking to the viewer, each in their own professional role, and there were video clips of some customers telling about their experiences with this particular dealership. Besides linear text, the website features links to various contents. In a word, no single method or conventional framework is sufficient to account for the diverse contextual realities that affect contemporary corporate communication. Instead, a multimethod framework needs to be sought for, a research arrangement that would honour such multimodality, along the lines outlined by Kress and van Leeuwen (2001). This must include means to cater for the visual, audial as well as the verbal elements in the data (see Yli-Jokipii 2001a, 2001b; Rosen and Purington 2004; Okazaki 2005).

In short, the research community also needs theoretical tools for other features than, say, accounting for media and language choice, establishing genre characteristics, and providing linear descriptions of communicative realizations. This is not to question their value, by any means, but to point out that the cluster of questions that await immediate and extensive research attention is concerned with the multimodality of today's corporate communication. We need to know what the relation is between the verbal and the visual elements of communication in the global business world. Is there a certain role assigned to certain elements and properties in communication? What do business professionals communicate verbally and what with icons and other signs, including the audial, or face-to-face? How is linear text used in sites that entail a non-linear realization? How about the interplay between the verbal, the iconic, and the audial modes of corporate communication, where "multimodality meets hypertextuality," as Bargiela-Chiappini (2005: 105) put it? These modes are all currently there for scholars to investigate, but before we can provide feasible answers to such questions we might want to go back to the theory of signs (Morris 1946), that is, to the origins of pragmatics and perhaps semiotics, in order to develop the needed innovative theoretical and methodological tools for a multi-faceted framework that would enable scholars to arrive at meaningful findings on data from the business world.

6. Conclusion

The potential of the pragmatic approach to business and corporate communication research is considerable. In the first place, the introduction of pragmatics has from early on made the variables and issues that we now consider essential in research into any professional communication respectable in the academic and scientific community. What were initially considered non-theoretical and therefore non-scientific considerations have become accepted tools by the "real" research community of the traditional disciplines. The expanded focus has recognized the value of genuine data, the importance of context as well as the roles and profiles of the interactants in the communicative event, whether spoken or written.

Furthermore, pragmatics has enabled and encouraged the transition of the bias from mere description to looking for explanation of the variation contained in the data. It has become important to show why language is used the way it is in the instances concerned by the users of the given language(s) instead of just describing how language is used to realize a communicative function. Regarding the inclination towards explaining discourse, there was somewhat of a preoccupation in the early stages of linguistic pragmatics with where pragmatics stood in relation to the more canonical, academically respectable levels of approach, such as syntax and especially semantics. In the course of recent decades, the preoccupation around the fuzziness along the border between semantics and pragmatics has practically disappeared, perhaps because scholars have accepted *discourse* as a feasible higher-level concept suitable for top-down as well as bottom-up analyses of communication, as might be apparent from other chapters in this volume. Yet, there is the distinction between pragmatics and sociolinguistics that needs to be mentioned here. It is, namely, tempting to argue that sociolinguistics grew out of pragmatics by foregrounding pragmatic issues other than those connected with language itself. One must remember, however, that what really incited a so-called sociolinguistic research tradition, at least among Anglo-American scholars, was the research done by an engineer, Labov (1972), on the east coast of the United States more or less at the same time as Searle (1969, 1975) and Grice (1975) were working with problems of somewhat similar nature on the west side of that continent. Labov's (1972) merit lies in the audacity of recording genuine speech and developing a method for analyzing such recorded speech in order to show what we would now call sociolinguistic variation between users of language. It is an understatement to say that methodologically, and to a large extent theoretically, this paved the way for what we now consider pragmatic approaches to spoken discourse, with the latter heeding the purpose of the utterance or message as well.

Regarding research into corporate communication in the past fifteen years or so, we have seen a transition from research into linguistically centred issues to research into other issues relevant in the business professions. There has been a re-

search strand that has tried to record the passing moment in business, to investigate the *ad hoc* requirements to communication in the corporate environment, such as brought about by technological innovations introduced at an accelerating speed. However, while we might now think that e-mail communication, for example, is here to stay, we must pay serious research attention to the increasing multi-modality of corporate discourse. This means that extensive and sophisticated research arrangements are needed to investigate the roles of the various modes of communication used in corporate transactions locally and globally, internally and externally, and the linguistic realizations of the communicative purposes in the situations concerned. While the pragmatic approach by default entails keeping several balls in the air simultaneously, as it were, the scholar investigating corporate communication in modern intercultural settings has an increased number of such balls. After all, corporate communication is a complex issue, and as Trosborg and Jørgensen (2005a: 7–8) aptly put it, "the concrete changes in the intracultural or intercultural environment of organisations and professions do not cause the basic complexities of human interaction to change, dissolve or give way to a more uniform, culture-free discourse."

There might even be a slot here for increased multidisciplinarity in research personnel and arrangements, as Bhatia (2005a) suggests. There is certainly a slot for collaboration between scholars from different disciplines, for a kind of "partnership research", as Bargiela-Chiappini, Nickerson and Planken (2007: 68) describe such collaboration. The contemporary readiness among corporate communication scholars for global networking is certainly a promising sign.

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18. Credibility in corporate discourse

Poul Erik Flyvholm Jørgensen and Maria Isaksson

1. Source credibility

Historically, *source credibility* or *ethos* has served as a central pragmatic concept for vocalizing the context-based *representations* of identities that frame communication. Before individuals or organizations can begin to trust one another, they will assess each other's appearance, seeking reassurance that the person or corporate body before them is in fact dependable or likeable. Our personal experiences tell us that if the source of a message is convincingly portrayed as trustworthy, then we will be more disposed to form a positive *image* of that source's assumed *identity.* Source credibility thus becomes a precondition of *persuasion* which is generally construed as the primary objective of just about any type of spoken or written discourse. Communication scholars have widely acknowledged that when we seek to persuade, it is with the intention of changing other people's behaviours, values or attitudes, but this is seldom achieved by rational or emotional argument alone. If the source of a message is simultaneously placed in a positive light, then the persuasive powers of individuals, groups or organizations can be expected to increase and relationships to improve.

More than anything else, the credibility of a message source relies on the source's self-representations. Such verbal self-representation is what we refer to as the source's ethos. Put differently, ethos is a pragmatic resource constituted by language and by linguistic practice, and may thus be conducive to the building of credibility. Ethos is self-referential and offers a depiction of the message source's sense of self-identity and desired identity. Such identity, depicted through ethos, is an amalgamation of components from the message source's *culture* and from *images* held by the source's audience.

This chapter is concerned with how the components of *corporate culture* and *corporate image* serve to shape *organizational identity* and subsequently become verbalised through *ethos discourse*. How relevant audiences interpret this discourse and allow it to affect any existing images they hold of the message source is of lesser concern here. In other words, the chapter treats culture as a phenomenon that guides self-perceptions of organizational identity, and such identity may, in turn, be verbalised in the form of ethos discourse.

While source credibility has received considerable treatment in modern rhetoric and communication research (McCroskey and Teven 1999; Pornpitakpan 2004), there is surprisingly little direct reference to the construct in studies of corporate discourse, including social scientific research in public relations and mar-

keting communication, or text-oriented humanistic pragmatics research (see Eckhouse 1999 for an introduction). Pragmaticists have nevertheless not been oblivious of how the character of a source can be staged in text and talk in trying to attain instrumental, relational or identity goals. Only, in tracking the nature of credible self-representation, they have typically been more concerned with the subtle facilitation of source-receiver relationships and the conventions of form and style than with the rhetorical selection and planning of the *manifest topics* treated in corporate discourse.

This chapter aims first to give an overview of differently conceived pragmatic studies of corporate discourse focussing directly or indirectly on the nature and use of source credibility in a variety of genres. The overview ties in strands of rhetoric and communication theory to prepare for our illustration of how the ethos discourse of corporate credibility can be studied in a multidisciplinary fashion by researchers wanting to document or question current corporate practices. We begin with an introduction to the concept of *source credibility* from classical, modern and contemporary perspectives, and then link the construct to the immediately related notions of organizational *identity*, *culture* and *image* which are central to the expression of credibility in a corporate communication context.

We take our initial point of departure in the observation that early pragmatic studies of business discourse were in fact grounded in philosophically and rhetorically informed theory on conversational maxims (Grice 1975), facework and impression management (Goffman 1967, 1959), and politeness (Brown and Levinson 1987). We then go on to discuss how these approaches have been paralleled and superseded by a "rhetorical paradigm" that has brought to the fore core concepts such as corporate advocacy, dialogue and consensus with stakeholders, the idea of the good organization communicating well, thus introducing a view of rhetoric as the foundation of ethical and pragmatic practice in corporate communication (Heath 1980, 2001).

Our overview is also informed by the observation that the contemporary rhetorical turn in pragmatics can be juxtaposed to the conversely directed "linguistic turn" in communication studies through the joint optic of *discourse analysis*. Jacobs (2002: 213) argues that discourse analysis provides us with the interdisciplinary means to "close the gap between conceptions of communication process and language structure and function". Corporate communication theorists (Rossiter and Percy 1997; Reed and Ewing 2004) have addressed these conceptual interfaces by offering modellings of how audience motivation and involvement can guide message sources in balancing cognitive and affective message content and in selecting its linguistic instantiations. However, these efforts have been concentrated in the realm of advertising and promotion where ethos messages are typically left out of the rhetorical equation.

We attempt to present different academic studies of corporate discourse and their development from a credibility perspective. This allows us to highlight a shift

in focus over time from the very detailed analyses of text at sentence level to a concern with the structuring of text into chunks and, subsequently, to a preoccupation with the rhetorical planning and execution of discourse on the basis of corporate culture, image and identity.

Visual rhetoric is an important and more recent contribution to the production and analysis of corporate credibility. From a multi-disciplinary perspective, we discuss how visual imagery can help reinforce textual messages of corporate credibility. To that end, we introduce our own recent modelling of ethos and its application in research. We thus show how corporate credibility can be conceptualised and made operational for strategic communication at a level relevant both to pragmatics researchers and practitioners of corporate communication across languages and cultures.

1.1. Classical and modern ethos: Rhetorical approaches to credibility

Thinkers as diverse as Aristotle and Kenneth Burke agree that often it is not a person's ideas but a person's character that changes people (Alcorn 1994: 3). Like Aristotle, Burke (1950) considered the speaker's *ethos* to be the most salient element in his ability to persuade an audience of the validity of his claim. For Burke, persuasion works via mechanisms of identification with the speaker. This is achieved through *consubstantiality* by which the speaker appeals to the audience to join him by accepting his ideas and values. In Aristotelian rhetoric of Greek philosophy, this art of persuasion was performed by masters of oratory whose speeches would be developed from the three basic components of persuasion, namely *logos* (the nature of the subject-matter presented by the speaker to the audience), *pathos* (the emotions of the audience) and *ethos* (the speaker's character and qualities).

In Aristotelian terms, ethos is a process by which the speaker successfully represents his or her *intelligence*, *character* and *good will* towards the audience. In constructing his ethos, the speaker must thus demonstrate to his audience that he is knowledgeable and well-informed, truthful and morally upright, and considerate and attentive to the interests and emotional needs of his listeners. Speeches delivered in this manner would fall within either of the three rhetorical genres of *forensic* concerned with the legal prosecution or defence of actions in the past, *deliberative* concerned with the future effects of legislation, and *epideictic* concerned with the display of vice and virtue belonging in the present. Speakers excelling in these genres would be judged on their competence in relation to *invention, arrangement, style*, *memory* and *delivery* (Aristotle 1991a), which concepts have clearly found strong resonance in modern day pragmatics and discourse analysis.

The study of ancient Greek and Roman conceptions of ethos was revived in the 1950s and 1960s by a diverse community of communication theorists (e.g. Hovland, Janis and Kelley 1953; McCroskey 1966; Berlo, Lemert and Mertz 1969), who were seeking to further explore the significance of this particular construct

and associated rhetorical concepts. The emergence of New Rhetoric theory (Burke 1950; Toulmin 1959; Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 1969) helped examine and recast classical notions of rhetoric and the perspectives of, among others, Cicero, Aristotle and Quintilian. Burke (1969: 41–43) stressed the importance of persuasion to verbal interaction, explaining that rhetoric is the use of words by human agents to form attitudes or to induce actions in other human agents. Moreover, it is the use of language as a symbolic means of attaining cooperation from beings that respond to symbols. These modern approaches to interpersonal communication perceive rhetoric as argumentation, as opposed to oratory, and thus attach vital importance to interactive contexts, dialogue, and reception (for an overview, see e.g., Babin and Kimberly 1999). In this light, credibility is not merely the outcome of successful self-presentation, but the sum of a negotiated process by which the speaker or writer has scanned and interacted with the environment. It is essentially on these foundations that modern day rhetoric and argumentation theory in the academy rests and from which it permeates through the cracks and crevices of contemporary discourse.

The momentum has remained intact until today as a number of scholars (McCroskey and Teven 1999; Kirkeby 2001; Kock 2004; Isaksson 2005) have stayed preoccupied with exploring and modernising the classical building blocks of rhetoric, including the notions of ethos and credibility. These studies present both more detailed conceptual mappings (Lund and Petersen 1999; Nielsen 2001, 2004) and empirical analyses (Hoff-Clausen 2002; Schnoor 2004; Bordum and Hansen 2005; Isaksson and Jørgensen 2010b) of how message sources may systematically contribute to audiences' assessment of their credibility. Cheney, Christensen, Conrad and Lair (2004: 80) explain how rhetorical theory has gone on to broaden its scope to include a societal perspective with implications for credibility, by which rhetoric now addresses the roles that organizations and institutions play in the modern world. The rhetoric of organizations (Cheney, Christensen, Conrad and Lair 2004), identification with different publics (Burke 1969), and the launching of organizational rhetoric as the fourth great rhetorical system (Crable 1990: 127) represent a relevant strand of rhetoric which, from the 1980s and onwards, depicts organizations as the "true rhetors". The understanding and analysis of credibility and ethos thus become a rather complex business.

1.2. The heart and soul of corporate discourse: Communicative and pragmatic approaches to credibility

Rhetoric plays a central role in informing our understanding of how corporate entities legitimise themselves through discourse by displaying their corporate soul to both internal and external publics. At the beginning of the 20th century, the impact on society of the growing number of large American corporations led to accusations of lack of social conscience and soullessness, causing them to increasingly orient

towards better promotion of their corporate souls. Marchand (1998: 4–7) notes that in our contemporary world, we see such attempts to augment moral legitimacy as campaigns to gain corporate prestige or a reputation for social responsibility.

If there is a corporate soul, there will evidently be a corporate body to house that soul. The body metaphor has been used since ancient times to represent the human component of society, the state and other types of organization. This has now been extended to the corporate domain where Christensen, Morsing and Cheney (2008: 6–9) ask the central question: "What about the corporate face […] how does the organization present itself and how is it perceived by others?"

It is specifically in the application of the rhetorical concept of ethos to corporate soul discourse that we may explain how corporate bodies manage their faces in order that they may become assigned with human qualities such as intelligence, honesty and compassion by their audiences. How this is achieved will be the recurring theme of this book chapter.

Aristotle and his contemporary colleagues may have provided us with slightly varying representations of ethos as discourse, but after centuries of further observation, study and experiment, we can conclude that the original theorising work has stood the test of time. In modern research, credibility is often defined as a receiver-based construct on the common understanding that it is something that message receivers can decide to either bestow on or withdraw from the message source (Gass and Seiter 2007). Thus credibility is, by its very nature, slippery and fluctuating as audiences' judgements of the source are constantly affected by contextual changes and developments. Those seeking to maintain a favourable standing must therefore monitor events and sentiments and, in turn, effect the necessary changes in behaviour and rhetoric. In such trying circumstance, corporations must attempt to design their ethos discourse to positively influence the volatile and inconsistent impressions formed of them by their heterogeneous publics.

From the 1950s onwards, communication scholars have discussed and elaborated on Aristotle's tripartite conceptualisation of ethos, offering new dimensions and redefining old ones. This process gave way to new and contested dimensions, including *charisma*, *dynamism* and *co-orientation* (Tuppen 1974), *extroversion, sociability* and *composure* (McCroskey and Young 1981), and *clarity, modesty, commitment* (Lund and Petersen 1999), to the extent that almost any feature of the message source could be construed as having an effect on credibility. Some of these dimensions were, however, related to the source's personality, and, as has been pointed out, a source may possess both *charisma* and *dynamism* in abundance but may still not be found credible (Kock 2004).

Communication theorists also invested themselves in finding ways of operationalising credibility and measuring its effects on audiences. As part of this challenge, mutually exclusive sets of adjectives were introduced in order to semantically differentiate the construct's constitutive dimensions (Berlo, Lemert and Mertz 1969). McCroskey and Young (1981) at some point claimed that the dimen-

sions of credibility had been conclusively researched and made fully measurable by their peers, to the extent that further efforts would be unconstructive. The same community of researchers had, however, by that time, paid little or no attention to the discursive applications of credibility dimensions in the context of real-life situations, including organizational settings.

In a different tradition, discourse analysts and pragmaticists have perceived the construction of ethos to be primarily a situated discursive practice where the speaker evaluates both internal and external stakeholders' expectations, attitudes and beliefs and then lets his self-presentation develop into a verbal reflection or mirror image of these (Amossy 2001). This linguistically-oriented approach to discourse assumes more of a strategic *message production* perspective on credibility than the *reception-and-effect* approach of communication research. In pragmatics, it has not so much been the theory of persuasion or the effects of influence which have captured the attention of scholars as it has been the verbal enactment of influence attempts. Thus, discourse analysts and pragmaticists have mostly been preoccupied with the use of *speech acts* in discourse as symbolic representations of persuasive intent.

Any attempt to disentangle the wealth of approaches somehow tying in with credibility, to spot their commonalities, and to label their undergrowth of methods and applications will be selective and can only offer a few examples of the broad-based research that has been done in this field.

1.3. Faces of credibility in corporate discourse

If corporate bodies have faces, as metaphorically suggested above, we may assume that such faces also have eyes and expressions which can reveal or betray the corporate soul. If the soul represents the corporate culture and identity, companies may, like people, try to disguise or differently represent their identities, hoping to be viewed more favourably by their external stakeholders. This can happen not only by explicitly verbalising the company's demeanour, but also through the application of facework, politeness and indirectness in an effort to influence the images created. While viable images rest firmly on Aristotle's components of ethos, it is immediately clear that demonstrations of positive face and politeness in the communicative process may serve to make corporations more likeable and, in turn, their products and services more desirable. Thus Gass and Seiter (2007) argue: "Although not synonymous with credibility, we see the concepts of face and facework as being closely related to the credibility construct. Maintaining one's face, we believe, is akin to maintaining one's credibility in the eyes of others". These dimensions of discourse are therefore also conducive to the creation of corporate credibility.

In describing what one's company is made of, the corporate communicator must be focussed on maintaining a receptive and friendly disposed audience as he

delivers his core message. Verbal indirectness, appropriateness and politeness thus become useful measures in securing message receivers' attention to a given theme and in lubricating their processing of the message to the point where a positive attitude towards the company is finally achieved.

Face saving, politeness and indirectness in self-presentations can thus be realised both on the lines and between the lines of discourse. Messages explaining the achievements and character of the source can be mitigated on the lines by various forms of tactful communication. Such communication is captured by the concept of *facework* which encompasses a range of *impression management* techniques for controlling the potentially negative impact of relating a very positive *self-identity* to a message receiver (Goffman 1959, 1967). These techniques and their multifarious manifestations have been extensively researched and tested by anthropologists, organizational scholars and linguists devoted to elucidating the nature of specialized discourse.

1.3.1. Corporate facework

In the study of corporate communication, it is frequently the ambiguous power relationships between business associates, or members of an organization, and the mitigating effects of politeness on face threats in both dialogue and written correspondence that come under scientific scrutiny. Particular interest has been paid to the issuing of requests (Pilegaard 1997; Geluykens 2008), complaints (Park, Dillon and Mitchell 1998; Trosborg and Shaw 2005) and apologies (see Trosborg 1995 for a comprehensive treatment of these speech acts). A key concern in this line of research has been with understanding the interpersonal politeness routines and facework strategies of workplace settings (Newton 2004; Bargiela-Chiappini and Harris 2006), negotiations (Ehlich and Wagner 1995; Grindsted 1997), job interviews (Lipovsky 2006), and service encounters (Kraft and Geluykens 2008). Studies have frequently taken an inter-cultural (Vandermeeren 2003) or cross-cultural perspective (Yli-Jokipii 1994), and have increasingly used authentic corporate data from particular industries (Alvesson 1994) or very unlike cultures (Bilbow 1997) to account for standards and differences of impression management. These studies have largely remained focussed on interpersonal, group and cultural settings. For no apparent reason, the mitigating tactics of mediated discourse such as PR and marketing communication have not, with the same immediacy, seized the imagination of politeness scholars. However, crisis communication is now a field of growing interest and relevance as it represents a type of mediated corporate discourse where self-promotion and the saving of face become inextricably intertwined (see e.g., Hearit 2006).

As companies employ ethos discourse to describe their own virtues, pragmatic language use in its various forms can help remove the sting from manifest acts of self-promotion. By signalling politeness through hedging, verb choice, use of pro-

nouns and other lexical items, the communicating company can underscore its own social nature, its sense of responsibility and its respectfulness to the message receiver. Overt and potentially provocative ethos claims about a company's *competence, character* and its *good will* can thus be toned down by writing modesty, self-reflexion and sensitivity into a self-promoting message. In addition, as these face-work techniques serve to mitigate overt statements of self-presentation that emphasize a company's graciousness and caring nature, they simultaneously testify to the truth-value of the very same statements.

Before turning to how corporate credibility may be thematically planned and communicated on the basis of the tripartite structure of *intelligence*, *character* and *good will*, and irrespective of facework and indirectness, we give an outline of the significance of self-presentation in a corporate context.

2. Credibility as a corporate concept

The level of credibility that a company can secure through self-representations will add to the amount of legitimacy that it has already accrued from merely complying with the legal rules and formal procedures defining and limiting its practices. If a legitimacy gap still remains, the company may redress the situation by adjusting its current practices and/or recasting its ethos discourse.

In the post-modern climate of the 1970s, Western companies were challenged by the growing calls for more responsible corporate behaviour coming from environmentalists, NGOs, government agencies and affected local communities. Their calls for change were frequently accompanied by demonstrations, boycotts, industrial strikes and government regulations (Heath 2005). This development, together with a long series of industrial crises and disasters, spurred awareness of the need for more dynamic and dialogic relationships with a wider audience of stakeholders if companies were to protect their legitimacy. In management research, new corporate reputation theories of *issues management* (Jones and Chase 1979; Heath 2005) were developed to allow companies to scan their environments and take precautionary measures. By the same token, crisis management theory (Coombs 2007; Hearit 2006) abounded to inform corporate practice in handling critical situations threatening to put the organization at peril. These types of theory-building contained strong components of communication and pragmatics required to maintain or regain credibility. Also, they had their basic foundation in corporate communication theory intended to account for the central constructs of *culture, identity* and *image*.

2.1. Ethos: The artery between culture, identity and image

The role of ethos discourse as artery or gateway between identity and culture, on the one hand, and identity and image formation, on the other, is curiously neglected in most social scientific treatments of corporate or organizational behaviour. However, linking ethos discourse to this triad is a logical extension if we accept that an organization's ethos discourse is the primary means of conveying information about its identity and culture to all external stakeholders. In doing so, we follow Aristotle's argument that ethos is an expression of the speaker's identity (Johnson 1984) on the understanding that such depiction is instrumental in causing stakeholders to trust and like the speaker.

Hatch and Schultz (2000: 24–6) distinguish between identity and culture along three dimensions: textual/contextual, explicit/tacit and instrumental/emergent. They find culture relatively more easily placed in the domains of the contextual, tacit and emergent, whereas identity, in relation to culture, is more textual, explicit and instrumental (Hatch and Schultz 2004: 384). This means that organizational self-definitions of identity are embedded in cultural understandings that reflect the deeper values and attitudes of organizational members. Culture is thus fundamental to the processes by which organizational members understand and explain themselves as an organization.

In organizational research, *identity* is treated as a phenomenon emerging naturally over time within organizations to provide a depiction of "how" an organization's members perceive and understand it. A different approach is taken by corporate identity theorists who see identity as a resource to be expressed and explained to corporate audiences. Identity thus becomes an internally negotiated resource used by organizations to affect the images held by corporate audiences.

Despite their different foci, these traditions share the pursuit of insight into "who" and "what" the organization is and "how" its members relate to it. They also share the understanding that identity is something that can be communicated. However, neither tradition offers a sufficient account of how the influence process can be rhetorically and pragmatically handled to form and change images via ethos discourse.

From a managerial perspective, corporate identity has become a core resource which must first be understood and discussed in order to find common ground between members of the organization as to what its soul is made up of (Pruzan 2001). From that point, organizations can go on to use their identity to create a long-term differential advantage over their competitors. To establish a shared identity, managers need to examine their existing webs of corporate symbols, power structures, control systems, rituals, routines, stories and myths (Dowling 2001). The task is subsequently to transform shared identity components into unequivocal credibility statements about the organization's vision, mission, philosophy, history, personality and so forth. Ultimately, these statements represent the management's final

"mind" on what the company is made up of and united by. Corporate identity thus becomes a strategic instrument by which organizations can determine how best to explain themselves to their stakeholders and close possible legitimacy gaps (Melewar and Jenkins 2002).

Image is a so-called "receiver-based construct", which is to say that a company's image is essentially beyond its control as it captures a multiplicity of reflections of identity in the minds of its stakeholders (Hatch and Schultz 2000). From this it follows that not only may investors, customers, government agencies and pressure groups hold conflicting images of the company, but also that members from the same stakeholder group may perceive differently of it. What an organization, however, can strive for is to promote its managed self-perception through ethos discourse brought on its website, through advertising, events and media appearances, and in brochures, reports, newsletters, press releases, in-house magazines and so forth. The idea of an organization's "managed self-perception" is further developed and refined by the modelling of identity offered by Hatch and Schultz (2004: 382, 384). Identity is here shown as the central construct in relation to culture and image which represent internal and external definitions of organizational self, respectively. In this way, identity becomes explicitly linked to and contingent on both organizational culture and image.

Hence, in trying to express organizational culture and to mirror existing images through ethos discourse, managements can use their identity "to project four things: Who you are, what you do, how you do it and where you want to go" (Olins 1995, quoted in Hatch and Schultz 2000: 13). In a similar vein, Keller (2000: 123) argues that corporate credibility is a projection of how well "a firm can design and deliver products and services that satisfy customer needs and wants". These projections of identity can be made operational in the form of rhetorical strategies and be expressed in multi-modal ways through sentences, visuals, sound, smell and touch.

Building on the conception of culture and image as integral components of identity and on Aristotelian and contemporary definitions of ethos, Isaksson and Jørgensen (2010a, 2010b) suggest that identity-driven credibility appeals can be immediately produced from the notions of *corporate expertise, corporate trustworthiness* and *corporate empathy.* By attaching operational levels to these notions, identity can be made manifest through expressions of what you do and how competently you do it (expertise), how you go about doing it (trustworthiness), and how you care for and assist others (empathy).

