

Hamburg Studies on Multilingualism



Multilingual Communication

EDITED BY Juliane House
Jochen Rehbein

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What is ‘multilingual communication’?

Juliane House and Jochen Rehbein

Universität Hamburg

The make-up of communication has always consisted of a variety of constellations of autochthonous and migrant languages – not only in Asia, Africa, Latin America or Australia (Clyne 1998), but also in Europe, in spite of the fact that most nation states appear to be monolingual (cf. e.g. Weinreich 1963; Fodor & Hagège 1983–1994; Ohnheiser, Kienpointner, & Kalb 1999; Coulmas & Watanabe 2001). We are today witnessing an ever stronger trend towards multilingual communication both in the international sphere and – due to increasing migration processes also at an intra-national level – a process not without friction. There are two not necessarily conflicting lines of policy to meet this complex multilingual situation: promoting the adoption of a *lingua franca* (House 2003) – with the most likely choice today being the English language – or promoting multilingual communication in its various forms and potentials of permitting mutual understanding. Parallel to rising world-wide migration processes and the galloping technological advances in international communication, interrelations between individuals, groups, institutions and societies who use different languages continue to increase dramatically. Multilingual communication has thus become an ubiquitous phenomenon and there can be no denying the fact that the omnipresence of multilingual communication must be reflected in intensified research activities.

Generally speaking, “multilingual communication” can be characterized by the following features:

- The use of several languages for the common purposes of participants
- Multilingual individuals who use language(s) to realize these purposes
- The different language systems which interact for these purposes
- Multilingual communication structures, whose purposes make individuals use several languages.

From the perspective of multilingual communication, a language serves not only as a means and a medium of communication, it is also a highly complex system which enters into a relationship with other languages and imprints its own dynamics upon those human beings involved in interaction by structuring their “action spaces”. Participants in multilingual interactions can be said to activate links between language and actions, mental activities, perception, thought patterns, knowledge systems etc. – in short, all mental and cognitive processes involved in communication – which are active both universally and in each individual language. Due to the situation of contact between different languages as different communication systems, languages mutually influence one another and give rise to changes that may result in the creation of differentiated, multilingual communication systems. Numerous communication structures are likely to be themselves fundamentally multilingual and their implementation is the basis of individual speakers’ multilingual capabilities. Multilingual communication is therefore not simply an interesting but isolated phenomenon, but rather a multivariate social expression of the human constitution. One main reason for making such a sweeping statement is that multilingualism fulfils complex communicative functions, in which general linguistic qualities manifest themselves in specific forms, and in which individual and collective, static and dynamic, systematic and cultural aspects of different languages are united.

The relationships between different languages in multilingual communication can be divided into categories that reach beyond single utterances, such as the constellations of the languages involved, the types of text and discourse, the types of media used, the types of social institutions, and the relative status of participants. The innovative aspect of research into multilingual communication is therefore, in a nutshell, to turn the focus of research onto underlying multilingual structures and their expression in multilingual communication processes. Such research might therefore explore the hypothesis that the specific forms which languages develop during multilingual communication stem first and foremost from the interaction of the various languages involved.

1. Language constellations

Multilingual communication is dependent on the interaction of the languages involved, participants’ multilingual skills, and the mode in which language is being used. We distinguish here between a language with fully developed forms and functions, a *lingua franca*, and types of code-switching. Correspondingly,

the texts and discourses in which communication takes place in one language only, the L1 for all speakers, are marked as cases of a “monolingual language constellation” with “monolingual speakers”. The category “language constellation” (Rehbein 2000), which is important for research into multilingual communication, involves the following parameters:

- The language(s) used (L1 to Ln)
- The speech situation (differentiated according to discourse and text)
- The roles of the participants (presence or absence of interpreters, translators, cf. e.g. Bührig & Rehbein 1996)
- The socio-political status of the languages involved (languages in relation to the whole of society; variations of the mother tongue, second or foreign language, *lingua franca* etc.; cf. Schiffmann 1997)
- The skills of the participants (from individuals to groups; in a continuum from monolingual to multilingual etc.)
- The typological distance of the languages involved (cf. e.g. Lang & Zifonun 1996)
- The degree of language separation, language mixing or switching (code-switching; cf. e.g. Myers-Scotton 1998; Jacobsen 1998).