It is for corporate management to ensure that expressions of the company's identity do not become too far removed from its collective sense of self or identity if it is to prevent a feeling of loss of legitimacy in the organization. However, Aristotle acknowledged the role of tailored appearances in persuasion. While "Isocratean tradition asserts the speaker's need to *be* good, Aristotelian tradition asserts the sufficiency of *seeming* good" (Baumlin 1994: xv). In the first perspective, the

speaker is seen to truthfully reveal his character while, in the second perspective, he actively furnishes a construction or image of his character (Baumlin 1994: xv). We have now come full circle, returning to the contemporary representation of Aristotelian ethos in order to discuss how credibility can be pragmatically communicated on the lines and through other means than facework strategies.

3. Textual and visual credibility in corporate discourse

Corporate discourse is composed of textual and visual rhetoric serving to support the organization's credibility. The significance of a dynamic interplay between text and visuals is widely acknowledged across the affected academic disciplines even if it is sometimes contested whether words or pictures carry greater weight in changing or reinforcing attitudes and building trust.

The importance of both modes is particularly evident in corporate advertising, but the interaction between text and pictures is recognised to be a salient aspect of practically all corporate message production. The company logo, for example, is a key dimension of corporate identity which may promote the company as effectively as words can. Even so, corporate logos are frequently accompanied by a tagline or company name, as with Nike's "Swoosh" and the "Just do it" tagline, or McDonald's "Golden Arches" underlined by the phrase "I'm lovin' it". While pictures and symbols often are dominant features of a company's self-representations, adding connotative layers and imbuing text with additional subtlety, they cannot, however, provide explicit testimony of corporate credibility. Visual imagery can only hint at this, and thus serves a supportive function of text in directing the target audience's interpretation towards the intended reading of the message.

Visual rhetoric was an integral part of classical rhetoric. According to Quintilian, visual rhetoric has great impact on persuasive public oratory. Thus, gesturing, proper stance and body posture, and the management of eyes, voice and facial expressions were thought to be particularly meaningful and effective triggers of the emotions of an audience (Kjeldsen 2002: 123–124). It is nevertheless a fairly recent development that rhetoricians and pragmaticists have begun to consider the use of pictures and symbols as part of written discourse, superseding their belief that pictures were either inferior to prose or in safer hands with semioticians and graphic designers. Perhaps due to their somewhat reluctant inclusion of visual imagery, rhetorical theorists and linguists have been slow to develop new visual theory and, on the whole, appear more comfortable in applying existing discursive concepts to visual phenomena (Foss 2005: 142; Cheong 2004). Recent studies, which attempt to explain text-image relationships in more novel ways, operate across a variety of genres but only sporadically address corporate discourse, or the notion of credibility for that matter. Even so, valuable work has been published on visual imagery that is of particular relevance to the field of advertising where the bi-di-

rectional relationship between text and pictures is immediately perspicuous (Forceville 1996; McQuarrie and Mick 1999; Cook 2001; Kress and Van Leeuwen 2006).

However, there is now a growing body of interdisciplinary research which investigates the role of both textual and visual credibility discourse in corporate settings. Digital representations of corporate discourse appear in particular to have generated renewed interest in the rhetorical challenge of constructing source credibility. Corporate websites, which provide the main platform for building credibility, constitute a complex medium that utilises text, graphics and moving pictures. These sites, Hoff-Clausen (2002: 39) argues, have become virtual quagmires of source credibility as they contain the risk of unintended exposure of companies' vulnerability. The wealth of statements about companies' words and deeds, to which everyone has access via corporate websites, has inspired researchers to examine the nature and consistency of companies' self-assessment as they are mediated in order to generate stronger reputations.

Textual and visual manifestations of corporate credibility have been analysed in studies of organizational web environments (Hoff-Clausen 2002), corporate vision and value statements (Bordum and Hansen 2005), corporate identity (Schnoor 2004), the ethos of managers and PR experts (Lemée and Lund 1999), media (Lund and Petersen 1999), and e-mails (Bondi 2005). In three recent studies of credibility, Isaksson and Jørgensen have explored the rhetorical options available to the management of reputations by specifying how they may be operationalised in discourse by way of different appeal types. Each study employs a model of ethos consisting of up to eleven credibility appeals allowing the expression of *expertise*, *trustworthiness* and *empathy* (see section 3.1). The first study (Jørgensen and Isaksson 2008) is an inquiry into the textual and visual ethos of international financial image advertising. The second inquiry is of the virtues and emotions employed to achieve representations of ethos in corporate mission statements posted on the web (Isaksson and Jørgensen 2010b). Their most recent study of corporate ethos is an analysis of the self-presentations of PR agencies across three culturally diverse web contexts (Isaksson and Jørgensen 2010a).

Many recent attempts have been made to redefine and operationalise *ethos* on the basis of Aristotle's early conceptualisation of intelligence, character and good will. Alternative conceptualisations of ethos, usually following the same tripartite structure, have been suggested with the intention of making the construct more relevant and functional in corporate or organizational contexts. One concern has been with the origin of the message source as this may necessitate a shift of inquiry from the individual to the collective rhetor. What does it mean to speak in a collective voice? Corporate messages represent entire organizations and, as pointed out by Cheney (1991: 3), these messages cannot be treated simply as though they were from one individual to another. Schnoor's (2004) study questioned whether the credibility of a corporate brand could in fact be assessed by the same dimensions as

those used in Aristotle's account of rhetor ethos, exploring to what extent personality and organizational characteristics are essentially the same. Schnoor's (2004: 125) factor analysis produced an additional two dimensions referred to as *extroversion* and *strength* to allow representation of the collective personae or brand constituting the corporation. To meet organizational requirements and personalise invisible managerial collectives, Lund and Petersen (1999) have, under the umbrella of *good will*, incorporated individual virtues such as *involvement*, *authenticity*, *presence* and *enthusiasm*.

To explain manifestations of corporate ethos on the web, Hoff-Clausen (2002: 40–44) introduces four different aspects. *Inter-textual ethos* captures how different layers of credibility statements may not just support one another, but may also undermine the *textual ethos* they communicate independently of each other. *Exemplary ethos* signifies the potential loss of credibility arising from conflicts between (a) what companies reveal about their identity and (b) how their websites reflect and adjust to that identity, not only in words but also through prompt and adequate responding to consumer involvements with the website and through regular website updates. Finally, *ritual ethos* represents the discourse serving to promote solidarity and bonding between the company and its stakeholders. This is something which can be achieved by discussing shared causes and ambitions on the website. These four aspects contribute towards an operationalization of ethos in that the individual textual statement will express competence, the consistency of statements will impart trustworthiness, and the ritual bonding in distinct passages will demonstrate the company's good will or concern for its stakeholders.

Isaksson and Jørgensen's two studies of ethos discourse on corporate websites propose a strategic, yet more detailed and discourse-oriented operationalization of the macro constructs of ethos. Their first investigation (2010b, see 3.3.) studies the rhetoric and language used for crafting credible corporate discourse. It posits that corporate mission statements have become a central platform for articulating corporate identity and for disseminating a discourse of virtues and emotions to stakeholders receptive to corporate image advertising. Eleven different credibility appeals (see discussion in section 3.1.) were identified to bring order to the complex rhetorical instantiations of virtues and emotions employed by corporate rhetors to communicate corporate ethos. The second study (Isaksson and Jørgensen 2010a) seeks to determine the nature and patterns of the web-based credibility statements of 60 British, Danish and Norwegian PR agencies trying to establish dependable and likeable images of their ethos.

3.1. Operationalising credibility: A model of ethos

Today, companies, organizations and collectives are ascribed with a personality and an ethos and want to be perceived as responsible social actors with aims, commitments, beliefs and emotions (Hatch and Schultz 2004: 3–4). We have already

suggested how different rhetorical conceptions of ethos may provide an overall framework for a more strategic approach to corporate self-presentation. From this follows the intriguing pragmatic question of how corporate rhetors may, within this framework, go about designing and drafting credible messages that can catch the eyes and engage the hearts and minds of increasingly sceptical stakeholders.

Ethos discourse is clearly an instrument for building and maintaining a desired reputation founded on trust, but corporate communication theory is practically silent on how such discourse should be structured and worded. For example, how can corporate writers imbue mission statements or image advertising with authentic symbolic expressions, and how do PR agencies prove themselves dependable and likeable on the web? To help identify actual instantiations of the dimensions of the credibility framework, we have proposed a model that allows discursive analysis of corporate self-representation. This *Ethos Model* (see Fig. 1) builds on Aristotle's (1991b: 141) classical ethos concept and thus on the idea that ethos is a textual manifestation. It also draws on McCroskey's (2001) modelling of credibility, on concepts from impression management theory (Rosenfeld, Giacalone and Riordan 2002) and theorising on corporate virtues and emotions (Chun 2005, Isaksson 2005).

The Ethos Model contains three *ethos qualities* labelled as *expertise*, *trustworthiness* and *empathy.* Ideally, the corporate rhetor must first prioritise the three qualities in relation to the perceived need for self-presentation in a given message. Each ethos quality then prescribes a particular *rhetorical strategy* which, in turn, allows the rhetor a selection of different *credibility appeals*.

Expertise requires the rhetor to *self-promote* which can be done by exhibiting the collective outlook and insights of the organization, by highlighting the competences, skills and abilities of its employees, by taking credit for particular achievements in the past, or by displaying the size and accessibility of its facilities or staff. Trustworthiness instructs the rhetor to *self-characterise* by emphasising the organization's high standards of integrity and truthfulness or by applauding the professional courage and passion of organizational members. Empathy signifies an organizational selflessness requiring the rhetor to *self-sacrifice* by providing assurance of the organization's concern for the welfare and comfort of its stakeholders.

The eleven credibility appeals at the model's lowest level of abstraction thus constitute its operational component. Corporate rhetors need to understand how the different appeals at this level differ from one another to be able to respond adequately with discourse to different situational contexts. By the same token, discourse analysts should be able to distinguish, with a high degree of precision, between appeal types in order to obtain consistent results from their analysis of corpora of credibility discourse. To allow this type of detailed analysis in different corporate genres such as mission statements, image advertising, and corporate homepages, the model's appeal types were defined as shown in Table 1.

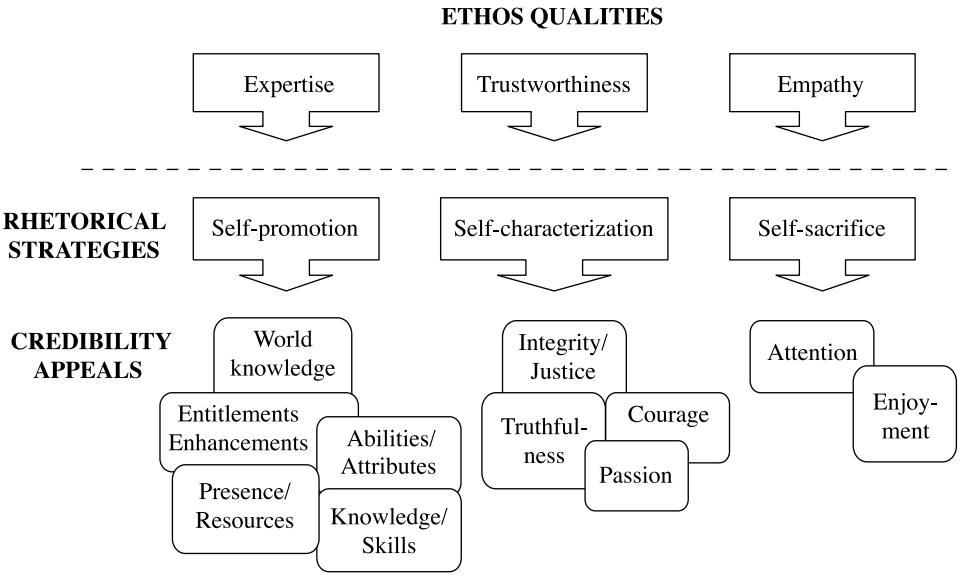

Figure 1. Ethos qualities

Table 1. Definitions of credibility appeals

Expertise – Self-promotion	
World knowledge	*World knowledge* captures the corporation's insight and knowledge. It applies to statements containing universal truths or generalities about (a) business life/conditions, (b) the industry or company to which the author belongs, or (c) the world at large.
Entitlements/ Enhancements	*Entitlements* highlight what the corporation has achieved, while *Enhancements* point out what it should be specially credited for having achieved. They are used by the corporation to bring attention to and take credit for a particular achievement or to point out that it has made a particular achievement that deserves extra merit.
Presence/ Resources	*Presence and Resources* explain where the corporation is situated and its ability to perform. This will be statements about (a) the physical presence of the author or (b) his/her company and its capabilities or way of performing, in concrete terms, or (c) any description, recommendation, offering, or praising of products, services, or specialisation offered by the corporation.

Expertise – Self-promotion	
Abilities/ Attributes	*Abilities and Attributes* refer to the corporation's fundamental make-up. This will be statements that relate to the author's/corporation's (a) innate qualities, (b) work-related experience and insights, (c) vision or (d) human effectiveness, thoroughness or thrust.
Knowledge/ Skills	*Knowledge and Skills* refer to what the corporation is formally made up of. It defines as statements pointing to (a) knowledge or skills acquired by the members of the corporation through education or training, (b) acquired rank, merit, recognition, position or status, or (c) any cooperation with a third party, or membership of an organization.
Trustworthiness – Self-characterisation	
Integrity/ Justice	*Integrity and Justice* stand for how the corporation behaves. Integrity refers to statements about the corporation's (a) neutrality, impartiality, business morality or objectivity, or its members' (b) industriousness. Justice refers to statements about the corporation's equity, fairness and lawfulness.
Truthfulness	*Truthfulness* is how the corporation carries itself, and it covers statements about its collective moral constitution and character with respect to honesty and sincerity.
Courage	*Courage* is how the corporation responds to challenges and threats and refers to statements about the corporation's competitiveness, its ability to demonstrate resolution, tenacity, firmness of mind and will.
Passion	*Passion* is how the corporation is enthused and refers to statements about what the rhetor finds exciting, rewarding and exhilarating.
Empathy – Self-sacrifice	
Attention	*Attention* is how the corporation cares for others. This refers to statements concerned with the corporation's (a) altruistic behaviour and concern for society and common good, or its (b) devotion and undivided attention to the target audience, or (c) an indication of a bond or partnership between the corporation and its audience.
Enjoyment	*Enjoyment* stands for the happiness or enthusiasm the corporation creates for others. This refers to statements concerned with the corporation's ability to generate contentment and joy, pleasure and satisfaction.

In approaching corporate discourse, the definitions of appeals in Table 1 provide an instrument to allow the analyst to gauge data on a sentence or clause basis. It will of course always be the analyst's individual assessment of the meaning of a string of text that decides if it should be coded, for example, as an instance of the source's *courage* or an instance of *ability/attribute*. However, the strength of the definitions is in providing a benchmarking system to secure analytical consistency across a corpus of generically similar data.

3.2. Credibility in corporate image advertising

In a first study, Jørgensen and Isaksson (2008) used an early version of the model, which comprised 8 different appeals, to determine the composition of self-appraisal in the image advertising of 48 leading banks and financial services companies. The 74 advertisements examined had been inserted in European versions of three different economic journals between 2002 and 2006. This produced a very rich and detailed picture of how companies in the financial sector use self-appraising credibility discourse in powerful combinations with visual imagery in order to reinforce reputations. The bidirectional links between text and visual metaphors were accounted for using a generic move structure of print advertisements proposed by Cheong (2004). This systemic-functional approach was adopted to capture the wider scope and effervescence of *ideational* meaning in advertising. Cheong's move structure, which applies to all types of print advertising, allowed the researchers to partition the individual advertisement into distinct textual and pictorial units on basis of their purposes, and to determine how the units connect to communicate credibility.

To give an example: A one-page advert by Deutsche Bank depicts two well-dressed bankers standing in front of a large Deutsche Bank logo (a blue slash in a blue square) from which position they are engaging in animated discussion with a client represented by five equally smartly dressed executives. Three of these executives are seated at an oval-shaped conference table facing the two bankers. The two remaining executives are passionately engaged in the discussion: one of them is standing up in his shirt sleeves, leaning across the table, while the other is leaning against the front of the table in a gesticulating pose. This scenario constitutes the so-called *locus of attention* of the advert. The scene is set in a large, high-ceilinged meeting room framed by two walls of large-paned windows and overlooking numerous high-rise office buildings representing what would appear to be a large financial district. This background forms the *complement to the locus of attention*. The bottom right-hand corner of the advert contains an *emblem* which is made up of the slash-in-a-square logo. These visual features actualise the text by complementing it with vivid metaphorical references (see Table 2). The text itself is divided into five standard units: (a) the *primary announcement* which arrests the reader's attention by its semantic content and incomplete syntax, and circumscribes the reading of the locus of attention; (b) two *secondary announcements* which give supporting information about both the primary announcement and the locus; (c) the *enhancer* which provides complete sentences to elaborate the announcements and impart the locus with further meaning; (d) the *tag* containing the recurrent slogan of the bank to further guide the reader's understanding of the locus of attention; and (e) the *emblem text* which explains the source and the emblem and the logo shown in the locus of attention. These textual moves and their corresponding visual metaphors were coded for use of appeal types and subsequently quantified.

Table 2. Deutsche Bank appeal types

MOVES	TEXT	APPEAL
Primary announcement (Explains that the people in the locus of attention are engaging in fruitful dialogue)	*Passion: Synchronised thinking.*	Passion
Primary announcement (Explains that the same people are clever, ambitious and striving for success)	*Performance: the finest minds/working together to create the next success.*	Abilities/Attributes/ Courage
Secondary announcement (Explains the services offered by DB and what the object is of the primary announcement)	*Corporate & Investment Banking, Asset Management, Private Wealth Management, Private & Business Clients*	Presence/Resources
Secondary announcement (Explains that DB is capable and that the scenario in the primary announcement will be productive)	*Expect the better solution*	Abilities/Attributes
Enhancer (There is no reference to the source, but it underscores the passion and drive of the primary announcement and the locus of attention)	*You have a plan. You believe in it.*	None of the appeal types
Enhancer	*And in the spirit of true teamwork – a meeting of minds with a partner who really understands your needs.*	Attention
Enhancer	*At Deutsche Bank we share your passion for working in synch,/ for creating superior solutions, for driving new successes.*	Passion/Courage
Enhancer	*As one of the world's leading financial institutions,/ we provide both the brain and the brawn to get things done – from idea generation to deal completion.*	Presence/Resources/ Abilities/Attributes

MOVES	TEXT	APPEAL
Enhancer	*Whether giving strategic advice, leveraging business insights to drive creative solutions, or delivering superior execution.*	Presence/Resources
Enhancer	*We coordinate our mutual strengths/to take your business even further.*	Abilities/Attributes/ Attention
Emblem text	*Deutsche Bank*	None of the appeal types

The coding provided a detailed picture of the appeal types used by Deutsche Bank in its advertisement, of how the appeals were combined, and how they were connected with the visual metaphors to create a coherent whole. By subsequently accumulating the numerical scores for the entire corpus, the researchers were also able to obtain a comprehensive result of the frequency with which individual appeals occur and how they distribute across the three ethos qualities. Thus, an inclusive picture could be obtained of the industry's current praxis for portraying its expertise, trustworthiness and empathy.

3.3. Credibility in corporate mission statements

In a parallel study (Isaksson and Jørgensen 2010b), the eleven credibility appeals shown in Table1 were researched in a series of mission statements collected from the websites of 9 international corporations in the food, energy and banking industries. The purpose of the study was twofold: (a) to report how virtues and emotions are communicated with a view to building corporate credibility on websites, and (b) to determine the extent to which appeals of virtue and emotion differ across mission statements representing three different industries. Thus, the research was concerned partly with showing how corporate identities are instantiated in a genre far less containable than advertising, and partly with deciding whether different industries take different approaches to presenting their own multi-faceted identities.

In the study, the concept of *mission* is defined in a much broader sense than simply the short and now obligatory mission statement explaining the line of business, objectives and approach of a company. The Ashridge Mission Model (Campbell and Tawadey 1990: 1–2) suggests the presence of four identity components: (a) *Purpose* outlining the philosophy and *raison d'être* of the company; (b) *Values* accounting for its beliefs, relationships, ethics, emotional logic and justifications for good behaviour; (c) *Strategy* identifying business domain, competitive advantages and distinctive competencies that enable the company to hold a special position; and (d) S*tandards and behaviours* instructing corporate staff on conduct.

The source documents were consequently selected on the basis of identity content appearing under such prototypical webpage headings as *Values, Purpose, Goal, Vision, Business Idea*, etc. This resulted in a quite comprehensive corpus with 9 texts varying from about 560 to 1,380 words. Taking this approach, the researchers were able to produce fairly thick descriptions of the distribution of virtues and emotions by clustering the eleven appeal types into 7 appeals of virtue (appeals 1–7) and 4 appeals of emotion (appeals 8–11). Table 3 exemplifies how the eleven appeal types were matched with credibility discourse explaining corporate virtues and emotions:

Table 3. Appeal types

CREDIBILITY APPEAL	**TEXT EXAMPLES**
(1) Entitlements/Enhancements	*These core values have formed the basis of our General Business Principles for 30 years and remain as important as ever.*
(2) World knowledge	*Respect for the opinions of others is a prerequisite for achieving loyalty and cooperation.*
(3) Presence/Resources	*Our employees are our most crucial resource, and therefore we abide by the following principles:*
(4) Knowledge/Skills	*We are a European global powerhouse dedicated to excellence …*
(5) Abilities/Attributes	*Heineken sees itself as an integral part of the local and global communities in which it operates.*
(6) Integrity/Justice	*We support diversity and a fair representation of women and men as well as ethnic minorities in our organization.*
(7) Truthfulness	*These values are what we stand for and believe in:*
(8) Passion	*That's why to us A Passion to Perform is far more than just a claim – it is the way we do business.*
(9) Courage	*To have the best competitive corporate, operating and financial performance*
(10) Attention	*Protecting our people and facilities*
(11) Enjoyment	*Who enjoy their work, develop their competencies and are proud of their employer.*

3.4. Credibility in public relations discourse

A third study (Isaksson and Jørgensen 2010a) focuses on how industry and cross-cultural differences become embodied in self-presentations in a European context. While the first two studies were aimed at large, well-esteemed financial, energy

and foodstuff concerns with a wide spectrum of stakeholder groups, this inquiry takes data from the public relations industry which offers specialised consulting services to businesses, without pursuing a high public profile for itself. Since persuasion and impression management are the mainstay of the industry, one would expect its members to possess a high level of craftsmanship and to have a perfect understanding of how self-presentations should be worded. However, if PR agencies are already assumed to possess expertise and know-how in their field, what additional traits might they display in order to convince clients of their credibility? Following the Ethos model, corporations have the option of developing stronger bonds with clients by either explaining their character or by verbalising their commitment to others.

In a corporate world fraught with notions of corporate sustainability and social responsibility, managements of PR agencies would be expected to sit comfortably with credibility discourse that gives preference to statements of integrity, honesty, attention and enjoyment. Equally, one might expect agencies belonging to quite similar business cultures, and servicing the same or similar clients of national and international origin, to resemble one another in their rhetorical approaches to credibility.

The study compares the credibility discourse displayed on the corporate websites of 60 British, Danish and Norwegian public relations agencies to test their preferences in relation to appeal types and to account for any national differences. The selection of uniform data from a medium as complex as the Web formed a considerable challenge to a study seeking to extract quantitative evidence from data also subjected to detailed qualitative inquiry. If such data are unwieldy and not amenable to consistent qualitative analysis, then the quantitative outcome will of course provide a poor reflection of any patterns in discourse. However, corporate web pages are truly structured as a Chinese box system in which all web headings potentially contain credibility discourse. This clearly confronts analysts with the task of setting up procedures for identifying discourses with sufficiently similar surface features to form a basis for analysis. In planning the current study, the researchers were met by a bewildering amount of different web page structures. Also, individual web pages labelled with the same or similar topics were of widely different content and length. So, there are quite clearly important questions of *topics*, and also of *document length*, to be addressed before discourses can be tapped for their content of credibility appeals.

The issue of selecting topics may be addressed by producing a short list of web headings reflecting relevant ethos qualities such as *culture*, *excellence*, or *philosophy*. While this may be a crude selection instrument, it would be highly unlikely for web pages indicating such topics not to be focussing on source credibility. Deciding the length of the individual document is also problematic in a web environment. Should the analysis stop after fifty or hundred words? What if there are only

7 words on a given page, or if pictures have replaced words altogether? Likewise, sentences often contain two or more credibility appeals, which naturally poses a question of how to prioritise and count these.

4. Conclusion

Oftentimes credibility is explained as an individual's judgement of another individual's or organization's moral character formed on the basis of perceived status, authority, performance and appearance. Credibility is the impression of an individual's abilities and character created in the minds of an audience, and it is therefore in close relationship with the notions of image and reputation. Thus, credibility is a condition that can be protected, destroyed, enhanced, evaluated and so on. In social scientific research, credibility is generally construed to be a measurable condition of a target audience that will give indication of the degree of trust invested in individuals or collectives.

This chapter offers a different and discourse-oriented perspective by which credibility is a rhetorical activity or, more precisely, "the technique of conveying human character through language" (Baumlin 1994: xii). This implies that the abstract and inherent qualities of credibility, namely expertise, trustworthiness and empathy, must be conceived as rhetorical strategies (self-promotion, self-characterization and self-sacrifice) to enable the planning of messages of self-presentation. These rhetorical strategies can be applied in the writing of actual discourse once they are made operational in the form of clearly distinguished and defined credibility appeals that can immediately guide and inspire the corporate rhetor.

The perspective that credibility can be produced and explicitly manifested in discourse is in harmony with central theories of facework and politeness in pragmatics by which rhetors may complement their self-appraisals. This is done by techniques such as hedging, apology, indirectness or modality that will help to cast them in a sympathetic light of virtue and good intentions. Visual rhetoric plays an important role in supporting both direct and indirect ethos discourse. Visuals can be very effective in bringing attention to a message source's positive character through figurative appeals to the human senses that immediately engage an audience in message processing. Visual rhetoric can reinforce audiences' reading of credibility attributes by simultaneously depicting buildings, employees, products, and so on. However, text appears to have a stronger capacity for facilitating learning and acceptance in individuals as text can impart information with greater syntactic and semantic precision and thereby reduce ambiguity. In fact, text can conjure up images as effectively as can pictures and non-discursive symbols by means of metaphors and other direct or indirect linguistic cues. Hence, an audience's final acceptance of the benign identity of a message source can be secured through combinations of textual and visual portrayal.

However, studies of the type illustrated above do not address the effectiveness of credibility discourse in the experience of message audiences. Instead, they account for current and developing rhetorical practices adopted by different organizations for use in different media and genres. With discourse as primary data, the analyst cannot measure the impact of ethos on its audience. For example, do descriptions of an agency's competences cause it to appear more credible than a listing of its existing portfolio of customers? Is a web page with just pictures, titles and names of the board of directors promoting credibility better than text explaining which jobs the agency will not perform because of ethical considerations? Will flashy graphics and animations undermine or underpin verbal appeals of credibility? Clearly, visual imagery does not explicitly communicate a particular appeal and can only be assessed in relation to concomitant running text. When such text is not included, should the relevant web page be excluded from analysis? Clearly, the effect of ethos discourse is elusive, and it is difficult to determine whether thematically clever and versatile text running coherently over an entire page will be more or less credible, and thus more effective, than short, smart and snappy slogans or oneliners.

One of the strengths of the type of studies explained here is that a detailed discourse analysis of a corpus of text can produce a clear and distinctive picture of the rhetorical strategies behind actual words, sentences and paragraphs. At the same time, the analysis can be kept at a level of abstraction where the researcher can process a sufficiently large amount of written data to be able to yield telling and reliable results about the planning aspects of communicative behaviours. In determining the nature of individual credibility appeals found in discourse, the ability of the researchers to judge the thematic and semantic content of the selected material is of course central to the outcome of the work. While there are thus different challenges and constraints affecting the study of the multi-modal expressions of ethos, there is ample scope and opportunity for combining qualitative and quantitative approaches in pragmatic inquiries seeking to document how corporate culture and identities can be represented in discourse with a view to changing corporate images and ultimately to building corporate reputations.

In discussing the Aristotelian view on ethos, we initially touched on the acceptability of giving "tailored", as opposed to "good", descriptions of one's identity by actively furnishing a construction of one's character. Corporate rhetors' would obviously be ill-advised in providing deceitful accounts of companies' identities, but justified in making truthful constructions catering for the needs and expectations of their stakeholders. James Paul Gee (2005: 5) notes that "Writing as if all you have to offer are 'the facts' or 'the truth' is also *a way of writing*, a way of using language to enact an activity and an identity, too". However, he adds that "'truth' […] is a matter of taking, negotiating, and contesting perspectives created in and through language".

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19. Corporate crisis communication across cultures

Finn Frandsen and Winni Johansen

1. Crisis communication: The emergence of a new field of study

During less than thirty years, crisis management and crisis commmunication have been institutionalized as a legitimate organizational practice in both private and public organizations in many parts of the world. However, this development has not taken place at the same time or in the same manner in all countries and in all types of organizations.

In some countries, especially in North America and France, crisis management and crisis communication emerged as a new management function or discipline already at the beginning of the 1980s. In the USA, the tainting of Tylenol capsules produced by McNeil Pharmaceuticals, a subdivision of Johnson and Johnson, in September 1982 in Chicago is generally credited as the beginning of the modern field of crisis management and crisis communication (Andrews 2005: 224–226; Mitroff 2001: 3; 2005: 23). Although the company did not have a formal crisis plan, Johnson and Johnson handled the situation so well that they became the standard within the field (Marra 1998). In other parts of the world like in the Scandiavian countries, crisis management and crisis communication have only recently reached the corporate agenda. In Denmark, for example, it was not until the mid-90s that terms like *crisis management plan* and *crisis management team* entered ordinary language use and became part of a new crisis vocabulary used by organizations and their stakeholders (especially business journalists) (cf. Johansen and Frandsen 2007: 63–64).

At the same time as crisis management and crisis communication became institutionalized as a new organizational practice, the very same function or discipline were subjected to scholarly research. Thus, within the field of strategic public relations or corporate communication, crisis management and crisis communication have transformed into a new academic field of study which has proved very dynamic in recent years.

The aim of this chapter is to give a research overview of the study of corporate crisis communication. The chapter is divided into two parts. The first part (section 2 and 3) contains a state of the art presentation of the two dominating lines of research within crisis communication, i.e. the *rhetorical* or *text-oriented* tradition and the *strategic* or *context*-oriented tradition. The second part of the chapter (section 4) focuses on a more specific aspect of the crisis communication research conducted so far, i.e. the *intercultural dimension* of crisis communication. Do national cultures and organizational cultures have an impact on how public and private or-

ganizations handle a crisis situation? The chapter concludes with a section on future directions within crisis communication research.

2. Crisis communication defined

It is surprisingly rare that crisis communication researchers bring up the fundamental question of definition: *What is crisis communication?* What characterizes crisis communication as opposed to other types of corporate communication? There are at least two possible definitional answers to this question: 1) a *vertical* definition where different types of crisis communication take place within the *same* stage of a crisis (normally, during the crisis situation), and 2) a *horizontal* definition where different types of crisis communication take place within *different* stages of a crisis (precrisis stage, crisis, postcrisis stage).

Sturges (1994) is one of a small group of scholars who has taken up the challenge of defining crisis communication, proposing a detailed vertical definition. He has established a Model for Crisis Communication Content (Sturges 1994: 313) intended to serve as an overall framework for research and where crisis communication has been put into a larger context. This context comprises a staged approach to crisis management inspired by Fink's (1986) idea about a *life cycle* of a crisis divided into four distinct stages (prodromal crisis, acute crisis, chronic crisis, and crisis resolution) together with a model of how the public opinion among organizational publics develops before, during, and after a crisis inspired by Zaltman and Duncan's (1977) model for the group opinion formation process.

Sturges (1994) differentiates between three types of crisis communication content: 1) *instructing information*, i.e. "[i]nformation that tells people affected by the crisis how they should physically react to the crisis", 2) *adjusting information*, i.e. "[i]nformation that helps people psychologically cope with the magnitude of the crisis situation", and 3) *internalizing information*, i.e. "[i]nformation that people will use to formulate an image about the organization" (Sturges 1994: 308). The idea is that organizations can use and combine the various types of crisis communication content in a strategic manner depending on how the crisis in question and the public opinion evolve. According to Sturges (1994), organizations will typically focus on internalizing information in the prodromal crisis stage, and after the resolution of the crisis, whereas their attention will be directed more towards instructing information in the acute crisis stage and towards adjusting information in the chronic crisis stage (cf. Sturges 1994: 308–311).

It appears that Sturges' definition is more horizontal than vertical, but one must not forget: 1) that all three types of crisis communication content will always be represented to a certain extent in every stage of a crisis (cf. Sturges' own model), and 2) that every kind of instructing information and/or adjusting information also constitute a sort of internalizing information contributing to how stakeholders cre-

ate an image or reputation for the organization in question (cf. Johansen and Frandsen 2007: 227). Sturges (1994) has remained a frequent reference within the literature on crisis communication (cf. Coombs 2007a: 133–137 or 2008a: 106–108), and so far, nobody has questioned the well-founded nature of tripartite definition of crisis communication.

The previous crisis communication research has to a very great extent been focused on the study of *crisis response strategies*, i.e. what Sturges (1994) labels internalizing information, and how these communicative strategies can protect the image or reputation of an organization during a crisis. This partly explains why it is difficult to find horizontal definitions taking into account the role of communication both before, during, and after a crisis. However, one does find rudiments to such an approach in the literature. Seeger, Sellnow and Ulmer (2003: 19) claim that "communication relates to all aspects of organizational crisis, including incubation in precrisis, manifestation in crisis, and post mortem and ultimate recovery during postcrisis". Departing from this broad view of organizational crisis and the role of communication Ulmer, Sellnow and Seeger (2007) has for example established the concept of *post crisis discourse of renewal* to which they link *opportunity management* and the idea of a "new normal" (see also Seeger and Ulmer 2002; Ulmer and Seeger 2002; Seeger, Ulmer, Novak and Sellnow 2005). The most important vertical and/or horizontal definitions are summed up in Fig. 1.

Precrisis stage	**Crisis event**	**Postcrisis stage**
Risk communication	*Instructing, adjusting, and internalizing crisis information* (Sturges 1994) *Crisis response communication* (crisis response strategies) (Benoit 1995; Cameron et al. 2008; Coombs 2007a; Hearit 2006)	*Renewal discourse* (Ulmer, Sellnow and Seeger 2007) *Follow-up communication* (Coombs 2007a)

Figure 1. Vertical and horizontal definitions and types of crisis communication

3. State of the art: Where are we?

Despite the fact that crisis communication may still be considered a very young academic discipline, it is already possible to identify specific research traditions within the field.

Coombs (2006) has suggested that we divide crisis communication research into two broad categories: *form* and *content*. "Form indicates what should be done. For instance, crisis managers are told to respond quickly. Content addresses what is

actually said in the messages. For example, crisis managers are urged to express sympathy for crisis victims" (Coombs 2006: 171). In the first category, Coombs places the normative, experience-based how-to literature which is normally not theoretically founded. The core of this literature consists of practical lists of 'dos and don'ts' produced by practitioners having experience from working with crisis management or crisis consulting (crisis managers, consultants). The second category includes crisis communications research in the proper sense of the word whether it is descriptive and based on case studies, like in many rhetorical studies of corporate apologia, or explicative and based on experimental tests. Subsequently, Coombs (2008b) has suggested an alternative classification consisting this time of three broad categories: 1) practitioner lessons, 2) a *rhetorical* tradition "rooted in apologia" and a *social-psychological* tradition "rooted in attribution theory" (Coombs 2008b: 1055, 1057).

The two research overviews offered by Coombs are useful and give an apercu of crisis communication as an evolving academic discipline. However, this doesn't imply that they are unproblematic. For example, Coombs (2006) makes a distinction between two types of research although only the second type represents scientific research properly speaking. Coombs (2008) expands and distinguishes between three research traditions, but again, the first type of research represents "practitioners lessons", and not scientific research, and the third type of research only represents one single theory, i.e. Coombs' own Situational Crisis Communication Theory (SCCT). Therefore, we suggest that one introduces a new and more comprehensive classification, based only on scientific work, which distinguishes between two broad research traditions depending on to what extent the focus is on a rhetorical and text-oriented perspective or on a strategic and context-oriented perspective (cf. Johansen and Frandsen 2007: 200–202). Below we will briefly present these two perspectives or lines of research, their theoretical point of focus and their methodological approaches, together with some of the most important representatives and publications.

3.1. The rhetorical or text-oriented research tradition

The first of the two research traditions is the *rhetorical* or *text-oriented* tradition. Scholars within this tradition are first of all interested in studying *what* and *how* organizations communicate in a crisis situation. What do they write in the press releases distributed to the media? How do the spokespersons express themselves on the television screen? And not least: How do the organizations *defend* themselves verbally against attacks on their image or reputation from critical stakeholders (like the media, activists, customers, citizens or politicians).

Three theoretical sources of inspiration have played a crucial role for the rhetorical or text-oriented tradition. The first and without doubt most important source of inspiration is the (neo-)rhetorical tradition of *apologia* (for an overview of

apologetic rhetoric, see Towner 2009). One of the most applied theories within this tradition is Ware and Linkugel's (1973) theory of apologia, which is based on a distinction between four factors or strategies for rhetorical self-defense (denial, bolstering, differentiation, transcendence) and four postures or stances of self-defense, i.e. specific combinations of factors or strategies (absolutive, vindicative, explanative, justificative). According to Coombs (2006), Dionisopolous and Vibbert (1988) are among the first to transfer the genre of individual self-defense to the domain of organizations based on the assumption that organizations have a public persona and are often perceived or treated as individuals by their stakeholders. However, again according to Coombs (2006), it is not until the beginning of the 1990s that the (neo-)rhetorical theory of apologia is applied for the first time, with Ice (1991), to an organizational crisis, namely Union Carbide's communication with its stakeholders during and after the Bhopal catastrophe in 1984. Still, it must be mentioned that Benoit and Lindsey's (1987) rhetorical analysis of Johnson and Johnson's corporate apologia during the Tylenol crisis was published a couple of years earlier. The remaining two sources of inspiration are *impression management* (Allen and Caillouet 1994) and the *sociology of accounts* (Scott and Lyman 1968).

Concerning methodology, the majority of studies conducted within the rhetorical or text-oriented research traditions have been conducted in the shape of qualitative case studies describing or analyzing how an organization selects and combines rhetorical strategies from a given list of verbal defense strategies. In recent years, the widespread and often inadequate use of case studies has lead to a necessary methodological discussion within public relations research in general (cf. Cutler 2004) and crisis communication research in particular (cf. Coombs 2007b and An and Cheng 2009).

Two of the most important representatives of the rhetorical or text-oriented approach are two North American rhetoricians: William L. Benoit and his theory of *image restoration* or *repair strategy*, and Keith M. Hearit and his theory of crisis communication as *terminological control*.

3.1.1. Crisis communication as image restoration discourse

Inspired by Burke's (1970) theory of victimage, Ware and Linkugel's (1973) theory of apologia and Scott and Lyman's (1968) theory of accounts, William L. Benoit has established a theory of image restoration discourse; a theory which is based on two key assumptions: a) that communication is a goal-oriented activity, and b) that maintaining a favorable reputation is a key goal of communication.

The corner stone of this theory is a typology of image restoration strategies. In this typology, the various image restoration strategies are organized into five broad categories, three of which have several subcategories: 1) *denial* (subcategories: simple denial, shifting the blame), 2) *evading responsibility* (subcategories: provocation, defeasibility, accident, good intentions), 3) *reducing offensiveness* (subcate-

gories: bolstering, minimization, differentiation, transcendence, attack accuser, compensation), 4) *corrective action*, and 5) *mortification* (Benoit 1995a: 95). The typology is the result of numerous empirical case studies conducted and published before *Accounts, Excuses, and Apologies* (1995) (see for example Benoit 1982; Benoit and Lindsey 1987; Benoit, Gullifor and Panici 1991; Benoit and Brinson 1994; Benoit and Handczor 1994; Benoit, 1995b; for later developments, especially terminological changes, see Benoit 1997; 2004; and for a critical discussion of the image restoration theory as such, see Burns and Bruner 2000; Benoit 2000, and Johansen and Frandsen 2007: 213–216).

The importance of Benoit's theory of image restoration discourse has been emphasized by Hearit (2006: 83): "Benoit's (1995) project has been of tremendous use to scholars in apologetic communication; it is no understatement to say that it has become the definitive work on the strategies used by apologists".

3.1.2. Crisis communication as terminological control

Keith M. Hearit has contributed to the rhetorical study of crisis communication in four important ways. Firstly, he has introduced a social constructionist approach to the field of crisis, crisis management, and crisis communication defining crisis as "communicative creations" constructed by human actors. This approach entails that crisis communication must be defined as the core of crisis management: "We assert that communication, rather than being one variable in the crisis management mix, actually constitutes the nature and being of the crisis itself" (Hearit and Courtright 2003: 202). At the same time, he warns against reducing crisis communication to "a unitary rhetorical event, focused only on one organization" (Hearit and Courtright 2003: 92).

Secondly, he has established a theory where crisis communication is viewed as a question of gaining *terminological control* or establishing *definitional hegemony.* This theory is to a great extent inspired by Kenneth Burke's idea of *terministic screens*: "Even if any terminology is a reflection of reality, by its very nature as a terminology it must be a selection of reality; and to this extent it must function also as a deflection of reality" (Burke 1966: 45). Thus, a terminology – in our case: crisis communication – functions as a kind of screen leading our attention in specific directions. Even that act of giving an organizational crisis a *name* constitutes a crucial element in this process. To denominate is not just a pure nominalistic operation; when naming, we also *define* and bring forward *arguments*, that is: we claim what is (reality) and what is not (reality) (see. e.g., Hearit 1994: 115).

Thirdly, he has applied Chaïm Perelman's concept of *dissociation strategies* (opinion/knowledge, individual/group, and act/essence) i.e. the strategies whereby an organization accused of wrongdoing tries to *distance* itself from this act, to a series of case studies from the American automobile industry (see e.g., Hearit 1994; 1995a; 1995b). Finally, Hearit has conducted an in-depth investigation of

one specific verbal defense strategy, i.e. the corporate *apology*, including an *apologetic ethics* (Hearit 2006).

So far, Hearit's rhetorical theory of crisis communication has not been applied by others to the same extent as Benoit's theory of image restoration theory (for a few exceptions, see Frandsen and Johansen 2007; 2009a). Nevertheless, it is an important contribution to the field, which sheds light on unexplored aspects of corporate crisis communication.

3.2. The strategic or context-oriented research tradition

The second of the two research traditions is the *strategic* or *context-oriented* tradition. Although they also work with lists of crisis response strategies in their research, scholars within this tradition are more interested in studying *where*, *when*, and to or with *whom* organizations communicate during a crisis. How do phenomena like the crisis type, the crisis history of organizations, or the stakeholder's attribution of crisis responsibility to organizations influence the choice of crisis response strategies? Thus, this research tradition has a central interest in investigating how various *situational or contextual factors* have an impact on the form and content of crisis communication.

Among the most important theoretical sources of inspiration within the strategic or context-orientered tradition, one finds *public relations research* (especially the relationship management approach, see for example Ledingham and Bruning 2000), theories of *management* and *organization* (especially neo-institutionalism and contingency theory), studies within *marketing*, *consumer behavior*, the study of crisis response during product harm crises (Mowen 1980; Coombs 2007b), and, finally, *social psychology* (especially, the social-psychological theory of *causal attributions*), which has proved very useful in explaining the reactions of stakeholders.

Concerning methodology, the studies conducted within this approach are to a large extent based on quantitative and hypothesis-driven research, which is explicative (and partly prescriptive) and based on experimental tests. Some of the scholars contest the usefulness and validity of qualitative methods, especially the (inadequate) use of case studies. Recently, the idea of *evidence-based management* has also been introduced as an inspiration when it comes to the question of how to transform scientific findings into normative guidelines (Coombs 2007b; 2007c).

Two of the most important representatives of the strategic or context-oriented research traditions are two North American public relations researchers who have both made important contributions to the field: W. Timothy Coombs and his *Situational Crisis Communication Theory* (SCCT) and Glen T. Cameron and his *Contingency Theory of Accommodation*, which Pang (2006; 2008) has expanded into a theory of *conflict positioning* in crisis communication. Among the other representatives of the strategic or context-oriented research tradition, one finds Priscilla

Murphy and Matthew W. Seeger, Timothy L. Sellnow and Robert R. Ulmer who have tried to build a theory of crisis communication introducing game theory, chaos theory, or complexity theory (see e.g., Gilpin and Murphy 2006 or Seeger, Sellnow and Ulmer 2003).

3.2.1. Situational Crisis Communication Theory (SCCT)

The pivotal element within Situational Crisis Communication Theory (often abbreviated SCCT) is the idea that crisis communication first of all serves the goal of protecting the image or reputation of organizations in crisis, and that the best way to do this is to select a crisis response strategy that *matches* the reputational threat represented by the crisis in question.

SCCT consists of three main components. First of all, a list of ten crisis response strategies divided into four postures and distributed along a continuum from defensive strategies to accommodative strategies: 1) the denial posture (*attacking the accuser*, *denial*, *scapegoating*), 2) the diminishment posture (*excusing*, *justification*), 3) the rebuilding posture (*compensation*, *apology*), and 4) the bolstering posture (*reminding*, *ingratiation*, *victimage*) (Coombs 2007a: 140). As it appears, this list of response strategies has a lot in common with the list of strategies established by Benoit (1995). Secondly, a crisis typology consisting of three types or "clusters" of crises representing various degrees of reputational threat: mild (victim crises like natural disasters, rumors or product tampering), moderate (accidents like technical breakdowns or product recalls) and severe (preventable crises like organizational misdeed or mismanagement). Thirdly, a theory making it possible to match a given crisis situation with the right response strategy based on a calculation of the causal attributions ascribed by stakeholders to the organization.

The theory referred to is the social psychological theory of *causal attributions* which has been the most important driver behind the development of SCCT for the last ten years. According to attribution theory, stakeholders will make attributions about the cause of a crisis (assessment of an organization's crisis responsibility), which will have affective and behavioral consequences for the organization implied. Thus, attribution theory allows Coombs to incorporate the causal attributions made by stakeholders as the most important situational or contextual factor (see e.g., Coombs 1995; Coombs and Holladay 1996; Coombs 1998; 2004a; 2204b; 2006; 2007c).

In addition to the three theoretical components described above, Coombs has also developed a series of new important concepts, which have already proved useful within crisis communication research: e.g., *relational history* and *relational damage* (Coombs 2000; Coombs and Holladay 2001), the *velcro effect* and the *halo effect* (Coombs and Holladay 2006), *negative communication dynamics* (Coombs and Holladay 2007), etc. The practical purpose of SCCT is to establish a set of normative guidelines based on empirical experiments for both private and public or-

ganizations (see e.g., Heath and Coombs 2006: 206). Thus, SCCT can be seen as an attempt to implement the idea of evidence-based management within the field of crisis communication (for a critical discussion of SCCT, see Johansen and Frandsen 2007: 244–246 and Frandsen and Johansen 2009b).

3.2.2. Contingency Theory of Accommodation

Cameron's theory of public relations or Contingency Theory of Accommodation shares the interest for situational or contextuals factors with Situational Crisis Communication Theory, but instead of working with a small number of factors (e.g., crisis type, causal attributions and various intensifying factors like the crisis history of the organization in question), he introduces two comprehensive lists of no less than 87 external and internal contingency factors.

Cameron is inspired by the contingency approach within management and organization studies, according to which the structure and the performance of organizations are dependent upon the particular circumstances – the situational or contextual factors (Cameron calls them *contingency factors*) – faced by each organization. Thus, there is no 'one best way' for all organizations, as claimed by for example the Excellence theory within strategic public relations (cf. Grunig and Grunig 1992) and excellent crisis public relations (cf. Marra 2004, and Fearn-Banks 2007). The solution to an organizational problem always depends on the situation (Cancel, Cameron, Sallot and Mitrook 1997).

The Contingency Theory of Accommodation is built around a set of key concepts: the *advocacy/accommodation* continuum, the *stance* (or position) of an organization towards a given public, and *external and internal contingency factors* (or the temporal distinction, introduced by Cancel, Mitrook and Cameron 1999), between predisposing variables and situational variables). Among the external factors or variables having an influence on the stance (and strategic communication) of an organization, one finds: threats (e.g., litigation or government regulation), industry environment, general political/social environment/external culture (e.g., degree of political or social support of business), the external public, and issues under question (e.g. size, stakes, complexity). Among the internal factors or variables: corporation characteristics (e.g., open or closed culture), public relations department characteristics, characteristics of dominant coalition (e.g., political values of top management), internal threats, individual characteristics (public relations practitioner, dominant coalition, and line-managers), and relationship characteristics (Cancel, Cameron, Sallot and Mitrook 1997: 60–63).

Pang (2006) has expanded the Contingency Theory of Accommodation into a theory of conflict positioning in crisis communication where he combines Benoit's theory of image restoration discourse with Cameron's theory of public relations. Pang (2006) has identified five key factors that influence organizational stance, including the selection of crisis response strategies in a crisis situation: 1) involve-

ment of the dominant coalition in the crisis, 2) influence and autonomy of public relations, 3) influence and role of legal practitioners in the crisis, 4) importance of publics to the organization during the crisis, and 5) the organization's perception of threat in the crisis (cf. Cameron, Pang and Jin 2008).

The two research traditions presented above have evolved differently during the last decade. First of all, the rhetorical or text-oriented tradition seems to have lost momentum, and although applied in numerous case studies, it has not developed very much at either a theoretical or a methodological level. This observation is especially aimed at Benoit's theory of image restoration or image repair, which has remained more or less the same since the publication of Benoit (1995). Only a few scholars have tried to test the typology of image restoration strategies established by Benoit in quantitative studies or have tried to combine his typology with other theoretical approaches within the field (cf. Pang 2006). On the other hand, the strategic or context-oriented tradition has evolved in great haste developing new theoretical elements and conducting quantitative empirical studies. Some of the most important new research trends within this tradition are 1) the study of *emotions*, 2) the study of the *semiotic form* of crisis communication, like visual crisis communication, and 3) the impact of choice of *communication channel* (print media versus eletronic media) on the reactions of stakeholders to crisis communication.

4. Crisis communication across cultures

All Crises Are Global (2004) is the title of a book on crisis management published by North American scholar Marion Pinsdorf. She claims that all crises are global going as far as emphasizing that we no longer have national frontiers in the functional sense of the word. Today everything circulates; people, capital, communication, diseases, without noticing where a nation-state begins or ends. No crises are local, because although a crisis may seem geographically delimited, like the Tylenol crisis in 1982, which took place in the suburb of Chicago, it will often contribute to the establishment of new global standards for reporting and product safety together with new expectations among consumers in other places of the world. Thus, crises, at least when it comes to their consequences, are omni-present and do not seem to depend on culture-specific contexts. And then again. Today's crises may be global, but in most cases, if not always, they are still handled within a local context, whether defined by a nation-state or by an organization; thus, they also depend on culture-specific contexts. Epidemics and diseases (mad cow disease, SARS, avian influenza, influenza A (H1N1), etc.), technological risks (the nuclear escape from Chernobyl in 1986), natural disasters (hurricanes, earthquakes and tsunamis, like the tsunami in South-East Asia in 2006, etc.), and new global challenges (e.g., the climate changes) are all instances of crises that have crossed

national frontiers, but which nevertheless have been handled in different culture-specific ways from country to country and from organization to organization.

If one takes a look at the research conducted within public relations and corporate communication during the last three decades, it is easy to observe that it isn't until the beginning of the 1990s that scholars start showing interest in how national cultures or organizational cultures influence the organizational practice of strategic communication. IABC's Excellence project, lead by James E. Grunig from 1985 to 2002, was one of the very first research projects that ascribed a role to culture. The purpose of the project was to map the factors that can make public relations excellent including more than 327 organizations in three different countries, and the findings demonstrated that both societal culture and organizational culture are important factors influencing the strategic management of communication. Sriramesh, Grunig and Buffington (1992) and Sriramesh and White (1992), who all took part in the Excellence project, explain the lack of interest in intercultural issues referring to the widespread idea that public relations is an American "turn-key" invention that also can be applied without further ado in non-American cultures. The authors want to eliminate this idea emphasizing the fact that we need more studies of how other cultures work with public relations (including how easy or difficult it is to apply American theories in another cultural context). However, larger and more comprehensive publications on international or intercultural public relations have not seen the light before the beginning of the new millennium (see e.g., Sriramesh, Kim and Takasaki 1999; Moss, Verčič and Warnaby 2000; Sriramesh and Vercic 2003; for an overview of recent research, see Molleda and Laskin 2005).

Neither within crisis management nor crisis communication research has there been a long tradition for including an intercultural perspective. Lee (2005: 286) explains: "That international crisis communication is underdeveloped, if not undeveloped, reflects either insensitivity or ethnocentrism in the current crisis communication field". Thus, in most of the studies, an organizational crisis has been investigated as either an event or a process with a clear focus on the managerial and communicative response, and not on parameters or variables like national culture or organizational culture. Coombs (2007a), a key reference within the field, only mentions culture one time describing the cultural system together with other systems variables like technology, human factors, infrastructure, emotions, and beliefs (Coombs 2007a: 154).