We believe that these parameters form a useful framework for reconstructing a “plurilingual tertium comparationis” for multilingual communication systems and for investigating the relationships between the languages. Social categories in multilingual communication can be fruitfully examined in terms of varying language constellations and not simply in terms of their distribution along the lines of power and distance.

2. Discourse and text and spoken and written language

Whereas the discourse situation is one in which speaker and hearer are co-present and can co-ordinate their speech actions in situ, written text is, systematically speaking, distributed over two situations, that of production and that of reception, such that a text must verbalize everything necessary for its reception at some different point in time, possibly by several different (groups of) readers (Ehlich 1983). The main criteria for distinguishing discourse and text are thus the different forms of reception or comprehension.

Text and discourse are often interwoven, for example, when a newsreader reads the news, when a prepared lecture is given, when a patient's history is written down by the doctor, when a verdict is read out in a court of law, or

when committee meetings are held, or letters written. The relationship between text and discourse also varies in ways that are rooted in the specific traditions of a society (cf. Cohen 1971; Kallmeyer 1986; Gregory 1967; House 1977; Widdowson 1980; Schlieben-Lange 1983; Halliday 1985; Bakhtin 1986; Raible 1998). Text and discourse are manifestations of a major part of social communication (Maingueneau 1991).

Text and discourse, as socially organized forms of speech actions, also determine the external appearance of multilingualism, and they function as units that allow us to set up plausible hypotheses about the relationship between the forms of a language and the overarching structures of speaking and acting.

Discourse and text are practices in a continuum of “the medium of language” stretching from oral to written (cf. Halliday 1989; Ehlich 1996). There are very few studies of literacy in connection with multilingualism (but see Verhoeven 1996; Glück 1996; Coulmas 1996). The acquisition of more than one type of script and of multilingual literacy depends not only on which languages are first and second or foreign languages, but also on the differential socio-political status of the languages involved. Given differential oral and written abilities of individual speakers, linguistic forms can be seen as variants, which may lead to the formation of languages within languages, i.e., varieties (Labov 1972; Biber 1988). In the process of writing them down (which represents a form of encoding), language is subjected to a standardizing procedure (cf. v. Gleich & Wolff 1991), so that written language (and its rules) can itself be viewed as a variety. So multilingualism means not only speaking more than one language, it also includes writing in several different ways in the sense of “multiliteracy”. In spoken language, literacy is reflected in what has been called “conceptualized literacy” (as when, for example, a person who contributes to a discussion, speaks “like a book” – cf. Gregory 1967; Widdowson 1980; Halliday 1989; Koch & Oesterreicher 1996). Sometimes this form is inherent in the discourse type, as for example the lecture. The transition from an oral to a written medium and vice versa (e.g. when the lecture is read aloud) can alter a language or languages in their procedural forms and speech actions (up to and including institutional actions), since linguistic action in the written context is basically more detached from any specific situation than is the case in the oral context. Written practices display a society’s multiple approach to literacy, and they are often tied to oral processes and usages, which can also adopt diverse forms to fit institutional acts.

When discourse and text are realized in a multilingual constellation there may be – perhaps reciprocal – “accommodation” to the interactant’s language variety (as when talking to a foreigner or to someone with a different dialect).

In cases like this, the linguistic attitude toward multilingualism plays a significant role (cf. Giles & Coupland 1991). Last, but not least, the linguistic, mental processes involved in multilingual text and discourse are still largely uncharted waters (cf. Grosjean 1982, 1987 on different research methods). What we see here is a point of contact with research into the development of individual multilingualism (cf. e.g. Müller 2003). In a nutshell, the innovative aspect of the research agenda outlined here lies in investigating social multilingualism via underlying communication structures which can be differentiated in varying ways in different languages.

3. Multilingual communication in institutions

In institutions, larger social units of speaking and writing are realized through discourse and text (cf. Ehlich & Rehbein 1994). By "institutions" we mean social facilities such as medical care, administration, law, the family, school and university, the church, the (public) media and economic domains such as production (in specific companies) and circulation (in trade), and so on. The particular forms institutions assume are defined by differing social traditions in different parts of the world. Institutions structure communication by determining the sequences of more comprehensive communicative units. The actors inside institutions can be divided into representatives, agents, and users or clients of the institution. Given the nature of institutions and the fact that numerous people participate in institutional communication worldwide, the monolingual case is here even more of an exception, and the linguistic variations that exist among the clientele increasingly demand that institutional representatives act in a multilingual fashion (for which they are often unprepared!), and that clients master at least a diglossic language constellation.