In order to systematize and simplify our presentation of the studies of the cultural dimension of crisis management and crisis communication conducted so far, we have established a model or template, which allows us to identify the approach, the object, and the point of focus in each of these studies. As it appears from Fig. 2, the model or template embraces three interrelated dimensions: 1) the organization in crisis (before, during, and after the crisis), its internal crisis culture, and crisis management and crisis communication activities defined as a specific organiz-

ational practice; 2) two cultural levels: national culture and organizational culture; and 3) various types of stakeholders who perceive and react to organizational crises and the ways in which they are handled by the organizations.

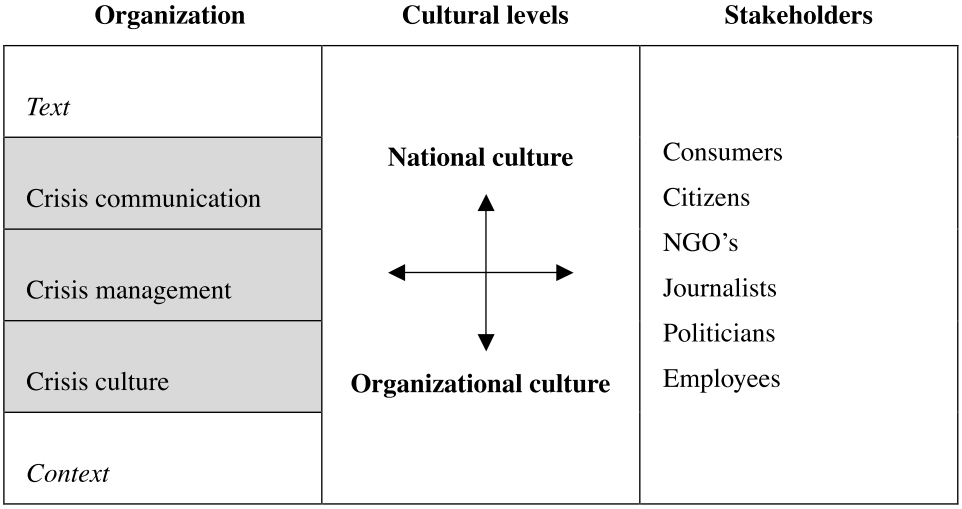

Figure 2. Cultural dimensions of crisis management and crisis communication research

4.1. Crisis management and national culture

In the few intercultural studies that have been conducted so far within crisis management research, the main emphasis has been on the significance of national cultures and on the intercultural differences in handling an organizational crisis.

Pinsdorf (1991), subsequently included in a revised version in Pinsdorf (2004), a case-study-based guidebook for practitioners, is one of the very first articles studying the intercultural dimensions of a crisis situation. According to her, it is obvious to study airline companies. Many of these companies fly transnationally, transporting passengers belonging to various national cultures and are very similar when it comes to safety procedures before, during and after a flight. As a point of departure, differences in the way airline companies handle a crisis may therefore be ascribed to differences in national culture and/or organizational culture.

Pinsdorf has studied how two fatal airplane crashes were handled in two different national cultures: The crash experienced by Japan Airlines (JAL) on August 12, 1985 (520 dead), and the explosion of Pan Am Flight 103 on December 21, 1988 (276 dead). In Japan, JAL responded quickly. The airline company followed an elaborate protocol; the CEO apologized offering to resign immediately, the families affected by the crash were offered help, and representatives of JAL participated in memorial ceremonies, etc. The company lived up to the cultural expec-

tations avoiding serious legal consequences. In the USA, Pan Am reacted very slowly. The company was not able to inform the public correctly about casualties. The CEO was not very visible, he did not apologize to relatives, and he did not offer them any help worth mentioning. That is the reason why the crisis led to a website, *Victims of Pan Am 103*, established by the relatives themselves, as well as to prolonged legal actions. According to Pinsdorf, these differences in handling the crisis can be attributed to differences in both national culture and organizational culture. The national culture in Japan is a nationalistic, paternalistic, and collectivistic culture where there is a clear emphasis on the human face of an organization and the recognition of its responsibilities. If you as a company are guilty of wrongdoing, it is important to apologize personally, to ask for forgiveness and to seek reconciliation. Contrary to Japan, the national culture in the USA is a more capitalistic and individualistic culture where people react differently. Even though Pan Am showed care and concern, the CEO was not quite as demonstrative in showing his feelings of responsibility and grief. (Also see Ray 1999: 22).

Pinsdorf (1991, 2004) investigates a long series of plane crashes where differences in the handling of the crises can be traced back to cultural problems: e.g., problems of geographical nature like the lack of technology in the Amazon rain forest (Varig 737 on September 3, 1989), or problems of linguistic nature like the use of English as lingua franca of operations, not talking the same language. The Avianca Flight 52 crash on Long Island, on January 25 1990 was caused by a critical fuel situation in combination with Spanish-English communication difficulties due to the problem of people not speaking their native tongue, for instance not seeing an important difference between the words "priority" and "emergency". Thus, not only national cultural, but also linguistic, technological and organizational issues may result in crises of different sorts (for another study of organizational crises in the context of the airline industry, see Ray 1999).

4.2. Crisis communication and national culture

Betty Kamann Lee is one of the researchers who has underlined the sparse research of the importance of socio-cultural factors for international crisis communication, and who has criticized the studies of international public relations for primarily making use of a Western approach, risking erroneous and unsuccessful communication in a crisis situation (cf. Lee 2005b).

In her studies (2004, 2005a and 2005b), Lee focuses not only on the significance of national culture for crisis communication, and on how consumers are rooted in a Western or Asian national cultural paradigm but also on how they are influenced by the communities they belong to in their everyday life. The art of communities in Asia or in the Western world, respectively in collectivistic or individualistic oriented cultures, are very different. Lee has in particular studied the role of consumers in organizational crises. In a study of Hong Kong consumer's

reaction to organizational crises (Lee, 2004, 2005a), she has been able to prove that organizations may risk erroneous deductions, if consumer behavior is interpreted without taking into account the underlying cultural factors. According to Lee, most Asian consumers are less vocal of their expectations, demands, and opinions on corporations in the public arena than their Western counterparts, but this doesn't mean that they do not react. To give an example, her studies show that consumerism is far more widespread in the Western world, and that whereas protests and boycotts against organizations are often used in Western countries (USA, Europe), Chinese consumers express reluctance to these practices; they turn to individual boycott rather than collective protest. To interpret this seemingly emotionless activity as absence of grievance would be a mistake according to Lee.

In an experimental study (Lee 2004), inspired by Situational Crisis Communication Theory (cf. section 3.2.1 in this chapter), 385 individuals from Hong Kong responded to hypothetical scenarios describing a plane crash. The scenarios were manipulated (24 variations) in relation to causal attributions, crisis response, and crisis severity. The findings showed that causal attributions and crisis responses had an impact on the attribution of responsibility, impression, sympathy, and trust in the organization, whereas the seriousness of the crisis did not seem to play any particular role.

Her study showed that Western frameworks are generalizable, but some of the findings showed cross-cultural variations, e.g. in relation to form and function of the response strategies. The response strategy of *no comment* released a higher degree of trust in an organization than a minimization response. The *no comment* strategy was more easily accepted than it would be the case in Western societies, where it is often regarded as being non-responsive (a strategy labelled 'stonewalling'). In Chinese national culture, a silent, reserved gesture like *no comment* is often seen as an act of wisdom, stressing Confucius's maxim "to think three times before you act" (Lee 2004: 613). Furthermore, among the three response types – *apology, compensation, corrective action* – compensation aroused more sympathy from the participants than the apology. According to Lee, this may be due to the fact that apologies are overused in Asian cultures where they often are ritualistic in nature, in some cases merely a routine.

Her research is not only questioning the Western approach to intercultural studies; she is also contributing to theory building within crisis communication research. She is pleading for an *audience-oriented* approach, wanting international crisis communication to become a matter of facilitating co-constructing-codetermining processes before, during, and after a crisis, in order to look at the process of interpretation and construction of the meanings in an organizational crisis.

Huang, Lin and Su (2005) have also tried to test the use of different crisis communication response strategies in a Chinese context. They did a survey among public relations and public affairs managers of top-500 companies in Taiwan (160 respondents), the purpose of which was to study the intercultural experience of these

managers and to develop a model integrating measures, categories, and continuum of crisis communication strategies (based upon the strategies developed by Benoit, Coombs, Sturges, Ray, and others). Their study confirms the categories found in the Western crisis response literature: that concession, justification, excuse, and denial are included in the categories. However, they also found a new factor, *diversion*, i.e. showing regards, but without apologizing, differentiating and creating a new issue. In this sense, it corresponds to the concept of *strategic ambiguity* (cf. Ulmer and Sellnow 2000). Secondly, the instruction or adaptation strategies established by Sturges (1994) did not emerge as a separate factor. Chinese communication is conducted for the purpose of relationship maintenance and cultivation in contrast to the Western view that communication mainly consists in exchanging information and that communication thus may exist regardless of relationship and reputation.

Hearit (2006) has developed a theory about *corporate apologia* and *apologetic ethic* including a series of guidelines for when, where, and especially how an apology is offered in an ethical correct manner, i.e. when it lives up to the norms of a specific socio-cultural order, transgressed by wrongdoing. He has conducted a number of case studies showing not only what is needed, but also why it sometimes goes wrong, and why it sometimes can be extremely difficult to produce the right apology. It is about the manner of the communication (truthful, sincere, timely, voluntary, etc.) as well as about the content of the communication (fully accepts responsibility, expresses regret, seeks reconciliation, etc.) (cf. Frandsen and Johansen 2007, 2009a, 2009b for further examples of the transgression of socio-cultural norms when using apology as a crisis response strategy).

In a study of institutional apologetic theory, Hearit (2006) also looked at apology as a verbal defense strategy across American and Japanese culture in the case of the collision of the U.S.S. Greeneville, a nuclear-power Navy attack-class submarine, with a Japanese fishing boat, the Ehime Maru, during an emergency drill on February 9, 2001. The fishing boat, which carried a crew of 20 together with 15 students and teachers from a Japanese high school, sank within five minutes. 26 persons were rescued, but nine persons were reported missing.

Five strategies in particular seem important within institutional apologetic address: confession of mortification, corrective action, compensation, a transcendent stance, and sensitivity to the ritualistic components of apologetic speech (Hearit 2006: 167–169). His analysis of the intercultural crisis showed that it was difficult for the Americans to live up to the expectations of the Japanese counterparts concerning the right apology and the right compensation. To begin with, the criteria of manner and content of the communication were observed. Later, when it became public that a civilian had been steering the Greeneville, it went wrong. Even though president Bush and other officials made an apology, the Japanese were missing an apology from the main character, i.e. the captain. When he finally sent a letter to the Japanese, it did not live up to the expectations: it was impersonal, the

timing was wrong, it was not seen as a voluntary act, he did not take responsibility, and he didn't address all of the stakeholders, e.g. the families of the victims and the Japanese society. It was not until the conclusion of the Court of Inquiry and the decision of his punishment (he accepted to resign at full rank) that he changed strategy and offered a second apology. He also turned up in person at the Japanese consulate in Hawaii and personally made an apology, demonstrating regret and some acceptance of responsibility, as well as he communicated that he intended to go to Japan to meet with the families. This was seen as an attempt of corrective action. Moreover, the penalty, although accepted by the Japanese government, didn't live up to the expectations of the families of the victims.

The example illustrates how difficult it can be to restore the socio-cultural order, especially the socio-cultural order of foreign national culture, if you are not taking into account the cultural values and norms of the other parties. See Johansen and Frandsen, 2007 and Frandsen and Johansen 2009a, for the study of the challenges of the Danish prime minister, Anders Fogh Rasmussen, and the Danish daily, *Jyllands-Posten*, in connection to the Cartoon Affair in 2005 and 2006 where the Muslim World kept asking for a full or more sincere apology than the ones delivered at several occasions). Pope Benedict XVI, head of Roman Catholic Church, had the same problem following his lecture on September 12, 2006 at the University of Regensburg in Germany where Muslims were dissatisfied with the content of the lecture and his way of apologizing. (cf. Frandsen and Johansen 2009b). The study of Hearit shows the richness and fertility of studying both manner and content of individual response strategies in an intercultural perspective.

Based on a series of case studies, Fearn-Banks (2007) has elaborated guidelines for crisis communication and crisis management plans for practitioners. In the chapter entitled "Cultures: Foreign and Domestics", she accentuates the importance of national cultures in a study of a crisis communication campaign to citizens in a series of African countries upon the preventing of AIDS. She shows how such a communication campaign in order to be effective must take into account the specific characteristics of the target groups and especially their cultural values. Not only sexual myths and taboos, and traditions for practicing sex, but also geography, governmental system, and languages are central cultural dimensions to be aware of in order to communicate effectively.

4.3. Crisis, stakeholders, and national cultures

Ogrizek and Guillery (1997) have conducted a series of case studies, among them the handling of the Perrier crisis in 1990 and the French company's underestimation of cultural variances across borders. According to the authors, one of the lessons learned is that "an international crisis is first and foremost a crisis of cross-cultural communication" (1997: 24). The discovery of benzene traces in Perrier bottles in the USA leading to the withdrawal of Perrier all over the world, was

handled quite badly, especially in relation to communication. One explanation was quickly followed by another, the company was not able to give the correct information, and top management overlooked the different reactions of consumers, the press and the public authorities in different national cultures. The company's handling of the crisis varied in different countries but so did the perception of the Perrier product among its various intercultural stakeholders. In the USA, the company recalled all the bottles of Perrier, but created a ghost market when continuing to rent space on shelves in supermarkets putting up posters announcing their scheduled return of Perrier in order not to lose market shares. In France, Perrier is a part of the socio-cultural heritage, and when the consumers heard about the recall, they rushed to the points of sale to buy bottles. In Japan, mineral water is sold as an exotic luxury product in the same way as cognac and champagne. To the Japanese, it was important to be reassured that they were consuming the original brand. According to Smith (1990: 273), the organizational culture of Perrier and the internal communication management obstructed the handling of the crisis.

Taylor (2000) has conducted a study in order to investigate and understand how cultural norms can affect public response to an organizational crisis. She used the example of the Coca-Cola crisis in Belgium and other European countries in 1999, where she studied how a multi-corporation, in this case the Coca-Cola company, communicated to its publics during and after an international crisis and how the reactions to the crisis from the national governments in six European countries, namely Belgium where the crisis broke out on June 14 1999, France, Spain, Denmark, Norway and Sweden, were subjected to cultural variance.

The Coca-Cola company's response to the Belgian school children falling ill after drinking Coca-Cola was to recall the product, but also to deny responsibility and to doubt the claims of additional illnesses. Based upon the cultural dimensions developed by Geert Hofstede in his IBM study from 1980, and the score of the six countries mentioned above in relation to especially *uncertainty avoidance* and *power distance*, Taylor has tried to explain the cultural variance of the reactions of the governments of the six countries.

According to the findings of Hofstede, high power distance and high uncertainty avoidance countries like Belgium, France, and Spain are countries with a sense of low risk taking, high anxiety for the unexpected, and a concern for security, safety, and explicit rules. And these three countries reacted strongly to the Coca-Cola scare. Whereas low power distance and low uncertainty avoidance countries like Denmark, Norway, and Sweden reacted differently. Taylor's results show that the Coca-Cola company's crisis response strategies, based on cultural norms of an American multi-corporation could meet the expectations of a Danish, Norwegian or Swedish public, but with a Belgian, French or Spanish public the same strategies fell short. The American company reacted according to a low-context and a low-power-distance culture in a culture marked by high-context communication and high power distance, handling the crisis slowly and in an inappro-

priate way. It was not until nine days after the crisis break-out that Coca Cola acknowledged that they had acted wrongly and made an apology. A corporate behavior seen as arrogant by many consumers.

Arpan (2002) has conducted an experimental study based on a crisis scenario involving a fictitious multinational company situated in the USA, and two variables: home country (Japan, Mexico and the USA), and spokesperson (American versus non-American). She wanted to investigate how intercultural communication strategies affect perceptions of multinational organizations in a crisis by examining the interaction effects of spokesperson and stakeholder ethnicity. Her findings showed that communicator (or spokesperson) credibility is very important for the acceptance of the message by the audience, and that credibility was positively related to perceived ideological and ethnic similarity for American and non-American spokespersons.

Arpan and Sun (2006) follows up on Arpan (2002) by investigating the effect of country-of-origin on judgments of multinational organizations after a crisis situation. They use an experimental design including American (184 undergraduate students) and Chinese citizens (undergraduates as well as citizens in a department store: a total of 90 respondents) who evaluate a fictitious multinational organization experiencing a product crisis associated with the organization being based either in China, Japan, Mexico, or in the USA. The study, which is grounded on country-of-origin-effects research and attribution theory, showed that evaluations were based more on overall perceptions of the country in which the organization was headquartered than on simple outgroup status. Multinational organizations from countries with negative country images among key publics in the host countries, might experience a liability of foreignness in a crisis situation and must be diligent when communicating, trying to stress similarities between the people and customs of the home country and the countries of target publics.

Falkheimer and Heide (2006) is a conceptual paper discussing the methods and approaches to crisis communication and intercultural public relations. They have conducted a study of crisis communication to multicultural groups in order to develop new methods and theories for improving interaction between local authorities and ethnic groups, whose culture and media use differ from the traditional patterns in Sweden. The authors try to develop a new theoretical framework for the study of crisis communication and intercultural public relations using a social constructionist approach. According to them, intercultural crisis communication and public relations research so far has been dominated by case studies and by a traditional functionalistic view, where culture is seen as a national variable (national cultural determinism) that has some effects on different items, but not taking into account culture as defined by the public itself (i.e. Vasquez and Taylor 2000). Falkheimer and Heide (2006) argue that a public perspective, i.e. an audience-oriented approach (sensemaking), together with a constructionist ethnicity-based approach would be more fruitful, interpreting communication processes as relational, con-

textual, dynamic, and ritual. It will strengthen "efforts in proactive risk and issues communication, using and developing new media for listening to and defining different multicultural publics and communities, using reference and focus groups, involving local everyday field communicators, giving multicultural publics active parts in information production and distribution processes" (2006: 187). For the use of old and new media in reaching multicultural publics see Falkheimer and Heide (2009).

4.4. Crisis communication and organizational culture

Not only national cultures, but also the (sub)culture(s) characterizing organizations have an important impact on crisis management and crisis communication as an organizational practice. The organizational culture, the communication culture, and the crisis culture are three different, but interrelated concepts dealing with the way a specific group of people working for the same organizations behave, communicate, and perceive crises within these specific working settings. The concept of organizational culture is diverse in the same way as it is the case with the concept of national culture. It may cover several harmonious, fragmented, or conflicting (sub)cultures. In the same way, an organization can be perceived as a multicultural place where people of different ethnic groups are working together. The way they act, the way they communicate with each other and with the external stakeholders, the way they make decisions and solve conflicts and problems, as well as the way they think and speak about crises are important to the handling of a crisis break-out.

Marra (1998, 2004) as well as Pauchant and Mitroff (1992) are among the researchers emphasizing the role played by organizational culture, and more specifically by the communication culture of the organization in question, in working with crisis management. Marra is particularly interested in the importance of organizational culture in the development of crisis management plans. He has established a model for excellent crisis public relations, where the communication culture is central within each of the three stages: before the crisis outbreak (risk communication activities and programs, crisis communication preparation), during the crisis (crisis communication processes and practices), and after the crisis (post-crisis relationships with relevant publics). According to Marra, two variables are very central to excellent crisis public relations: the autonomy of the public relations staff or department and the communication culture of the organization.

To develop a well-functioning crisis management plan; there must be a communication culture that *supports* the crisis public relations function and the crisis plan. The technical strategies of a plan must correspond to or live up to the communication philosophy of the organization; if not, they are destined to fail. "The communication culture is a far better predictor of successful crisis management than the presence or absence of a crisis communication plan." (Marra 1998: 466).

He gives various examples of such cultural observations. AT&T had a very proactive communication culture, namely to disclose as much information as possible, so when the long distance network crisis hit the company in 1990, they didn't hide anything and were totally honest with the media. Johnson and Johnson and the Tylenol crisis (cf. the introduction in this chapter) is another example of best practice with its corporate ideology outlined in its company credo. In contrast to this, NASA's closed and defensive communication culture is an example of how culture can neutralize any benefit from a crisis communication plan. After the explosion of Challenger on January 26, 1986, it took NASA more than six hours to release its first statement although, following the crisis communication plan, a response should have been made within 20 minutes of the crisis.

Ray (1999: 22) not only highlights the global nature of the airline industry and the significance of sensitivity to intercultural differences in communicating; she also emphasizes the importance of understanding the cultures of the stakeholder, of the industry and of the involved organizations. Among the lessons learned from her case studies within the American airline industry, lesson no 1 tells us that "a key to effective crisis management is developing a responsible corporate culture, which values safety and is sensitive to the hazards of its operations" (Ray 1999: 243).

4.5. Crisis communication, complexity and cultures

Johansen and Frandsen (2007) have contributed to the field of corporate crisis communication across cultures in several new ways. First of all, they have developed a model, *the rhetorical arena*, trying to take into account the complexity and the dynamics of organizational crisis as well as various intercultural aspects. Secondly, they have stressed the importance of the risk society as well as the (inter)cultural dimensions, and have showed through the analysis of different organizational crises of multicultural nature how difficult it is to navigate in a global world having to meet the expectations of consumers and citizens with different value systems and different socio-cultural orders (see Frandsen and Johansen 2009a and 2009b).

Where most of the previous crisis communication literature is based on a traditional sender-receiver perspective of communication focussing on just one actor, i.e. the organization or person that finds itself in a crisis, Johansen and Frandsen (2007) has developed a model based on a multi-vocal approach. When a crisis erupts, a rhetorical arena emerges where many different voices are meeting and competing.

The model operates at two levels. At the *macro-level*, the authors try to account for the many corporate as well as non corporate voices which are heard before, during and after an organizational crisis, and to provide an analytical overview of the arena. There is not just one sender and one receiver but a lot of voices communicating *to, against, past* or *about* each others. This makes a crisis situation very

complex and dynamic, and it becomes even more complex when it comes to an intercultural or multicultural crisis situation including stakeholders with culturally different and conflicting stakes.

At *the micro-level*, the authors try to investigate the individual communicative processes between a sender and a receiver in the rhetorical arena, showing how this process is mediated by four parameters: *context, media, genre,* and *text*. The most complex parameter is the context which consists of the psychological context (i.e. cognitive schemes influencing the way people interpret crises) and of the sociocultural context (i.e. national culture, political, social and economic conditions), the organizational context (i.e. organizational cultures, structures) and situational context (i.e. who and what is communicated, when, and where?). The choice of media (i.e. electronic or print media), genre (i.e. press release, press conference, advertisements) and text (i.e. verbal and visual rhetorical strategies) is influenced by various cultural (contextual) factors, like genre conventions and rhetorical differences. All of the parameters have an impact on the crisis communication between senders and receivers that is not to be underestimated.

In order to illustrate the functioning of the rhetorical arena, Frandsen and Johansen (2009a) did a study of the cartoon affair that started with the publication of twelve editorial cartoons in the Danish newspaper *Jyllands-Posten* in September 2005, and of the boycott experienced by the Danish-Swedish dairy group, Arla Foods, of its products in the Middle East in the beginning of 2006. One of the purposes of the study was to show the influence of the cultural norms and expectations of stakeholder groups within different national cultures upon crisis communication. The many intercultural actors in the arena, as well as the choice of media (internet, blogging), genres (advertisements, letters), and rhetorics (trying to apologize) made by Arla Foods in order to put a stop to the boycott clearly influenced the perception of Arla Foods among various Danish stakeholders as well as among stakeholders in the Middle East. For instance the insertion of an advertisement in Arab newspapers was appreciated by Arab stakeholders, but attracted a lot of criticism of Arla's crisis communication among Danish stakeholders. It clearly shows that organizations need to take into account the cultural value systems when dealing with multiple stakeholders across cultures at one and the same time.

This makes Johansen and Frandsen define crisis communication in the following way: "Crisis communication consists of a complex and dynamic configuration of communicative processes which evolve before, during, and after an event, a situation or a course of events that is seen as a crisis by an organization and/or one or more of its stakeholders. Crisis communication also includes various actors, contexts and discourses (manifested in specific genres and specific texts) that relate to each other" (Johansen and Frandsen 2007: 18).

5. Comments and conclusions

As it appears, the literature on *corporate crisis communication across cultures* consists of a mixture of research articles and book chapters, most of them based on descriptive case studies. It may have to do with the fact that crisis communication is still a very young academic discipline that needs to establish some basic theoretical frameworks and methodologies (concepts and models) of its own, before the researchers will be able to incorporate national cultural or organizational cultural factors in their research.

So far, scholars working within the field have first of all been interested in the influence of national cultures on the practice of crisis management and crisis communication. Studies accounting for differences and similarities between Western and Asian national cultures, or between American and European national cultures have dominated, whereas the influence of organizational culture, communication culture, and crisis culture has enjoyed less attention. Concerning stakeholders, most of the focus has been on the culturally-specific reactions and expectations of consumers.

If we take a look at the approaches to culture, it is characteristic that most of the studies depart from a functionalistic view of culture, inspired by researchers like Hofstede, Hall, Ting-Toomey, Gudykunst, etc., and mostly without any discussion or reflection about the choice of (inter)cultural theory. Crisis response strategies are also often viewed from a functionalistic perspective, and are perceived more as a tool for organizations to accomplish certain goals, than as an interpretive sense-making process, formed and mediated in various ways by different cultural dimensions.

Recent studies, like Lee (2005b) and her audience-oriented approach, Falkheimer and Heide (2006 and 2009) and their study of multicultural crisis communication, or Johansen and Frandsen (2007) and Frandsen and Johansen (2009a) and their multivocal approach to crisis communication, seem to indicate that functionalistic and sender-oriented studies of crisis communication are on the way to be supplemented or replaced by new interpretive, social-constructionist and audience-oriented approaches. In these new approaches, sense-making processes will be more predominant, communication will be perceived as constitutive and interactive rather than as a simple tool, and the discipline and practice of crisis management and crisis communication will to a much higher extent take into account, not only the complexity and dynamics of organizational crises, but also important socio-cultural factors like national culture, organizational (sub)cultures, communication cultures, and crisis cultures.

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20. The pragmatics of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) across cultures

Christa Thomsen

1. Introduction

The success of modern corporations who increasingly compete in the global marketplace depends more and more on their ability to anticipate the expectations of CSR placed on them by host countries and key stakeholders (Katz, Swanson and Nelson 2001; Aguilera and Jackson 2003). The expectations often diverge from those of the managers' home countries due to different values and cultural practices, and conflicts will arise if managers attempt to formulate CSR policies based solely on their own cultural orientation (Podnar 2008). Thus, the pragmatics or the meaning-in-context of CSR is one of the most pressing questions for modern corporations.

This chapter reviews the literature on the meaning-in-context of CSR, focusing on how and why CSR differs from country to country and culture to culture. It starts with an introduction to the most important theoretical and empirical approaches to the concept of CSR, its management and communication. This paves the way for a discussion of the wider pragmatic implications and consequences of adopting CSR as a central strategic tool in modern corporate communication. The focus thus moves from a static function to the contextual role and discursive function of CSR. Western Europe and the U.S. are used as general examples. Individual European countries are singled out as specific examples throughout section five. This is done to indicate that it is problematic to lump together all European corporations in opposition to all U.S. corporations. However, it has not been possible to single out all European countries or even "groups" of countries in this chapter.

The chapter is divided into five sections including this introduction. The second section presents a state-of-the-art overview of the meaning of CSR and notes that it is basically a contextual and socially constructed concept. The third and the fourth sections present the two main theories proposed by researchers (i.e. institutional theory and cultural theory) to allow us to understand different conceptions of CSR. The presentation focuses on the basic conceptions of CSR highlighted in the literature until today, i.e. the distinction between implicit and explicit CSR (Matten and Moon 2008), and on explicit CSR as a concept which is spreading globally, paving the way for a standardization of CSR. Implicit CSR normally consists of values, norms and rules which result in requirements for corporations to address issues that stakeholders consider a proper obligation of corporate actors. Explicit CSR would normally consist of voluntary, self-interest driven policies, pro-

grammes and strategies by corporations addressing issues perceived to be part of their social responsibility towards their various stakeholders (Matten and Moon 2008). Implicit CSR is frequently included in standard Western European textbooks on CSR but not in American textbooks (Tschopp 2005). In section five, the implications for the practice of CSR communication are discussed. The discussion focuses on pragmatic elements of CSR and CSR communication, e.g. in relation to CSR agendas, issues and channels, and on two transnational corporate CSR communication models proposed to help managers to communicate CSR. The concluding section sums up and answers the question where research and practice are heading regarding CSR communication across cultures.

2. Corporate social responsibility

The last three decades have witnessed a lively discussion over CSR and the roles, functions and balance of – and between – what has been called three dominant clusters of institutions in contemporary society: government, civil society and the market represented by commercial organizations (Hart 2005; Steurer, Langer, Konrad and Martinuzzi 2005; Sahlin-Andersson 2006; Albareda, Lozano and Ysa 2007; Albareda, Lozano, Tencati, Midttun and Perrini 2008; Basu and Palazzo 2008). Questions raised in the mainly functionally oriented literature are: Is Corporate Social Responsibility a political movement or a management trend and, therefore, bound by political and/or managerial codes? Is its primary function, for example, to reduce poverty or to yield better results and a better reputation for the corporation? What weight should be given to conflicting organizational and societal obligations? What is the role of governments?

Today, the field contains a great proliferation of theories, approaches and terminologies reflecting many different interests and perspectives on CSR (see for example conceptualizations proposed by: Elkington 1997; Waddock 2004; Habisch, Jonker, Wegner and Schmidpeter 2005; Matten and Crane 2005). Corporate accountability, corporate citizenship, corporate sustainability and corporate social performance are just some of the terms used to describe CSR. Other related concepts include Corporate Governance, Socially Responsible Investment (SRI), Ethical Entrepreneurship, Eco efficiency, Stewardship, Business Ethics, Operational Ecology, Social Cohesion. Some theories and approaches, however, use the same terminology with different meanings, thus causing the problem that "corporate social responsibility means something, but not always the same thing to everybody" (Votaw 1972: 25). As Archie B. Carroll (1994: 6), one of the leading scholars in this field has noted, the map of the overall field is quite poor. However, some attempts have been made to elaborate classifications based on, for example, the historical development of CSR from being primarily a concept associated with responsibility, obligation and philosophical considerations to a concept associated

with reaction capability, strategy and business-oriented considerations today (Frederick 1987, 1998). Other attempts have been made to elaborate classifications based on matters related to CSR. For example, Garriga and Melé (2004) have proposed a classification by considering CSR theories and related approaches from the perspective of how the relationship between business and society is focused. They propose four matters or main theoretical groupings, namely instrumental theories, political theories, integrative theories and ethical theories. *Instrumental theories* understand CSR as a mere means to gain profits (Friedman 1970). Only the economic aspect of the interactions between business and society is considered here. So, any supposed social activity is accepted if, and only if, it is consistent with wealth creation. It is assumed that the corporation is an instrument for wealth creation, and that such creation is its sole social responsibility. From this perspective, the focus is on meeting objectives that produce long-term profits and on themes such as maximization of shareholder value, strategies for achieving competitive advantages, and cause-related marketing (e.g., Brønn and Vrioni 2001). *Political theories* emphasize the social power of corporations, and specifically their relationship with society and the responsibility they assume in a political context. This leads corporations to accept social duties and rights, or to participate in different types of social engagements. From this perspective, the focus is on using business power in a responsible way and on themes such as business power, social contract and Corporate Citizenship (e.g., Zadek 2001/2004). *Integrative theories* usually argue that business depends on society (Freeman 1984). As a consequence, corporate management should take into account social demands and focus on integrating these in such a way that the business operates in accordance with social values. Basically, theories of this type are focused on the detection and scanning of, and response to any social demands implying social legitimacy, greater social acceptance and prestige. Central concepts include social responsiveness and issues management, public responsibility and public policy, stakeholder management and corporate social performance. *Ethical theories* suggest that the relationship between business and society is embedded within ethical values, the focus being on the right thing to do to achieve a good society (Carroll 1991). Corporations are expected to accept social responsibilities as an ethical obligation before any other consideration.

The above outline of approaches and theories demonstrates that CSR is a concept which means different things to different people (see also Simola 2007). Aside from these general classifications, there is plenty of cross-national evidence to show that CSR varies in terms of definitions and the issues addressed. According to Matten and Moon (2008: 405), CSR is a fuzzy and contested concept, and one of the reasons for this is that it is appraisive. Thus, the precise manifestation of the responsibility lies at the discretion of the corporation which is rooted in a specific social and cultural context. Carroll has strongly influenced the research community that has strived since the 1960s to define CSR (Carroll 1991, 1994, 1999, Schwartz

and Carroll 2003). Especially noteworthy has been the development of the pyramid of CSR (figure 1) which depicts CSR as including four kinds of social responsibilities: economic, legal, ethical, and philanthropic (Carroll 1991):

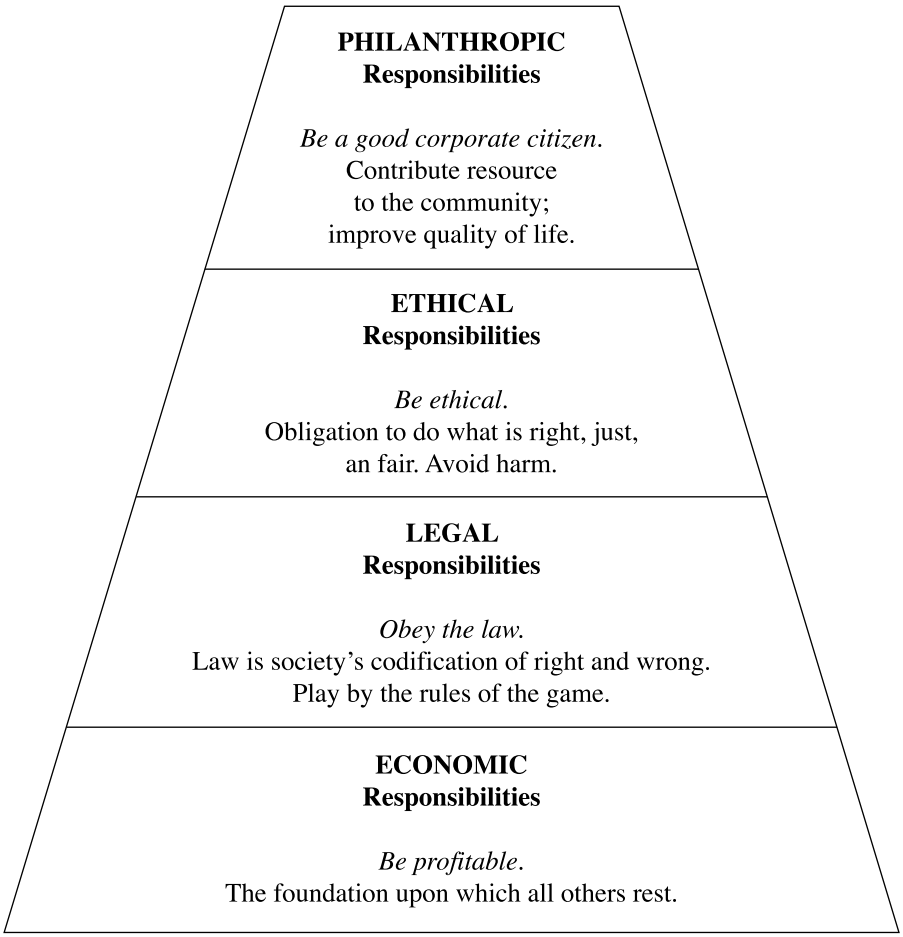

Figure 1. Carroll's pyramid of corporate social responsibility

Economic and legal responsibilities are required, ethical responsibilities are expected and philanthropic responsibilities are desired. Although Carroll's pyramid has been very influential in academic efforts to formulate a shared understanding of CSR, alternative understandings have emerged. Schwartz and Carroll (2003) have together addressed what they saw as the most important shortcomings of Carroll's early work. The most obvious changes are evident in the CSR model's transformation from a pyramid to a Venn diagram (figure 2) in which the philanthropic responsibilities component is excluded:

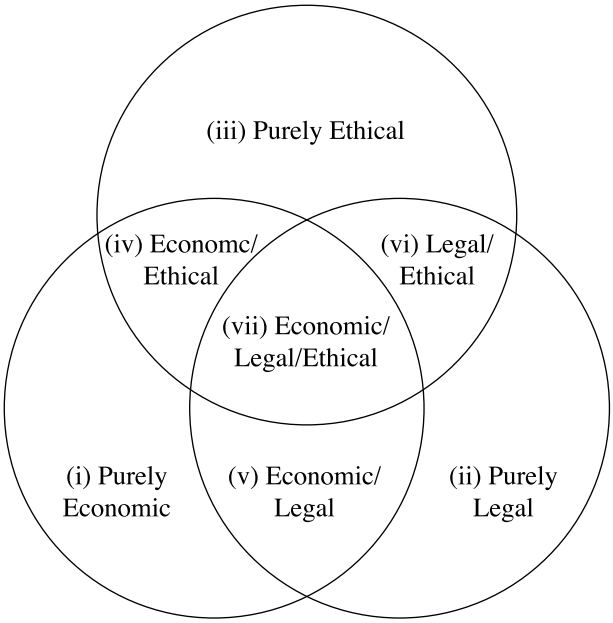

Figure 2. Schwartz and Carroll's Three domain model of corporate social responsibility

With the Venn diagram, Schwartz and Carroll (2003) claim that there is no longer a hierarchy in terms of domain importance. The pyramid led some scholars to conclude that the most highly valued domain in a CSR perspective is the philanthropic, and the least valued is the economic. Originally, Carroll placed philanthropic responsibility on top of the pyramid to indicate that to be truly socially responsible, it is not enough for corporations to be philanthropic. Philanthropic responsibility was to be viewed as the "icing on the cake", with economic and legal responsibilities as the most fundamental responsibilities (Carroll 1991: 42). The Venn diagram illustrates that there can be overlaps between the domains. It allows CSR activities to be categorized as purely economic, legal or ethical or as a combination of two or more domains. In this way, a single CSR initiative can be understood as having both ethical and economic aims. To further address the discussion, Schwartz and Carroll (2003) include a normative element by suggesting that firms should aim at operating in the middle section, i.e. activities should aim at fulfilling economic, legal and ethical responsibilities simultaneously. Another major change to the pyramid is the exclusion of the philanthropic responsibility category which was difficult to distinguish from ethical activities in practice.

The debate conducted among academics and practitioners has produced different results. In Europe, for example, the debate was in part initiated by the European Commission and supported by various initiatives, pave-way documents and insti-

tutions, including the Green Paper, the Dublin Foundation and the European Research Programme (Habisch, Jonker, Wegner and Schmidpeter 2005). Moreover, a rich variety of recent national initiatives came into being and were developed under the auspices of Business in the Community (BITC – UK), the Copenhagen Centre (DK) (now a centre under the Danish Commerce and Companies Agency), the Center for Corporate Citizenship (GER), CSR Europe (B), and the Dutch National Research Programme (NL) on CSR, among many others (Habisch et al. 2005). The European Multi-Stakeholder Forum on CSR launched in 2002, also provides a platform for discussions among European main stakeholders such as employers, trade unions, business organizations/networks and civil society organizations. The Commission plays a facilitating and harmonising role, defining CSR as "a concept whereby companies integrate social and environmental concerns in their business operations and in their interaction with their stakeholders on a voluntary basis" (European Commission 2001: 6). This means that CSR covers social *and* environmental issues. It also means that CSR should not be separate from business strategy and operations. Finally, the definition indicates that CSR is a voluntary concept and that an important aspect of CSR is how enterprises interact with their internal and external stakeholders.

The focus on stakeholders as important "translators" of CSR has highlighted the importance of CSR process models (Dahlsrud 2006). Such models represent a new direction in CSR research which emerges through studying processes that guide organizational sensemaking as they pertain to relationships with stakeholders (Basu and Palazzo 2008). The concern here is with how CSR is socially constructed in a specific context and with the process by which our understanding of the world emerges from the social, interactive processes we take part in (Berger and Luckmann 1966). The discussion within this paradigm is about the mental frames and sensemaking processes within which CSR is embedded. Questions debated include how managers think, discuss, and act with respect to their key stakeholders and the world at large. From a sensemaking perspective, CSR is defined as "an interactive social process in which CSR is systematically organized by creating and recreating an internally and externally shared frame of reference in relation to CSR objectives, activities and results" (Nijhof and Jeurissen 2006: 319). Applying the sensemaking perspective to the study of CSR opens new interesting perspectives for research and managerial action. It is, for example, characteristic of this perspective that the successful implementation of CSR requires not only the adoption of new strategic approaches but also intensive communication and the establishment of new and culturally sensitive relationships.

Whereas research has provided rich descriptions of CSR not only as a concept which has evolved considerably over time since the 1950s (e.g., Kakabadse, Rozuel and Lee-Davies 2005) but also of national and regional specifics of CSR (e.g., Habisch et al. 2005; Baskin 2006) and differences between big corporations and Small and Medium-Sized Enterprises (e.g., Murillo and Lozano 2006; Spence

2007), little attention has been dedicated to the question regarding how and why CSR differs among national settings (Matten and Moon 2008). According to Matten and Moon (2008), those few researchers who have been interested in differences of CSR across cultures have primarily drawn on institutional theory and cultural theory to investigate and explain the differences. These theories and the main works focused on the differences of CSR across cultures are discussed below.

3. Two main types of corporate social responsibility: Implicit vs. explicit

In order to explain the differences between CSR in for example Europe and the U.S., researchers have drawn on new institutional theories (Matten and Moon 2008). Based on these theories, they have argued that differences in CSR among different countries are due to a variety of "longstanding, historically entrenched institutions" and emerge "against a background of historical, political, scientific, cultural and business developments" (Matten and Moon 2008: 406). Different societies have developed different systems of markets, reflecting their institutions, their culture, and their social relations, and organizations' choices about CSR are coloured by the social and political context (Habisch et al. 2005). Thus, trying to understand what the specific meaning of a term such as CSR is in a national context requires investigating those national roots and related developments. Four key features of national institutional frameworks have been identified (Whitley 1999): the political system, the financial system, the education and labour system, and the cultural system. Whitley (1999) notes that the key distinguishing feature of American and European political systems is the power of the state which has tended to be greater in Europe than in the U.S. Thus, according to Whitley (1999), there is greater scope for corporate choices in the U.S., since government has been less active there. Another argument put forth by Whitley (1999) is that the stock market is the most important source of capital in the U.S., which means that corporations have to provide a high degree of transparency and accountability to investors. In the European model, stakeholders other than shareholders also play an important role. In Europe, there have been publicly led active labour market policies in which corporations have participated according either to custom or regulation, whereas in the U.S. this has been an area in which corporations themselves have developed strategies. The U.S. and the European cultural systems have generated very different broad assumptions about society, business, and government. Compared to Europeans, Americans are regarded as having a relative capacity for participation, a relative capacity for philanthropy and a relative capacity of business people for philanthropy, relative scepticism about big government, and relative confidence about the moral worth of capitalism (Matten and Moon 2008: 408). Thus, according to Matten's and Moon's initial reflections within this field (Matten and Moon 2008) there is a much stronger American ethic of "giving back" to society.

In their article from 2008, Matten and Moon argue that institutional features like the ones referred to above have informed the U.S. and the European business systems, specifically in terms of the nature of the firm, the organization of market processes, and coordination or control systems. First, while the U.S. has been more reliant on market-based forms of ownership, European countries, especially Scandinavian and Continental, have had a large amount of network ownership through networks of banks, insurance companies, or even governmental actors. European countries have historically had high levels of public ownership and public investment in private industry. Thus, European corporations have had a range of embedded relations with a relatively wide set of societal stakeholders. Second, in the U.S., greater prominence has been given to market self-organization. In Europe, markets have tended to be organized by producer group alliances. The way these relations are organized touches on significant CSR issues, such as consumer protection, product stewardship, and liability for production and products. Third, national business systems differ considerably in the way companies are governed, e.g., with regard to employer-employee relations, the degree to which delegation takes place and trust governs relationships, the level of discretion in the task environment of employees, and the degree of responsibility of managers toward employees. Coordination and control systems significantly impact the role of employee stakeholders for the company. For example, European employee representation and participation are covered by dense employment regulation and protection covering a significant number of issues which, in the U.S., would be part of explicit CSR.

On the basis hereof, Matten and Moon (2008: 409) conclude that notwithstanding their similar commitments to democracy, capitalism, and welfare, the U.S. and Europe have different historically grown institutional frameworks and business systems, and these are vital to a comparative understanding of CSR. In the U.S., CSR is embedded in institutions and culture, particularly in the traditions of individualism, democratic pluralism, moralism, and utilitarianism, whereas the distinctive elements of European CSR are embedded in the European business systems, such as industrial relations, labour law, and corporate governance. Corporations operating in a U.S. context have traditionally been expected to contribute to social improvements and in response therefore, companies have developed explicit CSR policies and communication. This is referred to as an 'explicit' CSR approach. In a European context, corporate engagement in social initiatives has been embedded in the national institutional systems, and European companies, consequently, have not developed explicit and articulated CSR strategies. This is what Matten and Moon label the 'implicit' CSR approach. Companies seeking to engage in CSR may consider many contextual variables, such as national culture, geography, or social and economic elements in deciding which CSR perspective to adopt. As such, how firms ultimately conceptualize and implement CSR may vary widely. For example, Maignan (2001a) found that French and German consumers

appear more willing to actively support (implicit) responsible businesses than their U.S. counterparts. While U.S. consumers value (explicit) corporate economic responsibilities, French and German consumers are most concerned about businesses conforming to legal and ethical standards. Explicit CSR, however, seems to be spreading globally.

4. The global spread of explicit corporate social responsibility

"New institutionalism" (Di-Maggio and Powell 1983; Meyer 2000; Meyer and Rowan 1977) has been advanced as a helpful theoretical perspective for understanding why CSR is spreading globally and why explicit CSR is gaining ground across Europe and beyond (Matten and Moon 2008). New institutionalism has been informed by the homogenization of institutional environments across national boundaries and has indicated how regulative, normative, and cognitive processes lead to increasingly standardized and rationalized practices in organizations across industries and national boundaries. The key argument is that organizational practices change and become institutionalized because they are considered legitimate. This legitimacy is produced by three key processes: coercive isomorphisms, mimetic processes, and normative pressures (DiMaggio and Powell 1983). It is assumed in neoinstitutionalism that externally codified rules, norms, or laws assign legitimacy to new management practices, e.g., governmental strategies and initiatives and codes of conduct issued by bodies such as the UN. Moreover, compliance with certain environmental standards requires companies to adopt CSR. Furthermore, in a business climate of increased uncertainty and increasingly complex technologies, managers tend to consider practices as legitimate if they are regarded as "best practice". In Europe, for example, corporations are joining various business coalitions, training programs and reporting initiatives (e.g., UN Global Compact) in order to learn and develop best CSR practice. Third, educational and professional authorities that directly and indirectly set standards for legitimate organizational practices, for example by including CSR in the curriculum, are a (third) source of isomorphic pressure in new institutionalism (Matten and Moon 2008).

5. Implications for corporate social responsibility communication practice

From a theoretical perspective, the greatest challenge to corporations grappling with CSR communication is to make decisions about how to strategically handle CSR. Thus they need to carefully consider which approach to choose and which CSR issues to integrate in the overall strategy and communication planning (Morsing and Beckmann 2008). In intercultural business relationships, the involved

partners in a relationship may exhibit different attitudes and behaviours, because perceptions of CSR can vary from culture to culture, as discussed above. Corporate managers need to understand these differences and distinguish between internationally adopted standards and local or intercultural approaches to CSR. To that end, the chapter now turns to a discussion of the wider pragmatic implications and consequences of adopting CSR as a central strategic tool in modern corporate communication.

5.1. Consistency and intercultural adaptation

Both in research and practice, there has been a recent breakdown of the boundaries between internal and external communication on the one hand and marketing and PR-communication on the other. This has paved the way for the strategic and integrative approaches, which are anchored in the concept of *corporate communication* (e.g., Cornellissen 2008; van Riel 1995; van Riel and Fombrun 2004). The last 20 years of public relations research bear witness to this shift from a functional towards a relational framework, where relationship building through relational communication and dialogue as a means to understand and interact with the public has replaced a utilitarian and instrumental approach to public relation research and practice (Botan and Taylor 2004). The shift of focus has added a societal aspect to public relations (e.g., Grunig 2006; Kotler and Lee 2005; Daugherty 2001; Esrock and Leichty 2000, 1998; Maignan and Ralston 2002) and placed a strong emphasis on community involvement (e.g., corporate philanthrophy and sponsoring) as a response to the increasing influence of communities on businesses (Daugherty 2001: 389). Societal contribution is thus significantly higher than 30 years ago and consumers, investors, employees, environmentalists, the general public, etc. are emergent attention-getters. Today's public relations is thus dominated by particular agendas concerned with, for example, socially responsible corporate policies, supporting initiatives for human rights, forced labour, the environment and safe working conditions, i.e. issues which necessitate an integrated strategic approach to communication. Corporations and non-profit organizations depend on society's acknowledgement of them to gain legitimacy for their planning and actions. If they fail to meet these expectations, gaps between public expectation and their performances will occur and they risk losing their legitimacy (Daugherty 2001: 390). Therefore, in order to avoid legitimacy gaps, it has become important for corporations to observe a range of basic business rules including fair pricing, product quality, responsible advertising, timely resolution of customer complaints, community responsiveness, and environmental management, etc. This leaves corporations with a big dilemma: How to communicate consistently about CSR? (Daugherty 2001: 390). Accordingly, issues treated in the literature on CSR communication include whether corporations should at all communicate CSR externally and explicitly, and whether CSR communication should be one-way or two-

way, interpersonal or mass-mediated, direct or indirect. CSR communication is a delicate issue (Morsing 2003: 150) which needs to be handled in a subtle manner where traditional marketing and PR tools may prove insufficient. The main problem here is that corporations are encouraged to engage in CSR to build strong reputations, but at the same time stakeholders are reluctant to accept much information about their CSR engagements.

Firstly, stakeholders have different types of interests and engagements in corporations' activities and are not equally concerned with CSR. Investors, NGOs, financial experts and other experts may pay particular attention to corporate accounts, whereas consumers and the public as such are not necessarily attracted by this genre of information. Secondly, a scrupulous selection of CSR communication issues is crucial. Adopting a wrong CSR strategy in terms of scope of interest and issues can do more harm than good if it is not an integrated part of the core business (Porter and Kramer 2006). Gaps between the walk and the talk may arise and cause CSR to be perceived as window dressing (Morsing, Schultz and Nielsen 2008). Organizational values such as "human respect" or "trust" become hollow if they are not lived out in practice in the form of fair treatment of employees, clients, suppliers, etc. Thirdly, communication form and channels should be adapted to contextual parameters such as situation, target group/stakeholder, goal to be achieved, etc. One-way mass-mediated communication may create awareness of an issue among uninitiated stakeholders, but it is inappropriate for creating attitude change or debate. As already touched upon, lack of credibility is also connected to mass-mediated communication, which calls for more third party endorsement channels. Finally, the organization of CSR communication should be considered in order to attribute a strategic and measurable function to CSR conceived as a fundamental value embedded in the management of the organization. In other words, corporations making use of CSR as a promotional instrument without integrating it in value sets and overall strategy cannot expect CSR to have an increasing impact on their image and reputation (Nielsen and Thomsen 2009). Hartman, Rubin and Dhanda (2007) have explored CSR by conducting a cross-cultural analysis of communication of CSR activities in a total of 16 U.S. and European corporations. They argue that in communicating CSR messages effectively, firms have several choices reg. motivations for CSR (see also Paine 2003). Depending on the audience to whom the communication is addressed, messages that convey some or all of the following, often overlapping economic and citizenship justifications may be disseminated:

a. CSR is in the company's long-term strategic interest
b. CSR reduces the risk to the firm of negative impact to reputation, e.g., from negative publicity
c. CSR protects a firm's reputation or brand image
d. CSR may allow the firm to attract and retain valuable employees and maintain high morale

e. CSR reflects a corporation's social contract-based obligation to "offer something back" to the community
f. CSR is the right thing to do, according to universal/corporate values
g. CSR offers an exchange between the corporation and its stakeholders.

Results indicated that EU companies do not value sustainability to the exclusion of financial elements, but instead project sustainability commitments in addition to financial commitments. Further, U.S.-based companies focused more heavily on financial justifications whereas EU-based companies incorporated both financial and sustainability elements in justifying their CSR activities. In addition, wide variance was found in both the prevalence and use of specific CSR-related terminology. Cross-cultural distinctions in this use create implications with respect to measurability and evidence of both strategic and bottom-line impact. Below the focus is on two models which have been proposed to approach CSR communication in theory and practice.

5.2. Corporate social responsibility communication models

Morsing, Schultz and Nielsen (2008) contribute with two models that may help explain how companies can best communicate their CSR initiatives; models which are in line with a corporate communication perspective. Based on a reputation survey and two case studies of Danish corporate CSR frontrunners, they first develop an 'inside-out approach' to suggest how managers can manage their CSR activities to achieve a favourable CSR reputation. Employees appear as a key component in building trustworthiness, as CSR communication is shown to evolve when taking an 'inside-out approach'. Second, they develop a CSR communication model with two CSR communication processes targeting different stakeholder groups: 'the expert CSR communication process' and 'the endorsed CSR communication process', the former being direct and the latter being indirect, legitimized or endorsed by a third party.