Institutions affect knowledge structures, and their verbalization. The syntax of specialist texts is just as difficult for clients as it is for the linguist, since discourse and types of text used in specialist communication relate to underlying differences in knowledge and the experts must also draw on verbalized professional knowledge. This specific knowledge base makes institutional multilingual communication even more acutely problematic (cf. the overviews in Hoffmann, Kalverkämper, & Wiegand 1998).

A number of investigations into institutional, multilingual communication have been undertaken in recent years under the general heading "Intercultural Communication" (cf. House & Blum-Kulka 1986; Pauwels 1994; Rehbein 1985, 1994; Redder & Rehbein 1987; Hinnenkamp 1994; Ehlich et al. 1996;

Spencer-Oatey 2000; House 2003a; House, Kasper, & Ross 2003). Examples range from harmonization to conflict (Schlieben-Lange 1995; House 2000a) and also include the production of new forms of multilingual communication (Kooze & ten Thije 1994). Since in many countries trouble-free communication between agents and clients who speak a different language is in the public interest, interpreters and translators are often employed to facilitate intercultural communication. A long-term objective of research into multilingual communication is therefore to make multilingual communication better meet the needs of various social institutions.

4. Linguistic processing

In multilingual communication (with or without a translator or interpreter), utterances are often received in a language different from the language in which they are produced, so that the very processing of language in various mental and cognitive steps becomes itself a complex multilingual procedure. From a psycholinguistic viewpoint, reception and production are not simply two opposites in the sense of a “bottom-up” versus a “top-down” procedure. The potential *receivability* of linguistic forms is of relevance here, as well as the *producibility* of linguistic forms, which is tied to the fleeting nature of the communicative act itself and its co-construction by the interactant (cf. Ehlich 1979; MacWhinney & Bates 1989; Fabricius-Hansen 1995, and cf. esp. Clyne 2003).

Some components of the production are “verbal planning”, “stages of the action process” etc. (The monitoring process for reading and writing requires different linguistic planning steps, similar to the differences in written and oral processing of word order, complex sentence structures etc.). In the process of receiving a message, prior knowledge is addressed to the perceived (linguistic) forms in an ongoing interpretation of the words uttered by the speaker. Essential components of reception are “understanding”, “forming a hearer plan” and “post-history”. In production, but above all in reception, participants must follow the particular processing steps for discourse or text (cf. Kameyama 2004 for a cross-cultural German-Japanese study using this conceptual framework).

Depending on the language constellation, there are differences in how information is processed in verbal communication:

Translation in particular offers the clearest manifestation of the specifics of a language for the distribution of information and produces questions and gen-

eralisations which it is nigh impossible to gain from an abstract comparison of language systems. (Doherty 1999)

Recent investigations of the influence a dominant language (global English) can have on other languages via processes of translation, point to incipient changes of indigenous information distribution through changes in the use of certain types of connectives (Baumgarten, House, & Probst 2004).

Interpreters must have language-specific hearer and speaker procedures at their command. During multilingual communication, a reciprocal accommodation to the variety used by the interactant(s) leads in turn to a mental process of accommodation in relation to the language (cf. articles in Giles & Coupland 1991).

5. Contrasting languages

One of the most important methods for investigating multilingualism is to contrast languages – not however in the sense of traditional contrastive linguistics. Rather, contrasting languages should be based on reconstructing linguistic forms with their matching functional potential. Research into multilingual communication expects to gain new insights into most issues connected with multilingual communication by contrasting languages in this way.

Most importantly, the linguistic categories applied to the analysis of individual language and their manifestations in communication should be contrasted one-on-one with the corresponding forms of expression in the languages with which they are compared, in order to establish their relative functions (cf. e.g. the comparison between an analytic inflectional language with a synthetic agglutinative language, and their differing procedures for building knowledge in the discourse; cf. Johanson & Rehbein 1999).

Recent contrastive studies show that contrasting languages is central for interpreting and translating (cf. for English-German Doherty 2003; for English, Norwegian and German, Fabricius-Hansen 1999). In this work, the processing procedures used on varying (possibly parametric) grammatical structures are a central feature of text and discourse analysis. Clyne's work (e.g. 1987, 1993) contrasts the traditions of academic text species in English, German and French, House's studies concern everyday discourse and varying "registers" in English and German (see House 1996, 2003b).