Integrating these models and processes, they argue, may help companies strategically capture reputational advantage from their CSR initiatives. However, the authors also specify that expectations regarding CSR are not the same worldwide (Morsing Schultz and Nielsen 2008). In Denmark, for example, there is, on the one hand, an expectation in the public that companies engage in CSR activities. On the other hand, the public does not appreciate that companies communicate too loudly about their CSR engagement. This challenge may be of relevance to companies operating in other welfare states, as they possibly – like in Denmark – move from implicit to more explicit CSR approaches. Other research has pointed to this tendency as a possible 'Americanization' of European CSR communication strategies (Beckmann, Morsing, and Reisch 2006), which can also be taken as a good example of the standardization of CSR.

The above models demonstrate that the basis for trustworthy CSR communication is the involvement and commitment of employees to corporate CSR policies in what is referred to as an 'inside-out approach'. Without employee commitment, CSR communication is perceived as pure top managerial rhetoric, of which stakeholders are sceptical. The model also demonstrates that the challenge of communicating CSR to stakeholders is managed by balancing expert and endorsed CSR communication processes aimed at highly involved stakeholders and the general public and customers, respectively.

A major distinction exists between symmetrical and non-symmetrical communication models. Morsing (2005) explores for example the societal and cultural drivers for the Danish perspective on CSR and highlights in particular the symmetrical communication and the interplay between state and companies in "social partnerships" for setting the Danish national CSR agenda (see also Morsing and Schultz 2006 and Morsing 2006). She explains that the Nordic welfare model (as compared to the Continental, Atlantic and Southern models) is generally characterised by citizens being granted extensive social rights. However, the welfare model came under pressure in the 1990s. This meant a major increase in public expenditure and created an unsustainable pressure on the welfare system. Thus, the government called for corporate assistance for constructing a Danish agenda for CSR and became the driving force for CSR and CSR dialogue. Research on stakeholder engagement and dialogue processes has been conducted in relation to various countries, e.g., the UK (Kaptein and van Tulder 2003; Burchell and Cook 2006).

Dawkins (2004) also suggests that effective communication of CSR calls for a coordinated approach, which ideally embeds CSR messages into mainstream communication. Dawkins stresses that effective communication of CSR tailors messages to different stakeholder groups. Furthermore, the function of internal communication as an under-utilised and potentially powerful channel for enhancing a company's reputation for responsibility among its key stakeholders is highlighted. The above models constitute a useful framework for corporations' choice of CSR agendas, issues and channels.

5.3. Corporate social responsibility communication objectives, issues and channels

As seen above, U.S.-style CSR has been embedded in a system that leaves more incentive and opportunity for corporations to take explicit responsibility. European CSR, on the other hand, has been implied in systems of wider organizational responsibility that have yielded comparatively narrow incentives and opportunities for corporations to take explicit responsibility. According to Matten and Moon (2008), the U.S.'s comparatively greater deployment of CSR to address a wider range of issues is explained by the fact that in Europe these issues would be addressed through institutional capacities in which corporations would be implicated

but not solely responsible. Pointing to its decision to offer healthcare benefits to part-time workers, Matten and Moon (2008) offer Starbucks as an example of a U.S. firm engaged in CSR efforts that might not naturally occur in the European environment (Mayes, this volume). The authors explain that these benefits would not ever be considered by a British or German corporation. This is not because these firms are less concerned with the health of part-time workers, but because workers are otherwise covered by national health plans in these countries or because employers are required to provide coverage. On the basis of this, Matten and Moon (2008) identify two distinct elements of CSR – the implicit and the explicit as seen above. To some extent, corporations in implicit CSR contexts focus on other issues and channels than corporations in explicit CSR contexts, which is reflected in their communication objectives and messages.

5.3.1. Objectives and issues

While the overall field of CSR to which companies might respond is highly dynamic, fragmented and complex, a number of main communication objectives have been detected within CSR (Lockett, Moon and Visser 2006). Below, the focus is on communication objectives in relation to three specific types of stakeholder: consumers, employees and shareholders. Differences in CSR communication are highlighted, using the U.S. and Europe as examples.

Organizations may have different communication objectives with regard to *consumers*, depending on the industry and typology of product (Birth, Illia, Lurati and Zamparini 2008). A first objective can be to improve reputation through CSR. This interrelationship between CSR and reputation is confirmed by a study conducted by British Telecom (2002) which documents how CSR represents 25 % of the reputation asset of the company. The improvement of reputation through CSR is an important objective in particular with regard to consumers since a good reputation influences consumer satisfaction, i.e. products are considered more reliable and to be of a higher quality (McWilliams and Siegel 2001). This affirmation is also supported by CSR Europe/MORI (2000), which maintains that a good corporate reputation increases customer satisfaction. A second objective with regard to consumers can be to achieve product differentiation through CSR. Communicating CSR may have an important influence on selling a product since CSR characteristics differentiate the product, paving the way for a higher price. A third objective can be to reach a high level of customer loyalty through CSR. Socially responsible organizations potentially increase customer loyalty, since such organizations relate to clients with greater respect, giving for example fast responses to their claims, and setting high standards of security and transparency about their products (Birth et al. 2008). Consumer reactions to CSR initiatives in terms of awareness, attitude, purchase, etc. have been subject to several studies (e.g., Bhattacharya and Sen 2004a, 2004b; Yoon and Gürhan-Canli 2004; Dawar and Klein 2004; Creyer and

Ross 1997). The characteristic of this range of studies is their focus on developing methods which can explain and measure the effect of corporations' CSR initiatives on consumers. A website study of Fortune 500 corporations shows that more than 80 % of the corporations address CSR issues, proving that business leaders tend to believe in CSR not only as an ethical imperative but as a business case (Bhattacharya and Sen 2004a: 9). This emphasis on ethics is supported by the results of a survey on corporate citizenship from 2000, concluding that 84 % of American consumers are willing to switch from one brand to another for ethical reasons providing price and quality are similar (Bhattacharya and Sen 2004a: 9).

At the marketing strategic level, cause-related marketing (CRM) is presented as the most common marketing strategy for advocating CSR to consumers (e.g., Kotler and Lee 2005; Brønn and Vrioni 2001; Maignan and Ferrell 2001b). CRM is considered as a beneficial means to build brand equity and to "help marketers to stay in tune with the mood of the public" in that the concept appears more concerned with society than other marketing strategies (Brønn and Vrioni 2001: 215).

Unlike the cases of other stakeholders, CSR communication aimed at *employees* may leverage on internal communication (Dawkins and Lewis 2003). CSR communication objectives are therefore strongly linked to overall internal communication objectives. The first objective concerning employee CSR communication may be to create a good reputation through word of mouth using CSR. As a MORI study has found (Dawkins and Lewis 2003), employees represent a powerful channel through which it is possible to communicate in positive terms about the company. The study shows that 85 % of employees are more likely to initiate spontaneous word of mouth promotion when they are involved in the CSR initiatives of the company, and 65 % of them are more likely to do so when they are informed about such corporate initiatives. The second objective of CSR communication directed at employees is to increase employees' satisfaction and commitment through CSR. Previous studies show that there is a relationship between employees' loyalty and their company's CSR (Bevan and Wilmott 2002). Employees working in an ethical and socially responsible company seem more committed to it (Joyner and Payne 2002), since work activities become more enjoyable (Mowday et al. 1979). This objective is linked to the first objective since higher satisfaction and commitment due to CSR increases reputation through word of mouth. The third objective discussed in the literature in relation to employees is to increase the appeal of the company as a future employer through CSR. Employees consider a corporation's ethical integrity and socially responsible behaviour towards society to be an important element in the choice of employer (Joyner and Payne 2002; Bevan and Wilmott 2002; Keeler 2003). Therefore, communicating the company's CSR activities is an important component of the company's employer branding strategy (Bhattacharya, Sen and Korschun 2008; Berthon, Ewing and Hah 2005). The fourth CSR communication objective is to reduce employee turnover through CSR. When employees consider their organization as socially responsible they are

less likely to leave (Bevan and Wilmott 2002) if they perceive themselves to have similar values to those of the organization they work for (Maignan 1999).

CSR communication objectives involving *shareholders* are linked to overall financial communication objectives, i.e. achieving and maintaining a favourable climate for the financial quotation of the company, increasing and maintaining share price, and increasing the volume of share trading. The first CSR objective can be to increase the awareness of socially responsible investing (SRI) in the company. SRI takes place when shareholders are willing to consider corporate behaviour in terms of its response to multiple stakeholders (Hockerts and Moir 2004). One CSR communication objective is therefore to increase sensitive shareholders' awareness of the company's socially responsible behaviour to attract investment. The second communication objective with respect to shareholders can be to communicate the tangible advantages of the company's CSR strategy. Despite a lack of strictly scientific confirmation, empirical evidence suggests that socially responsible organizations produce more profit than others. One reason for this is given by Mainelli (2004), who considers the importance of CSR in reducing earning volatility as a result of the reduction in activist action.

The *issues* that make up the above main agendas of CSR have proliferated and changed (Roome 2005). As an example, Roome (2005) points out that there was a concern in the early 1970s over the functionality and safety of products. This was expressed through the development of the consumer movement upholding the interests of consumers. According to Roome (2005), there was at the same time concern among social activists about the involvement of companies in countries, which were governed by repressive or oppressive regimes. This movement gave rise to calls for companies to disengage from these countries. Roome (2005) further explains that from the 1980s, this early CSR agenda was complemented by concerns about the wider environmental and social implications of company activities. The focus was on the way products were made, distributed and used, or it addressed the environmental and social consequences of the technologies on which products and/or production processes were based. This led companies to adopt management systems to measure their environmental impacts and to develop and design new products or even new business models with lower environmental impact. CSR concerns expanded again to include employment issues and conditions (that go beyond legal requirements) especially the fair treatment of employees and other workers irrespective of gender, race, religious orientation, age and disability. Concern for employees also extended to the responsibilities employers might have when closing plants or offices or replacing staff. Employee concerns also include education and training. More recently, corporate attention has begun to include the responsibility to ensure that their suppliers conform to good labour standards and conditions, especially the use of child labour in developing economies. There has also been a discussion about issues such as bribery and corruption and the moral hazard for senior managers and company boards when setting the financial rewards

of senior managers by reference to share price. This has become a serious issue for management practice and corporate governance. Recently, climate change is also a concern that has increased dramatically all over the world, and companies worldwide are now forced to consider its implication in a business context and how they can strategically manage it as part of their CSR agenda.

5.3.2. Corporate social responsibility communication channels

The use of CSR communication channels has been investigated in empirical surveys. The two studies "Communicating corporate social responsibility" and "The first ever European survey of consumers' attitude on corporate social responsibility" (CSR Europe/MORI 2000) provide, for example, the following list of CSR communication channels: social reports, thematic reports, codes of conduct, websites, stakeholder consultation, internal communication, prizes and events, cause-related marketing, communication on product packaging, interventions in the press and on TV, communication at points of sale. The studies show that companies use a wide range of CSR communication channels. Three of these channels in particular have been investigated and discussed in the literature: *social reports*, *websites* and *advertising*.

Social reports are often considered to be the main channel for communicating the social and environmental effect of organizations' economic actions to particular interest groups (Gray, Kouhy and Lavers 1995; Gray, Owen and Adams 1996). Social reports were widespread during the nineties, and in Western Europe, for example, 68 % of big companies produced social reports in that period (CSR Europe/MORI 2000). Nonetheless, there is a certain level of dissatisfaction among stakeholders, and companies are often accused of writing arbitrary reports not based on quantifiable data. Current studies show that there are two ways to avoid this and to write an efficient report (Tschopp 2005). First, the *adoption of international reporting standards* created as publishing guides to good-quality social reports. According to Tschopp (2005), a social report that is not regulated by standards or external guidelines risks becoming part of a marketing strategy and nothing more, thus not meeting the requirements of investors, lobbyists, NGOs and customers (see also Nielsen and Thomsen 2007). Some European governments are implementing mandatory laws on reporting (e.g., Denmark, France and Spain), while in other countries the adoption of international reporting standards is growing fast, even if there are no mandatory regulations from the EU at the moment (Tschopp 2005; Idowu and Towler 2004). The most used standards in Europe are GRI, SA8000, AA 1000 and ISO 1400. A step towards gaining credibility is *third-party certification*, for example by having the report audited by an independent consultant (Keeler 2003).

CSR communication via the *web* is the second channel considered, and this research particularly focuses on the web's agenda-setting potential (Esrock and

Leichty 1998; Coupland 2005). The indicators for assessing how it is possible to influence agenda setting are, for example, *editorials, comments* and *taking positions*. These indicators illustrate a company's' position on specific corporate issues, thus showing the company's involvement in CSR issues. Furthermore, a way to influence agenda setting is the integration of *third-party opinions* in the website. This gives potential credibility to the company's position, e.g. by increasing the transparency of CSR communication even further. Wanderley, Lucian, Farache and Sousa Filho (2008) address the question of whether CSR information disclosure on corporate websites is influenced by country of origin and/or industry sector. Analysing the websites of 127 corporations from emerging countries such as Brazil, Chile, China, India, Indonesia, Mexico, Thailand and South Africa, it becomes evident that both country of origin and industry sector have a significant influence on CSR information disclosure on the web. Based on the data studied, the authors conclude that country of origin has a stronger influence on CSR information disclosure on the web than industry sector.

Advertising or campaigns containing social elements have been abundantly used in the last decades, but the evaluation of their success has been quite controversial (Drumwright 1996). Drumwright (1996) has studied the relationship between the social objectives of a campaign and its economic objectives. He found that they can often be in harmony even though the social dimension gives the advertising campaign a series of additional difficulties. On one hand, those campaigns are often criticized by the public for the social dimension itself. Companies are for example accused of making use of social problems for business purposes. On the other hand, they often have to face management distrust of CSR advertising outcomes and processes. Campaigns with a social dimension are often seen as not having short-term economic results, and management often considers the creative process to be long, complex and expensive (Birth et al. 2008: 187). According to Schlegelmilch and Pollach (2005), it appears that, due to lack of credibility, corporate advertising does not prove to be the most effective channel for conveying CSR messages, particularly not in cases where the CSR issue is not part of or in contradiction with the core business (Schlegelmilch and Pollach: 2005: 276).

It should be mentioned here that also communication in CSR networks or partnerships between businesses, NGOs and/or public partners (e.g., municipalities) has been subject to various studies (see. for example works by Sandra Waddock (e.g., 2009) and Simon Zadek (e.g., 2001/2004).

In conclusion, corporate reporting and corporate websites seem to be connected with higher credibility across cultures than advertising and can handle more complex information. However, both corporate reporting and corporate web communication suffer from their status as pull information, i.e. information that may be desired sporadically and is not normally pushed to the user (Schlegelmilch and Pollach 2005: 278). Thus, according to Schlegelmilch and Pollach (2005), all com-

munication channels seem to have both positive and negative CSR communication potentials, but they should be adapted in each case to the contextual environment and CSR issue and to the goal to be achieved.

6. Conclusion

This chapter has addressed the pragmatics of CSR, focusing on how and why CSR differs across contexts and cultures. This was done by introducing the most important – and mainly functionally oriented – theoretical and empirical approaches to the concept of CSR, its management and communication. The introduction paved the way for a discussion of the wider pragmatic implications and consequences of adopting CSR as a central strategic tool in modern corporate communication. The focus thus moved from a static function to the contextual role and discursive function of CSR, exemplified by Europe and the U.S.

The review of the literature highlights various pragmatic elements of CSR and CSR communication (e.g. national institutions, systems of markets and corporate choices about CSR) and gives some indication of where the field is.

First, the homogenization of institutional environments across national boundaries will lead to increasingly standardized and rationalized practices in organizations across industries and national boundaries. In Europe, for example, corporations are joining various business coalitions, training programs and reporting initiatives in order to learn and develop best CSR practice. If, for example, they are operating in a U.S. context, they are expected to contribute to social improvements and may therefore have to develop *more and more explicit CSR policies and communication*. This is a challenge to European companies as corporate engagement in social initiatives in a European context has been embedded in the national institutional systems, and European companies, consequently, have not developed explicit and articulated CSR strategies.

Second, it was shown that CSR has become a concept which means different things to different people. Thus, the focus is more and more on how CSR is socially constructed in a specific context and on the process whereby our understanding of the world emerges from the social, interactive processes we take part in. This means that corporations operating in a global context will increasingly stop thinking about "a theoretical firm's" global CSR and start *conceptualizing "the actual firm's" more tangible CSR,* that is the specific initiatives or activities through which managers will meet the expectations of their stakeholders across cultures. It also means that corporations will focus more and more on *developing and participating in interactive forums* to allow them to define or construct CSR together with central stakeholders.

Third, the focus on explicit CSR practices across cultures and the actual firm's more tangible CSR highly influences *corporate choices about CSR communication*,

i.e. choices regarding communication strategy, objectives, issues and channels. Effective communication of CSR calls for *a coordinated approach*, which ideally embeds CSR messages into mainstream communication and tailors messages to different stakeholder groups. At the same time, however, effective communication of CSR *calls for cross-cultural adaptation*, which ideally tailors messages to culturally diverse stakeholder groups, e.g with regard to how corporations incorporate financial and sustainability elements in justifying their CSR activities or with regard to the channels corporations choose in order to obtain high credibility.

In conclusion, corporations seeking to engage in CSR may have to consider many contextual variables, such as national culture, geography, or social and economic elements before deciding which CSR perspective to adopt. Thus, how firms ultimately conceptualize and implement CSR may vary widely. The literature is still scarce, and there are different needs within the field. There is, for example, a need to improve understanding of how corporate communication processes differ in relation to implicit and explicit CSR approaches, and how such approaches may be managed in international companies operating in both explicit and implicit CSR contexts.

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21. Corporate culture in a global age: Starbucks' "Social Responsibility" and the merging of corporate and personal interests[1]

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> "We're in the business of human connection and humanity, creating communities in a third place between home and work." Howard Schultz, Founder of Starbucks Corporation ("60 Minutes," April 23, 2006)

> "We no longer have to think about *shopping* and *giving* as mutually exclusive." [my emphasis] Robert Chatwani, EBay Manager ("The News Hour," Nov. 6, 2008)

The above quotations are drawn from what Gee, Hull and Lankshear (1997) refer to as *fast capitalist texts*, which are designed to espouse the utopian benefits resulting from changes in the global economy over the past few decades. These authors argue that, in fast capitalist texts, language is used to create images of a perfect world and a "new work order" that mask any negative impact such changes may have. They suggest that these texts claim that privatization in a "free market," unregulated economy will lead to a utopian society that is bottom-up, absolutely consumer-driven, and therefore, ultimately empowering to both consumers and workers on the lower end of the social status hierarchy. Indeed, these texts claim an "enchanted workplace" for employees at all levels and attribute the changes in the workplace to a kind of collectivism based on the desires of individual consumers (Gee, Hull and Lankshear 1997: 25). The implication is that large corporations have a minimal role in the changes and have been somewhat disempowered in favor of individual consumers and employees who work together for the good of all. Although the language of fast capitalism might be considered just *texts* rather than *reality*, "how we think and write about the world has a great deal to do with how we think and act in it and, thus, what it becomes in reality" (Gee, Hull and Lankshear 1997: 25). One of the most important ways that fast capitalist texts may end up creating new realities is by opening up the possibility of constructing new, desirable social identities related to consumption. Indeed, these texts discuss new kinds of bosses, employees and consumers, and the corporations themselves may take on new, "humanized" identities, in which they are seen as collectives, driven by the altruistic desires of individuals – both employees and consumers (Gee, Hull and Lankshear 1997).

Bazerman (2002) has made some similar points in his examination of the construction of identities of citizenship through newer internet genres. He explains that over the past century, as capitalism has become the dominant economic and political force, individual interests and values have been increasingly intertwined with

marketplace interests, so much so that, "[t]he success of the marketplace is now widely seen as what makes all other aspects of life possible, and therefore subsidiary to the marketplace" (Bazerman 2002: 18). He further argues that, "[…] it becomes increasingly difficult to assert policy initiatives that have uncertain or even demonstrably negative economic impacts. […] Only when compassion serves economic development is it likely to affect policy" (Bazerman 2002:19). Examining the official web sites of the two major political parties in the U.S., the Democrats and Republicans, Bazerman found that both web sites are organized to tell stories with moral imperatives that seem designed to elicit particular ideological responses from participants who will then act in predictable ways, for example, by donating money for their favorite cause. Thus even as individuals attempt to enact politically active identities as citizens, they become caught up in the linking of their own personal values with economic interests, their primary recourse being economic support of the party that purports to favor their cause.[2] Although Bazerman focuses on political discourse and public policy issues, a connection can be made to the language used in private corporations (i.e. the fast capitalist texts discussed by Gee, Hull and Lankshear). Indeed, in both kinds of discourse, the economic actions of individuals are portrayed as having public consequences in that campaign contributions *and* the profits gained through private consumption are purportedly used to further public interests. In addition, this merging of individual and market interests is discursively achieved and made attractive by using language to index identities that are highly desirable to individuals and are portrayed as becoming accessible through the economic action promoted by the political party or corporation.

In this chapter, the kinds of discursive strategies used by private corporations to index these desirable corporate and consumer identities and to link these identities with production and consumption are examined. A case study approach is used so that it is possible to focus on micro-level discursive acts. More specifically, the web site and advertisements of Starbucks Corporation will be used to show how language functions to construct an identity of a *socially responsible* collective that seems to be cooperative and caring. Starbucks was chosen for this case study because it is a large corporation that has global ties, and it is well known for its policy of social responsibility, which is often portrayed in the news and is extensively promoted on its web site. As will be shown, not only does Starbucks use language to create its own identity as socially responsible, the language used in its web site and advertising also suggests that when consumers align with Starbucks through consumption of its products, they are able to access elite social positioning and identities of good citizenship. Three specific questions will be addressed here: 1) How is social responsibility defined by Starbucks Corporation?; 2) How is agency used to construct Starbucks as socially responsible?; 3) How does the language used by Starbucks construct consumer identities associated with an elite social class and global citizenship? In order to address these questions, discourse from Starbucks' web site and advertisements will be closely examined. The first question is

addressed by consulting the literature in business management to construct a working definition of corporate social responsibility (CSR). Then, the company timeline on Starbucks' web site is analyzed with respect to how it reflects the points brought up in the literature concerning CSR (http://www.starbucks.com/aboutus/Company_Timeline.pdf). The second question is addressed by examining the semantic roles attributed to Starbucks and other actors in the company timeline and in advertisements, and the third question is addressed by examining how the language used to describe Starbucks' products invokes images of elite class tastes and social activism. With respect to the second and third questions, Bucholtz and Hall's (2005) definition of identity (discussed below) will be used to examine how Starbucks' corporate identity and the identities of consumers are linguistically constructed. In addition, because a primary goal of the case study is to further our understanding of the link between the individual interests and values and marketplace interests, discussed by Bazerman (2002), there will be an ongoing effort to point out how the language used by Starbucks Corporation functions to create connections between individuals' personal interests and consumption.

The chapter is organized as follows: First, relevant work on the discursive construction of identities is discussed, followed by a discussion of the relationship between identities, social class and consumption. Then, the concept of CSR, Starbucks' history, and the development of Starbucks' CSR policy are discussed. Next, the concept of *agency* is discussed, and two ways of using agency to humanize Starbucks and discursively construct an identity of a socially responsible, good corporate citizen are examined: On the one hand, Starbucks is portrayed as an agent, conveying that it is the "doer" of socially responsible actions. On the other hand, sometimes, agency is downplayed in order to suggest that Starbucks is compassionate and caring. Before concluding, Starbucks' discursive construction of desirable consumer identities is examined.

1. Constructing identities through discourse

Scholars who study discourse from various perspectives have recently begun discussing the role language plays in the construction of *identity*. Those who focus on spoken discourse and interaction in disciplines such as sociolinguistics, conversation analysis, and social psychology are interested in the moment-by-moment construction of identities through face-to-face interaction (Widdicombe and Wooffitt 1995; Edley and Wetherell 1997; Wetherell 1998; Widdicombe 1998; Antaki and Widdicombe 1998; Coupland 2001; Bucholtz and Hall 2005). Analysts in other disciplines that focus on written discourse have also begun examining how identities are enacted through shared discursive spaces. For example, as discussed above, Bazerman (2002) examines how the new genres made available through the internet have changed the ways that people construct and express identities of citi-

zenship; and Gee, Hull and Lankshear (1997) suggest that fast capitalist texts have used Discourse (Gee 1996) to create new corporate identities, identities that in the past were associated with other kinds of organizations such as churches, communities, universities, and governments. Work in all of these areas has suggested that the concept of identity may be defined as dynamic, intersubjective, and constructed moment-by-moment through social interaction, and as such, is best investigated by examining how participants use language in context.

Using these ideas, Bucholtz and Hall (2005) have defined a framework for analyzing identity according to a set of overlapping principles that can be seen to operate in social interaction.[3] This framework brings together the work of scholars across disciplines and thus provides a comprehensive means for analyzing the role of language in the construction of identities. For this reason, several of the Bucholtz and Hall identity principles will be used to demonstrate how the texts produced by Starbucks Corporation construct corporate and consumer identities. First, the *indexicality* principle outlines the kinds of linguistic devices that can be used to produce different aspects of participants' identities. Bucholtz and Hall (2005: 594) define it as follows:

> Identity relations emerge in interaction through several related indexical processes, including: (a) overt mention of identity categories and labels; (b) implicatures and presuppositions regarding one's own or the others' identity position; (c) displayed evaluative and epistemic orientations to ongoing talk, as well as interactional footings and participant roles; and (d) the use of linguistic structures and systems that are ideologically associated with specific personas and groups.

As will be shown, in some of the material from the web site, Starbucks is constructed as the agent of "socially responsible" actions, thus indexing its role as the doer of those actions. In other cases, Starbucks' agentive role is downplayed, indexing identities of a caring corporate citizen, while upgrading the agentive role of coffee suppliers and consumers and indexing individual empowerment.

Another principle used by Bucholtz and Hall to define identity is *relationality*, which consists of three subprinciples, each of which captures a different way that participants discursively construct their identities, by either aligning with or distancing themselves from particular ideological stances. For example, the subprinciple of *adequation* describes how people discursively construct themselves in ways that are viewed as similar enough to be considered the same, thus in effect aligning themselves with the stance of others. This principle operates in cases where Starbucks discursively aligns itself with organizations whose sole purpose is to promote social justice. The idea is that because it is aligned with these other socially responsible organizations, Starbucks will also be seen as socially responsible. Similarly, the adequation principle can be said to be operating when consumers align themselves with Starbucks through the purchase of its products, buying into upscale social positions and identities of good citizenship.

A second relationality subprinciple *authentication* will also be used. This principle concerns how identities are discursively constructed as real or genuine. Indeed, Starbucks uses specific examples of projects that are purported to bring about social improvements and testimony from local participants in order to claim that its socially responsible identity is genuine.