Increasing evidence suggests that the processing of knowledge and the very structure of knowledge as well as a variety of related cognitive processes such

as focussing attention, thinking, and remembering strongly depend on language or may even be impossible without language. Occasionally people speak of an “inner” or “mental” language. These are largely verbalized in discourse and text. Here too we are faced with the role of specific features of a particular language, but also with the universality of mental processes and their relations with specific (individual) languages, or more generally with the question of the universality and/or specificity of linguistic procedures and their reciprocal influence in multilingual discourse and texts. The relationship between the forms of individual languages and a universal language base must be re-thought (cf. e.g. Gumperz & Levinson 1996; Lucy 1992; Talmy 2000 and cf. House 2000 on the significance of the relativity hypothesis for translating; s. also Hohenstein this volume). This aspect may also be linked with the problems regarding the development of individual multilingualism.

6. A multilingual database as a research tool

Many studies of multilingualism have in the past suffered from methodological shortcomings and meagre amounts of data. The issue of how *empirical* or how *reliable* one's data must be (cf. e.g. Clyne 1996), can best be resolved by taking a database with the potential for contextualized data reconstruction. In the interests of accommodating various different analytic procedures employed by different projects, a *language database* is not only useful but essential. By applying a number of intelligent routines to a language database, correlations between different types of structures and linguistic realization forms or between elements of language constellations and the specific linguistic expression of discourse and texts can be recognized with far greater clarity (cf. Weingarten 1996). For example, individual items can be retraced to see how and where they appear in texts and discourse by accessing material of any length including structured contexts (utterances, sentences, turns/paragraphs) (see Meyer & Toufexis 2000). A multilingual databank provides the means to create databases for discourse and text examples, and to collect corpora of multilingual discourses and texts. It also offers tools for context-related searches for items and the standardization of data for internal and external co-operation by assisting with morphological transliteration, continuous data analysis or semi-automatic, interactive corpus analysis. Naturally, a multilingual database is also a useful tool for data collected in the field and for the preservation of linguistic data collected/transcribed at an earlier date (see Rehbein, Schmidt, Meyer, Watzke, & Herkenrath 2004), and it can also provide reliable access

for evaluation purposes (see Schmidt 2001). A further advantage of a multilingual database is that it can open up possibilities for exchanging data with other corpora, for example the Oslo corpus or the CHILDES corpus (cf. MacWhinney 2000).

7. Objectives of research into multilingual communication

Whereas previous research has predominantly looked at the spectrum of varying language constellations, including aspects of multilingual oral and written proficiency, the time has now come to look in detail at the form-function relationship between the languages involved in multilingual communication and the mechanisms relating multilingual communicative processes to fundamental social structures. The following issues may be useful in guiding future research:

- In which language is which linguistic form (which construction, interjection, morpheme, grapheme, phoneme, lexical element etc.) realized? Here one may discover the function of individual forms, their role and task in the context of the relevant constellations.
- Which extra-linguistic context determines which linguistic form is used and how it is used? Above all one would have to examine types of discourse and text, institutions, the relevant social groups etc.
- Which extra-linguistic and, if pertinent, “inner-linguistic” purposes are fulfilled by linguistic forms, and how are these used in relation to these contexts? The starting point here is the social place and function of the linguistic forms used in multilingual communication.
- Reproducing acts in the widest sense (translating, interpreting, parallel text production) in multilingual constellations.
- Systematic contrasts between relevant categories in languages involved in multilingual communication.
- The manifestation of linguistic knowledge in multilingual communication.

We believe that linguistics as a discipline must develop new theories to answer these questions, which are in our opinion central for multilingual communication. Empirical research into multilingual communication must ultimately be concerned with whether and in what ways it is possible to understand others and be understood by them.

8. Outline of the book

Michael Clyne's contribution to this volume makes a plea for regarding the rich repertoire of languages in multilingual immigration societies as an undeniable national asset. He suggests various measures for actively promoting multilingual competence in as many individuals as possible. Multilingualism is to be seen as a desirable goal for all nations, and it should be maintained and spread in all societies via appropriate language policies, choices of languages offered in secondary and tertiary education, and other measures to be taken in political and social institutions as well as the media. The responsibility for promoting multilingualism in a society and for supporting the maintenance of immigrant languages lies according to Clyne not only with the receiving (host) nation, but also with institutions of the immigrant's former country and with the ethnic communities inside the host nation.