2. Identities, social class, and consumption

A major part of social identity is class identification, and one of the most prominent ways of displaying social class affiliation is through consumption. Indeed, the connection between consumption and social class has long been recognized. For example, Bourdieu (1984) suggested that one of the ways that social class is constructed is through varying patterns of *taste* that are realized through material consumption. This topic has also been investigated more recently by Bucholtz (1999), who examined the link between class and consumption as displayed through language use on the shopping channel, known as QVC. Her analysis suggested that lower-middle-class shoppers purchase products that the middle- and upper-middle-class hosts of the show promote in order to align themselves with what they believe are middle-class tastes, and by extension, middle-class identities. These discussions of taste suggest that social hierarchies are largely symbolic and easily subject to manipulation not only through commercial products, but also through the language used to describe those products. Indeed, Bucholtz suggested a complex, moment-by-moment construction of class identities, as viewers who called into the QVC network projected authority in some instances and authenticity in others. This interplay between authority and authenticity shows how the shopping channel is able to use language to satisfy both the customers' personal desires and corporate goals, and this example demonstrates how the link between individual and marketplace interests discussed by Bazerman (2002) can be constructed through language. Callers were able to claim a higher status within the community of lower-middle-class shoppers by displaying their knowledge of the products and aligning themselves with the higher status hosts. On the other hand, their use of nonstandard language and testimony about the products displayed an authenticity that is likely to convince other shoppers like them to buy the products.

Gee, Hull and Lankshear (1997) contend that although fast capitalist texts seem to suggest that class divisions will be eradicated and that there will be an increasingly large, global, "middle-class," these texts subtly recreate and reify class divisions through the language used to describe corporations, their activities, and products. Indeed, consumers are able to access desirable identities through the simple act of purchasing brands that are associated with these desirable identities (Holt 2002; Stein 2002; Thompson and Arsel 2004). Like the QVC example discussed above, fast capitalist texts suggest that consumption provides a means for individ-

uals to fulfill their personal desires and corporate goals, and in the process, create a more perfect world.

As will be shown, Starbucks' web site and advertising provide a number of examples of the points discussed above, suggesting the possibility of aligning with desirable social class positions through the purchase of high-class, exotic products. The descriptions of these products index elite class tastes and by extension elite class identities. Before discussing these points further, CSR will be defined, and how Starbucks Corporation developed its CSR policy will be discussed. This policy is one of the most important means for constructing a positive corporate identity and identities that are attractive to potential consumers.

3. The concept of corporate social responsibility

The concept of corporate social responsibility has been around for some time, but in recent years, explicit discussion of CSR has become increasingly common, both in academic publications and in corporations' communications about their practices (Maignan and Ralston 2002). Indeed, today it is hard to imagine a company that does not claim to have society's best interests at heart. However, even a brief search of the literature in business management reveals that CSR is much more complicated than a few advertisements that espouse concern for the environment. Indeed, as Thomsen's review of the literature on this topic (see Thomsen, this volume) suggests, scholars do not agree on the definition or scope of CSR. Since her review has already provided a comprehensive discussion of these issues, the purpose here is not to review the literature further, but to construct a working definition of CSR that can be compared with the language Starbucks uses to enact CSR.

Zenisek (1979: 362) provides a broad definition of CSR, explaining that it is "conceptualized as the degree of 'fit' between society's expectations of the business community and the ethics of business." However, he goes on to suggest that this is a general definition that varies depending upon the type of corporation and the society (or community) in which it operates, a point that highlights the complexity of the concept. In contrast, Grunig (1979) provides a more concrete definition. In order to conduct a public opinion survey, he attempted to create a list of social responsibilities that a number of authors have argued are "in the domain of business managers" (Grunig 1979: 749). Although there were initially 64 such responsibilities, he was able to narrow the list to the following 11 items, which are divided into the three overarching categories listed below:

Type 1: Basic economic functions – quality of products and services, corporate profits;

Type 2: Consequences of basic economic functions – pollution, inflation, monopoly, human relations among employees, employment of minorities;

Type 3: General social problems – decay of the cities, quality of education, support of charitable organizations, and unemployment. (Grunig 1979: 749)

This list gives a number of examples of the types of issues that may be included in CSR and serves as a basic definition. This list might also be related to the Venn diagram of Schwartz and Carroll (2003), (discussed by Thomsen, this volume, p. 575) which divides CSR into economic, legal, and ethical types of responsibilities. For example, Type 1 are obviously economic responsibilities; Type 3 represent ethical responsibilities; and Type 2 could represent legal responsibilities in some cases and ethical responsibilities in others. This brings up the point that these different types of social responsibility are not mutually exclusive, suggesting that many, if not most, purported actions could fit into several of these categories. Indeed, Thomsen suggests that a corporation's goal should be to achieve economic, legal, and ethical responsibility simultaneously through corporate action. Although there is much debate about the role businesses *should* have in society not only in the literature concerning CSR, but also in political discourse, the important point here is that many of the issues represented in this list are also found in the discourse produced by Starbucks Corporation. In the next section, the history of Starbucks Corporation and its CSR policy will be described in terms of Types 1–3 CSR actions.

4. Starbucks' history and the development of its CSR policy

According to Thompson and Strickland (1999), Starbucks opened its doors in Seattle's Pike Place Market, a large public market in downtown Seattle in 1971. At that time, the company was a small retailer that sold coffee beans, coffee makers, and other coffee-related items. In 1982, Howard Schultz was hired as director of retail operations and marketing. While traveling in Italy, he got the idea of turning Starbucks into a "coffeehouse," specializing in the sale of pre-made coffee and coffee drinks. Schultz believed that the coffeehouse concept would play well with the primarily middle and upper-middle class Americans who frequented Starbucks in Seattle, but he was unable to convince Starbucks' owners to pursue the idea. Finally in 1985, he started his own coffeehouse, called *Il Giornale*. In 1987, Starbucks was sold to *Il Giornale*, which took the *Starbucks* name and logo, and began expanding to parts of the U.S. outside the Pacific Northwest. The rate of expansion increased rapidly after the company's stock began to be publicly traded in 1992. Shortly after Schultz became the CEO, Starbucks began encouraging a policy of CSR, and the policy was formalized in 2001. The company published its first annual CSR report in 2002.

From the beginning, the written materials produced by Starbucks have touted the quality of its products and suggested that it is a very profitable company (Type

1 CSR), but early reported CSR actions of Types 2 and 3 were rather minimal and concerned mostly employee benefits and a few charitable contributions or sponsorships. The first of these occurred in 1988 when the company timeline reported offering "full health benefits to full- and part-time employees" (http://www.starbucks.com/aboutus/Company_Timeline.pdf).

It is apparent that Starbucks' CSR policy provides an explicit means for the linking of individual and corporate interests. Table 1 provides a list of the specific kinds of CSR actions reported by Starbucks and categorizes them into Types 1–3.

Table 1. Types of CSR actions reported in the discourse of Starbucks' web site

Type 1 (Basic Economic Functions)	Type 2 (Consequences of Basic Economic Functions)	Type 3 (General Social Problems)
Introduction and improvement of products	Providing benefits for employees	Improving the quality of education
Formation of partnerships with other corporations	Providing benefits for coffee growers	Contributions to charities and disaster relief aid
Information about profits and stock performance	Promotion of ethical business practices	Projects in community development
Information about corporate expansion	Promotion of environmentally-oriented business practices	Promotion of "green" ideas

Although Types 1, 2, and 3 CSR claims might be further divided into even more specific subtypes, those listed are most prevalent in the discourse of Starbucks' web site, and they will be used to demonstrate how Starbucks constructs its corporate identity in ways that also suggest desirable consumer identities. Examples of the subtypes in each category, drawn from the company timeline, will be presented in separate tables.[4]

Table 2 provides representative examples of Type 1 CSR claims. As the example shows, *Introduction and improvement of products* primarily refers to coffee and coffee-related products, initially the only types of products sold. More recently, Starbucks has begun selling other types of products such as ice cream, bottled teas and other drinks, and even compact discs, and so this category also includes reports of these business activities. *Formation of partnerships with other corporations* includes any type of business venture involving a liaison between Starbucks and another corporation for the purpose of gaining profit, as shown in the examples.[5] *Information about profits and performance* includes any information about how the company as a whole has performed in terms of profits, company performance, and stock performance, as the examples suggest. Although *Information about corporate expansion* could perhaps be included here, it seems to

warrant a separate category, not only because Starbucks is well known for its phenomenal growth rate, but also because there are many mentions of expansion and acquisition of other corporations in the company timeline. Therefore, this last subtype includes the opening of new stores, the acquisition of other corporations, and the formation of new companies, as the examples suggest.

Table 2. Examples of Type 1 CSR actions reported in Starbucks' timeline

Type 1 (Basic Economic Function)	Examples
Introduction and improvement of products	• **Introduces** Milder Dimensions, a lighter and milder tasting line of premium coffee blends. (1998)
Formation of partnerships with other corporations	• **Begins** Barnes & Noble, Inc., relationship. (1993) • **Signs** a licensing agreement with Kraft Foods, Inc., to extend the Starbucks brand into grocery channels across the U.S. (1998)
Information about profits and performance	• **Awarded** Horizon Air account. (1990) • **Announces** first 2-for-1 stock split effective September 29. (1993)
Information about corporate expansion	• **Opens** in Memphis and Nashville, Tenn.; and Saskatchewan, Canada. (1999) • **Acquires** Seattle Coffee Company, which includes Seattle's Best Coffee and Torrefazione Italia coffee brands. (2003)

Table 3 provides representative examples of Type 2 CSR claims. As the examples suggest, *Providing benefits for employees* refers not only to monetary benefits such as health insurance or stock options, but also to any positive action that would affect employees. Although from an employee's perspective, the second example (the introduction of Starbucks Coffee Master Program) might arguably be considered more work and thus not a benefit, the point is that in the company timeline, it is presented as a benefit.

As suggested by the example, the category *Providing benefits for coffee growers* includes any reported activities that are purported to benefit coffee growers or suppliers. *Promotion of ethical business practices* refers to reports of actions that seemingly advance ethical business conduct such as the two examples shown. The last category *Promotion of environmentally-oriented business practices* could possibly be considered part of the previous category (i.e. a type of ethical business practice), but because there are numerous references to the environment on Starbucks' web site, it seems to be viewed as a special, more important type of ethical practice.

Table 3. Examples of Type 2 CSR actions reported in Starbucks' timeline

Type 2 (Consequences of Basic Economic Functions)	Examples
Providing benefits for employees	• **Offers** full health benefits to full- and part-time employees. (1988) • **Introduces** Starbucks Coffee Master Program to provide Starbucks partners with an opportunity to learn more about the world of coffee, and share their passion with customers and partners. (2004)
Providing benefits for coffee growers	• **Loans** $1 million to Calvert Community Investments, enabling Calvert to provide affordable credit to the Fair Trade Certified™ coffee farmers. (2004)
Promotion of ethical business practices	• **Establishes** licensing agreement with TransFair USA to sell Fair Trade Certified™ coffee in U.S. and Canada. (2000) • **Publishes** its first Corporate Social Responsibility Annual Report. (2002)
Promotion of environmentally-oriented business practices	• **Introduces** Shade Grown Mexico coffee. (1999) • **Introduces** coffee-sourcing guidelines developed in partnership with Conservation International. (2001)

Table 4 provides representative examples of Type 3 CSR claims. The reported actions in Table 4 all have consequences for society as a whole and do not appear to be specifically related to coffee production, the sale of products, corporate expansion, or other business activities engaged in by Starbucks. For instance, as the example suggests, *Improving the quality of education* includes funding or otherwise supporting educational programs and institutions, but this does not appear to be related to coffee or any of Starbucks' other business activities. Similarly, *Contributions to charities and disaster relief aid* includes general charitable contributions, as shown in the example, as well as special disaster relief funds such as donations made to tsunami relief efforts in 2005. As the example suggests, *Projects in community development* includes funding or volunteer activities centered around developing local communities. Finally, as the examples show, *Promotion of "green" ideas* concerns funding or activities that concern pollution, climate change, or other environmental concerns that are not specifically related to Starbucks' business practices. For example, supporting a program that raises public awareness about environmental issues would be included in this category, whereas making 10 % of its paper cups out of recycled paper would be considered promoting environmentally-oriented business practices (see Table 3).

Table 4. Examples of Type 3 CSR actions reported in Starbucks' timeline

Type 3 (General Social Problems)	Examples
Improving the quality of education	• **Begins** a four-year, $1 million philanthropic partnership with Jumpstart, a national organization that pairs college student tutors with preschoolers. (2001)
Contributions to charities and disaster relief aid	• **Encourages** more than 50,000 hours of partner and customer volunteer time and contributes $500,000 to nonprofit organizations across North America through *Make Your Mark* volunteer program in September. (2003)
Projects in community development	• **Pledges** $550,000 to revitalize historic Central District Park on Martin Luther King Jr. Way in Seattle, part of Starbucks $1 million commitment to the improvement of parks in King, Pierce and Snohomish counties in 2006.
Promotion of "green" ideas	• **Celebrates** Earth Day with a $50,000 contribution to Earth Day Network. (2003) • **Champions** new film, "Arctic Tale," as part of new relationship with Paramount Classics and National Geographic Films to build awareness and foster discussion around the climate change issue. (2007)

With respect to the development of CSR discourse, the company timeline shows several points: First, Starbucks CSR discourse is very "explicit," and this supports Matten and Moon's (2008) contention that American-based corporations tend to use this approach rather than a more "implicit" approach to CSR communication, a point that was discussed by Thomsen (this volume). Second, corporate expansion and the sale of coffee products are linked to actions that might otherwise be viewed as solely in the social domain. This second point is perhaps most obvious in the claims made in Table 3 (Type 2 CSR claims), but can also be seen elsewhere in the timeline. For example, as Starbucks opens increasing numbers of stores, the dollar amount of charitable contributions also increases. Third, although Tables 2–4 may seem to suggest that CSR claims of each of the three types are made separately, this is because relatively isolated claims were chosen in order to illustrate CSR claims of each type. In fact, over time, the three types of CSR claims become increasingly intertwined, thus discursively linking corporate interests such as products and profit (Type 1) with social interests such as the treatment of employees and suppliers (Type 2) and more general social concerns like the quality of education (Type 3). This last point supports the idea that corporations may try to

address all three types of responsibilities simultaneously (Thomsen, this volume). It is also interesting to speculate that as corporations increase their use of explicit language related to CSR (Thomsen, this volume), they may also make increasingly explicit connections between the different types of CSR, in essence, claiming that every action is justifiable because it is socially responsible.

Several other interesting points can be made about the forms used to make CSR claims in the Starbucks' timeline: First, the constructions seem to be typical of the genre of resume writing in that the subject of each clause *Starbucks* is not explicitly mentioned. This can be seen in all of the examples in Tables 2–4. Indeed, the only time the subject is mentioned explicitly in the entries on the timeline is when it is not Starbucks. For example, there are a few cases in which "the Starbucks Foundation," or "CARE" is the subject, and these are mentioned explicitly (see example (14) below). What this means is that nearly all of the clauses in the timeline begin with a verb. In addition, all of the verbs in Tables 2–4 are bolded, as in the original timeline. Thus the timeline seems to be viewed as a resume, and it is used to highlight Starbucks' *active* accomplishments. Indeed, these surface-level formatting features function to suggest that Starbucks is actively involved in CSR activities and in creating a corporation that performs well and has a dynamic, innovative atmosphere. These points will be made clearer below, as the discursive construction of Starbucks as an agent of CSR actions is demonstrated.

5. Claiming socially responsible identities through varying constructions of agency

Traditionally, linguists have considered *agency* to be concerned with the semantics of transitive verbs, in which the prototypical agent is human, intentional and acting consciously on a patient that is affected in some way by that action (Lakoff 1977; Hopper and Thompson 1980; Langacker 1991). However, in other disciplines more concerned with the social aspects of interaction, such as anthropology, sociology and sociocultural linguistics, agency has been understood as referring to "the accomplishment of social action" (Bucholtz and Hall 2005: 606). Ahearn (2001: 112) reviewed the literature across these disciplines and provided the following definition, which is purposefully general in order to capture the broad set of meanings for which this term has been used: "Agency refers to the socioculturally mediated capacity to act." She also pointed out that some scholars who have used this term have failed to discuss exactly what they mean. For example, unlike traditional linguists, she questions whether agents must be human and asks whether machines, technology and even spirits can act as agents. She also asks whether agency is individual or collective and whether it must be "conscious, intentional, or effective" (Ahearn 2001: 112) and seems to suggest that agency may be intersubjective, or as Bucholtz and Hall (2005:606) suggest, "distributed" across jointly-constructed actions.

Although Ahearn's primary interest was the social aspects of agency, rather than the clause-level, semantic agency generally discussed by linguists, she did connect the two types, arguing that in some cases referential and social meanings overlap. Indeed, some linguists and linguistic anthropologists have used the connections between these two types of agency to explore how speakers use the grammatical resources of their language to encode social meanings. For example, Duranti (1994) found that, in Samoan, power differentials were often indexed by the way individuals used ergative case markers to signal agency and establish either praise or blame. In some of the examples below, Starbucks is the grammatical subject, which suggests that it is the doer of the "socially responsible" actions described, and therefore the socially responsible party. In other examples, this agentive role is downplayed, constructing Starbucks as a compassionate, caring experiencer. Thus, in this case, a grammatical resource – argument structure – is used in different ways to humanize Starbucks, constructing the identity of a socially responsible, good corporate citizen. These points will be illustrated shortly, but first the relationship between argument structure and semantic agency will be discussed.

5.1. Argument structure and semantic agency

It is now generally accepted that grammatical relations such as subject and object represent a conflation of semantic and pragmatic roles. For example, the prototypical subject is generally considered to be the intersection of agent and topic (Comrie 1989: 66), or as Chafe (1994: 83) puts it the "starting point" of a clause. The notion of a starting point highlights the pragmatic role of the subject, suggesting that subjects express topical or "given" information (Du Bois 1987; Chafe 1994). However, as others have noted, subjects in nominative/accusative languages like English are not only likely to be topics, they are also more likely to be semantic agents (Comrie 1989; Croft 1991).

Following Dixon (1979; 1994), many scholars use the labels *S*, *A* and *O* to refer to the three core grammatical arguments. Onishi (2001: 1) defines these constructs as follows:

A the core argument of a transitive clause, which prototypically denotes the controller or initiator of the activity described by the verb;
O the core argument of a transitive clause, which prototypically denotes the participant affected by the activity described by the verb;
S the sole core argument of an intransitive clause.

Although there is not a one-to-one relationship between these grammatical relations and semantic roles, there is some connection, as suggested in the definitions of A and O. In addition, it is clear that the concept of core argument structure, in which A, S and O are seen as central and other arguments (e.g., obliques) are con-

sidered more peripheral, is based on an understanding of transitivity as a prototype. This is an important point because the prototypical transitive clause is defined as expressing an event in which an A acts agentively and volitionally on an O that is affected by that action, and this construct is the basis of the above definition of the prototypical agent as human, intentional and acting consciously on a patient that is affected. Although this definition says that a prototypical agent will be an A argument, some scholars suggest that S can also be agentive when it is the initiator or controller of an action (Hopper and Thompson 1980; Keenan 1984; Dixon 1994). Indeed, Keenan (1984: 220) distinguishes between "agentlike" and "patientlike" subjects of intransitive clauses. In the discussion of argument structure below, the term *agentive S* will be used to refer to "agentlike" subjects of intransitive clauses.

Some examples will make the relationship between grammatical relations and semantic roles clearer, and they will also show that, although subjects are often agents, they have a number of other semantic roles in English clauses, including experiencer, instrument, and patient (among others).[6]

(1) John cut the cake.
(2) The boy saw the dog.
(3) The stone broke the widow.
(4) Shiva danced.
(5) The old woman died.

In these examples, the only prototypical agent is the A argument (*John*) in (1). Although the subjects in (2) and (3) are also A's, their semantic roles are experiencer and instrument, respectively. Indeed, the verb in (2) is a member of the class of "experiential predicates" (Haspelmath 2001: 59) and conveys an event that is not initiated or controlled by A, and in (3), the A argument is inanimate, and therefore, cannot be controlling the action. On the other hand, in (4), S does control the action and thus may be considered agentive. Contrast (4) with (5), in which S is the patient or undergoer of the event.[7]

The idea that the prototypical agent is human is related to the animacy hierarchy, which was originally suggested as an explanation for split case marking systems, in which nominative/accusative marking is used for first- and second-person referents and ergative/absolutive marking for third-person pronominal and nominal referents (Silverstein 1976). Dixon (1994) and others have broadened this hierarchy, suggesting that it reflects the relationship between nominal reference and agency: Semantic agents are typically human, and indeed, most often, the speaker or listener with reference to a given clause. The essence of these revisions can be represented as follows:

1st person pronouns → 2nd person pronouns → 3rd person pronouns → proper nouns → common nouns (human → animate → inanimate) (based on Croft 1991: 151; Dixon 1994: 85; Foley 1999: 210; Ahearn 2001: 123)

In essence, moving from left to right along this hierarchy, agents are more likely to be first-person rather than second-person pronouns (i.e. the speaker or the listener), human rather than non-human, and animate rather than inanimate.[8] Although this model has some critics, data from a number of languages suggest that the animacy hierarchy may be a universal tendency in semantic agency (Dixon 1994). Ahearn (2001) suggests that because semantic agency seems to be so intimately interconnected with humanness, it is worth considering the relationship between this kind of agency and social agency.

The idea that animacy, and in particular, humanness is an important aspect of agency also relates to the question mentioned above, concerning whether agency is conscious, intentional or effective (Ahearn 2001). It is difficult to imagine attributing any of these qualities to an inanimate object, and indeed, it seems more likely that, in a prototypical sense, they would be attributed to humans over other animals. Here it is assumed that at the clause level, the prototypical semantic agent is human, conscious, intentional and also initiates or controls the action for which it is specified as the agent. Given this definition, it is interesting to consider how discursively constructing Starbucks as an agent may function to make it seem more human. In the next section, the constructs of A and S are used to describe how agency is constructed in the Starbucks' timeline, and this clause-level agency is linked to social aspects of agency. As will be shown, constructing Starbucks as the agent of socially responsible actions at the clause level is one way of humanizing and creating a positive social identity for the corporation.

5.2. Constructing Starbucks as the agent of socially responsible actions

As discussed above, in Starbucks' timeline, the subject of each clause typically is not explicitly mentioned. However, it is clear that in these cases, the ellipted noun phrase is *Starbucks*. Indeed, explicit mention of the subject occurs only in cases where the subject is not Starbucks, but rather, an affiliated organization, as in example (7) below. In Tables 2–4, all of the CSR claims express transitive (or ditransitive) actions, and Starbucks is the A argument in all but one case. The examples in these tables are representative of the timeline as a whole, in which 91 % of the clauses are transitive, and Starbucks or an affiliated organization is the A argument. (6) and (7) are typical examples.

(6) Type 1 CSR (2005)
[Starbucks] acquires Ethos Water.

(7) Type 1 CSR (2006)
Starbucks Coffee International enters Egypt.

All of the clauses in Tables 2–4 and in the timeline claim that socially responsible actions of Types 1–3 are being carried out, and because Starbucks is the A argu-

ment in most of these clauses, it is understood as the agent and thus responsible party. Bucholtz and Hall (2005: 594) suggest that identities may be indexed through explicit mention of identity categories and labels and through ideological systems that are associated with particular groups or personas. As was discussed above, prototypical agents are human and intentional. Therefore, placing Starbucks in the agentive role may have the effect of humanizing the corporation and making it seem socially responsible because it is inferred to be performing intentional acts for society's benefit. This construction, then, has the effect of creating a socially responsible identity for Starbucks and also creating an ideological connection between corporations like Starbucks and social responsibility. Indeed, although in the past, consumers may have questioned this link, it has become so ubiquitous in today's world that an ideological connection may already be in place, and questioning the link between individual, social interests and marketplace interests becomes increasingly unlikely. As Bazerman (2002) suggested, it has become difficult to think about how social justice can be accomplished without considering economic impact.

Although most of the CSR claims in the company timeline are made with transitive constructions in which Starbucks is the A argument and the semantic agent, a few are made with constructions that traditionally would be considered intransitive. There are five such constructions in the timeline, and in all cases, Starbucks is the grammatical subject or S argument. In these clauses, Starbucks is an agentive S in that it is portrayed as initiating and controlling intentional actions. (8) and (9) are examples.

(8) Type 2 CSR (1999)
[Starbucks] [p]artners with Conservation International to promote environmentally responsible methods of growing coffee.

(9) Type 3 CSR (2007)
[Starbucks] [t]eams with Global Green USA to launch Planet Green Game to encourage individuals to "click, play and learn" about global climate change and smart solutions.

In the dependent clauses in (8) and (9) *to promote environmentally responsible methods of growing coffee and to encourage individuals to "click, play and learn" about global climate change and smart solutions*, the subject (and agent) is Starbucks and the organizations it collaborates with. These constructions not only claim that Starbucks is an agent of these socially responsible actions, the predicates in the independent clauses *partners (with)* and *teams (with)* also make it clear that Starbucks collaborates with other organizations. The names of these other organizations, notably, suggest that they are doing work to protect the environment, thus Starbucks' good corporate citizen identity is indexed through its alignment with these organizations, and the credibility of its CSR claims is enhanced. In addition,

as was the case for (6) and (7), the constructions in (8) and (9) index Starbucks' identity as a good corporate citizen by claiming that it is doing "good work" for the globe.

In (10) and (11), verbs of reported speech are used to express socially responsible actions that Starbucks purportedly plans to do in the future.

(10) Type 2 CSR (2001)
[Starbucks] [c]ommits to purchase one million pounds of Fair Trade Certified™ coffee.

(11) Type 3 CSR (2005)
[Starbucks] [r]eports that as part of its long-term commitment to aid the relief and recovery efforts following Hurricane Katrina, Starbucks will make an initial commitment of $5 million over five years to impacted U.S. Gulf Coast communities.

Again, Starbucks is the agentive S argument that will purportedly carry out the acts mentioned, and these constructions suggest a high degree of planning and intention, attributes which are generally associated with responsible humans and thus serve to personify the corporation, indexing its socially responsible identity. As in (8) and (9), in (10) Starbucks is also the subject (agent) of the dependent clause *to purchase one million pounds of Fair Trade Certified™ coffee*. (11) is a more complex construction that contains a complement clause that is made up of a dependent and an independent clause. Notice that Starbucks is mentioned explicitly as the A argument of the independent clause, *Starbucks will make an initial commitment of $5 million over five years to impacted U.S. Gulf Coast communities*, thus once again highlighting the corporation's agentive role in all of the socially responsible actions mentioned in each portion of each entry of the timeline.

Like (10) and (11), example (12) is encoded intransitively, and Starbucks is the agentive S argument in the independent clause. Starbucks is also understood as the subject of the dependent clause, *by donating more than $1.5 million for tsunami relief and recovery*, and thus the agent.

(12) Type 3 CSR (2005)
[Starbucks] [r]esponds to the tremendous tsunami devastation in South Asia by donating more than $1.5 million for tsunami relief and recovery, channeled through a variety of relief organizations around the world, including Oxfam affiliates, the Red Crescent Society and Save the Children.

In examples (10), (11), and (12), Starbucks is the subject of the independent clauses (agentive S), and therefore also, the subject (A) of the dependent clauses and thus the agent of the CSR actions. Indeed, in all of the examples discussed so far, Starbucks (or an affiliated organization) is the subject, suggesting that it is responsible for the CSR actions listed. Because prototypical agents are human, these

constructions serve to humanize the corporation and index its identity as a good corporate citizen.

There are also four passive constructions in the timeline. One example appears in Table 2 and is repeated here as (13).

(13) Type 1 CSR (1990)
[Starbucks is] awarded Horizon Air account.

In all of the passive constructions the verb is *awarded*, but *be* is ellipted (in addition to the subject). In passive constructions, the patient is promoted to subject (S), thus making it the topic of the clause (Givón 1983; 1984; Comrie 1989). Perhaps ellipsis of the passive *be* also makes this construction seem more active. In other words, to people reading this information, although *Starbucks* is the patient rather than the agent, in a construction like *Awarded United Airlines account*, the construction itself may suggest that Starbucks has an active role simply because it is the subject, and subjects are often agentive.

Example (14) is the only entry in the timeline in which Starbucks is an oblique argument (the object of a preposition).

(14) Type 2 & 3 CSR (2007)
CARE, the international humanitarian and development organization, receives a $500,000 commitment from Starbucks to fund a three-year program that will help improve economic and educational prospects for more than 6,000 people in rural Ethiopia's coffee growing regions.

This example is interesting because the effect is to downplay Starbucks' role as the agent of the act of giving (or in this case, committing to a donation). At the same time, the recipient is placed in the subject position, which makes it the topic and highlights its role in the sentence. This example may be somewhat similar to (8) and (9). In the case of those examples, Starbucks' connection with other socially responsible organizations is emphasized, and this increases the credibility of the statement with regard to Starbucks' own socially responsible actions. The construction in (14) has a similar effect: By placing the well-known, humanitarian organization CARE in the prominent subject position and making an explicit connection to it, Starbucks gains credibility as a socially responsible organization itself. This strategy can be understood in terms of Bucholtz and Hall's (2005) adequation principle. Recall that this principle suggests that people or groups will use language to highlight similarities between their own stance and the stance of those they wish to emulate so that the two stances are seen as essentially the same. In this case, Starbucks aligns itself with another organization whose only focus and goals are social improvements in the world, or as stated on CARE's web site: "We seek a world of hope, tolerance and social justice, where poverty has been overcome and people live in dignity and security" (http://www.care.org/about/index.asp). Explicit mention of CARE in subject position in effect in-

dexes Starbucks' purportedly similar position and identity of the good corporate citizen.

In this section, semantic agency, as displayed at the level of the clause, was discussed and connected with social aspects of agency, using examples from Starbucks' timeline. It was shown that Starbucks attempts to create the identity of a socially responsible corporate citizen by constructing itself as the agent of the CSR actions listed in its timeline and by aligning itself with other organizations that are perceived as socially responsible (Bucholtz and Hall's adequation principle). As was mentioned, the timeline seems to be somewhat like a resume in that it emphasizes Starbucks' active role in the CSR actions that are described. This serves the function of humanizing the corporation because agency is understood as prototypically human. In the next section, texts from Starbucks' web site and newspaper advertisements are examined. In comparison to the timeline, these texts may be considered a different, although perhaps related, genre. In these examples, it will be shown that Starbucks' agentive role is sometimes downplayed, highlighting the agency of others and constructing Starbucks' as a semantic experiencer. The purpose of these constructions seems to be to index stances of compassion and caring, which is another way of humanizing Starbucks and indexing its socially responsible identity.

5.3. Constructing identities of caring and compassion by downplaying agency

In the material discussed below, which includes texts found on Starbucks' web site as well as advertisements, Starbucks is portrayed as a good corporate citizen, especially emphasizing Type 2 CSR actions. In addition, Starbucks' products are also said to be exceptionally high quality, which suggests Type 1 CSR actions and explicitly links economic interests with actions that are purportedly socially motivated. (15) illustrates these points.

(15) From "Our Starbucks Mission"
(http://www.starbucks.com/mission/default.asp)

Our Coffee

It has always been, and will always be, about quality. We're passionate about ethically sourcing the finest coffee beans, roasting them with great care, and improving the lives of people who grow them. We care deeply about all of this; our work is never done.

Here, an explicit connection is made between high-quality coffee and improving the lives of coffee growers, and Starbucks is also said to be both *passionate* and *car[ing]*, indexing qualities that are associated with humans. In addition, using the first-person plural *we* seems to invoke a personal, human touch much more than using the noun phrase *Starbucks* would. This construction suggests that there is a

group of human beings behind Starbucks' actions, rather than just a faceless corporation. It is much easier to believe that a group of people is compassionate and caring than to believe that a corporation is. In terms of the clause-level grammar, although *we* (Starbucks) occurs twice in the subject position, the semantic role is that of an experiencer rather than an agent. Although CSR actions are mentioned here, and it is suggested that Starbucks is at least partially responsible, this point is downplayed in order to highlight the role of the corporation as the compassionate and caring experiencer.

More generally, this example shows how Types 1 and 2 CSR are linked within one passage so that, for example, producing high quality coffee beans is virtually inseparable from socially responsible acts such as *improving the lives of people who grow them*. In this way, the connection between marketplace and individual, social interests described by Bazerman (2002) is also reified and reproduced. Indeed the message that is being sent here is that consumption of Starbucks' products equals care. Consumers who buy Starbucks' products are aligning themselves with the corporation and supporting its efforts, thus buying into identities of good citizenship on a personal and individual level. This point will be discussed further in the next section.

Example (16) appeared as a full-page advertisement in the *New York Times* several years ago. It makes the points mentioned above even more explicitly and gives supporting "evidence" of Starbucks' purported CSR actions.

(16) *New York Times*, Sunday, November 19, 2006

WHAT MAKES COFFEE GOOD?

At Starbucks, our goal is to make the best coffee in the world, not just today but tomorrow and 10 years from tomorrow. For us, this has meant getting involved in innovative ways with the people and communities that grow our coffee beans. And along the way, we've learned that high ideals and good business can go hand in hand. It's a different, more engaged way of doing business, one that involves us in a variety of projects around the world. For example, in some communities we support finance initiatives to provide affordable credit to small coffee producers. In others, we are working to strengthen the infrastructure of villages that support coffee farms – helping to construct bridges, dig wells, and build water treatment facilities to ensure a healthy, viable community. Projects like these, and many more, help farmers grow top-quality beans in a sustainable, profitable, ecologically sound way. We do these things – in Ethiopia, in Guatemala, in Indonesia, and other coffee-growing communities around the globe – not just because it's the right way to work but because it's the smart way to work. For us, the bottom line is this: If you want great coffee, you have to nurture the bean from start to finish. Ask any farmer.

In this example, although Starbucks is the agent of the CSR actions referred to as *supporting* and *helping*, considering the passage as a whole, Starbucks' agentive role is somewhat downplayed in comparison to the discourse in the company timeline. The reason for this seems to be to upgrade "ethical business practices" or projects that are apparently socially motivated by placing these referents in the topical subject position. Indeed, in the first four sentences, Starbucks is mentioned only as an O argument (*one that involves us in a variety of projects around the world*) or as an oblique argument (*at Starbucks and for us*). Within these first four sentences, Starbucks only appears as the subject once, in the sentence below, repeated as (16 a).

(16 a) *And along the way, we've learned that high ideals and good business can go hand in hand.*

Even though Starbucks is the subject, the semantic role is experiencer, rather than agent, as was the case in (15). This semantic role indexes the idea that Starbucks is compassionate and caring, able to experience and learn from others. Notice also that the noun phrase *Starbucks* is only mentioned once, and as an oblique (locative) argument at the very beginning of the passage. Thereafter, the pronouns *our*, *us*, and *we* are used to personify and humanize the corporation, as a compassionate experiencer.

Of course Starbucks' role as agent is not totally downplayed in (16). When Type 2 CSR actions are mentioned, Starbucks is once again the subject, as can be seen in the two sentences below, repeated from the passage.

(16 b) *For example, in some communities we support finance initiatives to provide affordable credit to small coffee producers.*

(16 c) *In others, we are working to strengthen the infrastructure of villages that support coffee farms – helping to construct bridges, dig wells, and build water treatment facilities to ensure a healthy, viable community.*

Starbucks is the A argument and agent in (16 b) and agentive S argument in (16 c). However, in (16 c), Starbucks is not portrayed as acting alone – it is only *helping* to accomplish the CSR actions mentioned. This suggests that Starbucks' efforts are collaborative and contributes to constructing its humanized, compassionate identity. (16 c) also serves to provide support for the idea that Starbucks is socially responsible in that specific projects that it has purportedly contributed to are listed.

In (16 d), the noun phrase *projects like these* is the A argument, rather than Starbucks. This construction is used to provide further evidence of Starbucks' socially responsible identity in that it has already been established that Starbucks is one of the agentive forces behind the projects referred to.

(16 d) *Projects like these, and many more, help farmers grow top-quality beans in a sustainable, profitable, ecologically sound way.*

Notice also that (16 c) and (16 d) work together to make the connection between individual, social interests and marketplace, economic interests quite explicit. Indeed, the "projects" of *constructing bridges*, *digging wells*, *and building water treatment facilities* are said to *"ensure a healthy, viable community"* and are ultimately linked to profitability.

The next sentence in the passage, repeated as (16 e), furthers the connection between profit and social justice, explicitly linking Type 1 and 2 CSR actions. Indeed, the claim "not just because it's the *right way* to work but because it's the *smart way* to work" makes a general connection between social justice and profitable business practices, which is claimed to guide all of the decisions made by Starbucks.

(16 e) *We do these things – in Ethiopia, in Guatemala, in Indonesia, and other coffee-growing communities around the globe – not just because it's the right way to work but because it's the smart way to work.*

In the final construction of the passage, Starbucks is once again an oblique argument, downplaying its role and foregrounding the role of others (farmers) in the coffee production process.

This passage not only makes an explicit connection between economically profitable business practices (Type 1 CSR) and actions that are socially motivated (Type 2 CSR), it also shows how agency is used to discursively construct different aspects of the socially responsible identity Starbucks is striving for. On the one hand, in the case of specific CSR actions, Starbucks' agentive role is explicitly mentioned, indexing its role as the responsible party. On the other hand, in the case of decision making about business practices, a lot of discursive work is done to humanize Starbucks. Although the first strategy may humanize the corporation to a certain extent in that humans are prototypical agents, the second strategy seems to be even more effective in humanizing the corporation. Indeed, use of the pronouns *we* and *us* suggests a group of people working together, rather than a faceless corporation. Constructing Starbucks as an experiencer has a similar effect. All of these linguistic resources have the rhetorical effect of humanizing Starbucks as compassionate and caring, thus indexing the identity of a good corporate citizen. In addition, encoding Starbucks as a semantic experiencer or suggesting that it is just *one* of the agents creates the inference that other people such as coffee growers, employees and even consumers are actively involved in the decision making, planning and implementing of the CSR actions mentioned. Much as Gee, Hull and Lankshear (1997) have suggested, texts like these make it seem as if these other individuals are in control, and the corporation itself is somewhat disempowered. This is a good point to turn to a brief examination of the kinds of desirable identities these texts construct for consumers.

6. The discursive construction of desirable consumer identities

Space limitations preclude an extended analysis of how the texts discussed here construct consumer identities. Therefore, this section will focus on just two aspects of consumer identity and present a few examples. As discussed, Gee, Hull and Lankshear (1997) argue that fast capitalist texts construct corporations as collective organizations in which the primary driving force is consumers' needs and desires. Thus these texts often downplay the agency of the corporation and construct consumers as agents. In many cases, the consumer and the corporation are displayed as aligned forces, working together for the good of all, and this reifies the merger of individual and corporate interests.

In Section 2, it was suggested that one of the attractions of consumption is that it provides an opportunity for a kind of symbolic upward mobility in terms of social class. As the examples below will show, Starbucks' products are portrayed as not only high-quality, but also exciting and exotic, representative of the tastes of savvy, worldly jetsetters. As discussed, Bucholtz (1999) found that lower-middle class consumers purchased products advertised by the middle and upper-middle class hosts on the shopping channel in order to align themselves with the hosts and elevate their own social status. In a similar way, Starbucks' products are portrayed as high-quality and catering to elite tastes, and consumers are able to align themselves with these elite class identities by consuming these products.

In addition, as was shown above, the examples portray Starbucks as a good corporate citizen that does socially responsible actions for the good of all. Because great effort is made to link these actions with coffee production, both economically and ideologically, there is the implication that consumers can become part of a socially motivated movement and further global equality by buying these products. Recall the statement made by EBay Manager Robert Chatwani and quoted at the beginning of the chapter: "We no longer have to think about shopping and giving as mutually exclusive." Indeed, if we are to believe the advertisements and other written material, shopping (at Starbucks) *is* giving, and individual identities of global citizenship are indexed through the language and images that construct Starbucks' socially responsible actions.

Example (16) can be used to illustrate the construction of these two desirable consumer identities. Indeed, this passage says that Starbucks' "goal is to make the best coffee in the world," and this coffee comes from Ethiopia, Guatemala, Indonesia, "and other coffee-growing communities around the globe." These statements suggest worldliness and high-class tastes, which index an elite (global) social class. At the same time, the passage details a number of CSR actions that further community development and in which Starbucks is claimed to be one of the agents. Two of the Bucholtz and Hall (2005) relationality subprinciples can be used to analyze this passage. First, recall that *authenticity* refers to how "genuineness" is constructed with respect to both the language and the language user. In (16), explicit

details such as, "helping to construct bridges, dig wells, and build water treatment facilities to ensure a healthy, viable community," are used to authenticate Starbucks' socially responsible identity. Second, the adequation principle allows consumers to align themselves with Starbucks, claiming elite class identities *and* positioning themselves as global citizens who are actively "doing good," all through one action: The purchase of Starbucks' products.

The idea that consumers are actively involved in Starbucks' purported CSR actions has been made more explicit recently through several new, interactive tools on Starbucks' web site. One such tool is an interactive map of the world, which can be accessed from the *Shared Planet* page inside the Starbucks' web site. After describing this tool briefly, two related examples found inside the map will be given. Once inside Shared Planet, there is a link that says, "Explore the world of coffee." Clicking on the link takes the consumer to another link to the interactive map. Once inside the map, the consumer's location is highlighted with the word *you* in large, bolded letters. This page shows the locations of Starbucks' stores in relation to the consumer, and there are three other links on the map: 1) *Featured projects and farmer support centers*; 2) *Where our coffee comes from*; and 3) *Visit a coffee farm*. Clicking each of these links shows the information suggested in the name of the link in relation to *you*. The examples below come from inside the *visit a coffee farm* link. Upon entering this page, consumers see their location (i.e. *you*) and seven highlighted buttons in different regions of the world. Placing the cursor over one of the buttons in east Africa, reveals the following captions:

(17) From Starbucks' Interactive Map
(http://www.starbucks.com/sharedplanet/interactiveMap.aspx)

Bensa Ware
Ethiopia

High-quality coffee also means clean water to this village in the Sidama highlands of southern Ethiopia.

This first set of captions, once again, explicitly links high-quality coffee production to what are ostensibly social improvements in the coffee growing community, and the consumer is iconically linked to both by having his/her location highlighted on the map along with the location of the coffee farm.

Clicking on the button for the *Bensa Ware* link plays a short video clip about the village and the coffee farm located there. The video shows the village and what seem to be current coffee production processes as well as some of the community projects that are attributed to Starbucks. The narration that accompanies the video highlights Starbucks' purported role in improving coffee quality and helping with the projects designed to improve the community, such as the clean-water project alluded to in (17). The narration also suggests that although Starbucks has an agentive role in both improving coffee quality and providing improvements in the com-

munity, the coffee growers are acting agentively and in collaboration with Starbucks to improve their community. Example (18) occurred several minutes into the video, and the narration continues on after (18).

(18) From Starbucks' Interactive Map
(http://www.starbucks.com/sharedplanet/interactiveMap.aspx)
The bracketed portions describe the (mostly visual) information in the video, and the italicized portion is the narration.

[Camera moves from showing just coffee trees to showing two men standing among the trees.] *In addition, social premiums are paid on Starbucks' contracts for projects to benefit farmers and their families.* [A bridge is shown.] *This bridge was built with help from Starbucks.* [A close-up shows the turbulence of the river.] *It eliminated a dangerous crossing growers had to negotiate to reach the processing mill.* [Two older men are shown speaking with someone off camera in another language. The narration resumes, suggesting that what the men were saying is being translated.] *Local village elders say the river claimed several lives each year before the bridge was built.* [Other people are shown in the village, and then the camera focuses on one family.] *The bridge also eliminates delays in getting freshly picked coffee cherries to the mill, improving quality.*

In this example, Starbucks is constructed as socially responsible through the explicit linking of the *social premiums* it purportedly pays and *projects to benefit farmers and their families*. This kind of link occurred in example (16) as well, but in (18), Starbucks' socially responsible stance is authenticated even more convincingly by the two *village elders* who testify that several people had died crossing the river before the bridge was built. The fact that these two men are initially seen speaking what is assumed to be their language helps create the inference that their testimony is genuine. This example is designed to provide specific evidence that Starbucks is "doing good" in the coffee growing communities, and that its actions are not simply motivated by the desire to make a profit (Type 2 CSR). On the other hand, the last sentence of this passage suggests that Starbucks' motivation is not solely altruistic – its socially motivated projects also improve coffee quality (Type 1 CSR). This video thus serves to make Starbucks' products more desirable to consumers. By purchasing these products, they can get a high-quality product, thus aligning with elite social class positions and play the role of a good citizen by contributing to something that is helping others. Thus once again the link between marketplace interests and social justice is made explicit, and specific evidence is provided in support of this linkage.

As was suggested with respect to examples (15) and (16), Starbucks' role as the semantic agent is somewhat downplayed in (18). Although it is the agent in the first

two sentences, Starbucks does not appear as the A argument. In fact, the first sentence is an agentless passive, and Starbucks, which can be inferred to be the agent, is not explicitly mentioned. The second sentence is also a passive, and in this case, Starbucks is mentioned as an oblique argument. In these sentences, the patients (*social premiums and the bridge*) are the subjects, and this has the effect of upgrading these referents so that they are the important, topical ones (Givón 1984; Croft 1991). In the fourth sentence, the noun phrase *local village elders* is the subject (S argument), and this highlights the importance of the local people and their opinions. Some authors have also suggested that the speaker empathizes most with the subject of a clause (Kuno and Kaburaki 1977; Kuno 1987). Placing *village elders* in the subject position may suggest that Starbucks empathizes with them and thus may be another way of suggesting that Starbucks is compassionate and caring. In the case of (18), downplaying Starbucks' agentive role and placing the philanthropic projects and people who purportedly live in the village in the subject position has the effect of making those the important, topical referents and may further index the identity Starbucks strives to create – the good corporate citizen who is compassionate and caring.

The strategies of downplaying Starbucks' agentive role in philanthropic projects, discussed with reference to examples (15), (16), and (18), also allow for the inference that Starbucks is collaborating with others, in other words, acting as just one of the agents. Thus we can infer that there are other active participants (e.g., coffee growers, community members, consumers, and Starbucks' employees), all of whom have the same common goals. This is very similar to what Gee, Hull and Lankshear (1997) suggested: Fast capitalist texts portray an enchanted world in which corporations are driven by consumers and employees who work together to produce the best products and increase social justice in the world. Of course, what is masked is the question of whether coffee growers have any real choice with respect to improving coffee quality or even with regard to selecting "social improvements." In the utopian world of fast capitalist texts, everyone actively agrees on what is good for all (Gee, Hull and Lankshear 1997).

Consumers' implicit agency in these examples is suggested in several ways. First, the consumer is placed at the center of the interactive map, implying active involvement in the world community, and the act of clicking on the links also indexes active participation. Second, as suggested, the adequation principle allows consumers to actively align themselves with Starbucks: By purchasing Starbucks' products, consumers are contributing to Starbucks' purported efforts around the globe. Indeed, the idea of consumers' active involvement in Starbucks' actions has been made more explicit recently, when Starbucks joined the "Red Campaign," a partnership of businesses that donate a portion of their profits to charity. Starbucks' web site advertises a "red card" and states that, every time a purchase is made with the card, five cents goes to the Global Fund, which is currently supplying medicine in Africa. Thus this discourse suggests that the simple act of purchasing coffee is a

way for consumers to become actively involved in creating social justice around the world.

What may be especially compelling about such advertisements is that they convincingly argue for a kind of "one-stop-shopping," which is very attractive in today's busy world. In other words, through the single act of buying, consumers can create an elite social identity *and* enact global citizenship, helping others who are less fortunate.[9]

7. Conclusions

In this chapter, the discourse produced by one corporation – what Gee, Hull and Lankshear (1997) might refer to as "fast capitalist texts" – has been analyzed. The purpose for doing so was not to place Starbucks in a particularly bad light but rather to examine closely the strategies used by one corporation that is very adept at discursively constructing "perfect worlds." Indeed, one of the primary goals was to further understand the link between the individual interests and values and marketplace interests discussed by Bazerman (2002). In order to understand this idea more fully, a case study was conducted, examining how Starbucks uses language to create the construct of corporate social responsibility. Although three types of corporate social responsibility are mentioned in Starbucks' timeline, other written material such as advertisements focuses primarily on Type 1 (Basic Economic Functions) and Type 2 (Consequences of Basic Economic Functions) CSR claims, displaying in multiple ways the ideas that Starbucks produces high quality products and provides social benefits related to coffee production.

Although two different strategies for making CSR claims were found in the timeline and in the advertisements, there were some common features: Both strategies involved using agency (albeit in different ways) to humanize Starbucks and create the identity of a good corporate citizen. On the one hand, agency was used to construct Starbucks as an active doer of socially responsible actions, the kinds of actions that are usually attributed to conscious, intentional human agents; on the other hand, in some cases, Starbucks' agentive role was downplayed, suggesting a compassionate collective, made up of caring, individual human beings. These two aspects, which are discursively constructed, not only by manipulating agency, but also through other strategies such as authentication may construct a compelling corporate identity that is very attractive and perhaps irresistible to many consumers (and "citizens").

The question of how the advertisements and material on Starbucks' web site construct desirable consumer identities was also briefly examined. Indeed, there are many examples of Starbucks' products that are described as very high-quality (e.g., *the best coffee in the world*), and these references index elite tastes and by extension elite class identities. Consumers who align themselves with Starbucks

through the purchase of these upscale products can buy into this elite identity. Similarly, as Starbucks is constructed as a good corporate citizen that is involved in building bridges in coffee growing communities or donating to charitable organizations, individuals who align themselves with Starbucks can construct their own individual identities as good global citizens.

Finally, this case study is suggestive for some of the theoretical issues surrounding CSR communication discussed by Thomsen (this volume). First, examination of the discursive strategies displayed in Starbucks' web site and advertisements shows that it is an example of an American-based corporation that uses an explicit style of CSR communication. Second, the three types of CSR claims (Types 1, 2 and 3) found and analyzed in this case study might be interpreted as supporting the idea that CSR responsibilities can be divided into the three categories: economic, legal, and ethical. In addition, Thomsen suggests that corporations "should aim at fulfilling [these] economic, legal and ethical responsibilities simultaneously" (p. 575). Although this case study was not intended to make suggestions about what corporations should or should not do, it does show that many of Starbucks' CSR claims do indeed emphasize both economic and ethical responsibilities. It should be noted that this point is related to the idea discussed throughout this chapter – that marketplace and individual, social interests have become increasingly linked over the past century through discursive practices.

In the conclusion of his article, Bazerman (2002) suggested that because individual (social) values and marketplace interests are now so intimately interconnected, it is essential that rhetoricians and other language experts focus ever more attention on newer genres and media, as they may open up new ways of enacting civic participation and creating identities of citizenship. This brief examination of Starbucks' advertisements and web site suggests that this is sound advice. The employees of large corporations like Starbucks are very well trained in the persuasive strategies of discourse, including newer kinds of discursive practices. Thus informed citizens will need to be at least one-step ahead, and we as researchers and educators may be able to enact our own versions of citizenship by helping in this endeavor.

Notes

[1] I am grateful to the people who commented on previous versions of this paper, including the audiences of the 2006 Dialogue Under Occupation Conference and the 2009 International Society for Language Studies Conference. In particular, I would like to thank Mike Lewis and Lisa Walker for comments on the latter presentation. I am especially grateful to Jennifer Kontny and Christa Thomsen for comments on previous versions of this paper. Finally, I am indebted to Anna Trosborg not only for the opportunity to publish this chapter, but also for her patience and advice during the revising and editing process. Of course, I am solely responsible for any remaining limitations.

[2] It should be noted that Bazerman goes on to suggest that the result of the intimate linking of individual and marketplace interests is not always negative. In addition, one of his primary points seems to be that the scholarship on rhetoric and citizenship should focus on new ways of enacting identities of citizenship rather than lamenting the loss of past, idealized constructs of citizenship. For example, he suggests that the internet sometimes opens up opportunities for forming citizen-controlled organizations, centered around particular issues such as health care or the environment.

[3] Bucholtz and Hall argue that identities emerge intersubjectively in an ongoing fashion, and so their framework is probably most applicable to face-to-face interaction, where this back-and-forth interplay can be observed. However, as will be shown, certain aspects of their framework are also quite useful for written language, and the potential usefulness of this framework will continue to evolve as newer written genres that are more interactive continue to be developed.

[4] All examples in Tables 2, 3, and 4 are exact quotations from the Starbucks' Company Timeline (http://www.starbucks.com/aboutus/Company_Timeline.pdf). The bold emphasis is in the original.

[5] Starbucks also reports forming alliances with non-profit organizations and in a few cases with government agencies. In these cases, the motivation for the action is portrayed as social (e.g., providing support for local farmers, or promoting concern about the environment) rather than for profit. Thus these kinds of alliances are not included in this category.

[6] Examples (1) and (2) are respectively from Keenan (1984: 201) and Duranti (1994: 122), and examples (3), (4) and (5) are from Ahearn (2001: 121).

[7] Ahearn (2001: 121) says that the semantic role of the S argument in example (4) is "actor," apparently following Duranti (1994: 122), but Duranti (1994: 25) does not explicitly discuss issues of control or agency with respect to S arguments. He says only that *actor* is used to refer to a human actor "[…] whose actions have consequences only for himself," as opposed to affecting a patient. However, Dixon (1994) says that Durie (1987; 1988) uses the term *Actor* to refer to a grammatical relation that includes only subjects that act as agents, in other words, the prototypical A and agentive S's. Because this term has been used in several different ways with respect to semantic role, it will not be used here.

[8] It should be pointed out that animacy interacts with topicality in that discourse topics are more likely to be the speaker or the listener, human rather than non-human, and animate rather than inanimate, and this is the basis for the claim that grammatical relations represent a conflation of semantic and pragmatic roles. The essence of this claim is that subjects are more likely to be higher in animacy and topicality than objects, which in turn are followed by obliques (Du Bois 1987; Croft 1991).

[9] Although space limitations preclude a thorough discussion, it should be pointed out that the idea of helping others who are less fortunate is another, perhaps more subtle, way of constructing social stratification in that people who can afford to help are placed in a higher position economically than those who need help.

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