The chapters in **Part I: Mediated multilingual communication** deal with aspects of interpreting or translation as practices of mediation. Interpreting and translating are the most widely known multilingual practices used to facilitate communication between persons who do not speak one another's language. The four chapters deal with different institutional contexts: medical, scientific and business communication respectively and examine problems in expert and lay communication involving an interpreter as well as the interaction between oral and written features in acts of translation and its communicative effects.

Kristin Bührig and Bernd Meyer examine interpreting practices carried out in German hospitals by non-professional interpreters. They use authentic data of doctor-patient dialogues and focus in their analysis on whether and how interpreters achieve the communicative purpose doctors have when they inform patients about medical procedures and seek to gain their consent. The authors' finding that interpreters often fail to provide functionally equivalent versions of the doctor's talk emphasizes the need for setting up qualified medical interpreting services in German hospitals.

Nicole Baumgarten and Julia Probst investigate German translations of English popular science texts. In particular, they examine how linguistic elements associated with spoken discourse are used in written texts to achieve particular communicative effects on readers. Given the current dominance of the English language, the authors hypothesize an influence of English on German texts (not only via translations but also in the production of parallel German texts) for the domain of audience design. This hypothesis is investigated in both qualitative and quantitative analyses conducted on the basis of

a multilingual corpus. The results confirm the hypothesis for translations, and to a lesser degree for German parallel popular science texts.

Kristin Bührig and Juliane House take a closer look at the forms and functions of oral and written discourse in translation on the basis of one (multimodal) American text and its German translation taken from a multilingual corpus of economic texts. The authors focus on the role different connective elements play in giving a text an oral as opposed to a written quality, and they demonstrate in detailed analyses of the two texts how the use of particular German devices for creating connectivity manoeuvres the German translation text into the direction of “writtness” – a stark deviation from the English original.

Using the same multilingual corpus of economic texts and also focussing on connectivity, **Claudia Böttger** investigates how German and English “corporate philosophies” change in the act of translation along the (Hallidayan) dimension of “Mode” under the influence of English genre conventions. According to Böttger, the phenomenon of genre mixing, which her analysis reveals for the German texts, is due to the fact that textual conventions in the genre of “corporate philosophies” are not as established in a German context as they are in an American context.

Part II: Code-switching contains three papers devoted to the phenomenon of code-switching – another major and intensively researched domain of sociolinguistics in general and multilingual communication in particular.

Janet Holmes and Maria Stubbe focus on the social and discorsal aspects of code-switching in talk between members of different ethnic groups in New Zealand. The authors pay particular attention to the various types of sociopragmatic meanings which code-switching can express in the task-oriented interaction characteristic of a New Zealand workplace. In their analyses, the authors reveal the remarkable potential code-switching – with its recourse to the rich linguistic repertoire of languages other than the national language – can offer for constructing complex social and ethnic identities and for creating fruitful social relationships at work.

Willis Edmondson looks at the phenomenon of code-switching in another much-studied environment: the foreign language classroom. He distinguishes various cases in which code-switching in learner-teacher and learner-learner interactions involve shifts in framing from one type of discourse to another, a phenomenon he calls ‘world switching’. On the basis of both classroom observation and interview data, the author shows how different types of code-switching and world-switching in different phases of classroom interaction can be both communicatively and pedagogically useful for language learning.

The final chapter in Part II looks at conversational code-switching from a very different angle. **Rita Franceschini, Christoph M. Krick, Sigrid Behrent and Wolfgang Reith** examine code-switching from a neurolinguistic perspective. They start with an analysis of subjects' perceptions of occurrences of code-switching during reading, and tentatively identify a neuronal system which is activated during the process of code-switching, a system which is not specific to language, however, but seems to fulfil more general functions related to the focus of attention and to the management of comparison and control.

Part III: Rapport and politeness is concerned with two important, and related, socio-affective phenomena: rapport and politeness, which must be regarded as fundamental guidelines of human behaviour in general, and multilingual communication in particular.

Helen Spencer-Oatey and Jianyu Xing focus on problems and difficulties experienced by British and Chinese business people in their attempt to achieve rapport. Concretely, the authors analyse incidents experienced by a Chinese business delegation and their British hosts, which lead to strong negative emotions on both sides. On the basis of an analysis of taped and transcribed discourse data and (validating) post-event interviews, the authors give an insightful account of participants' different perspectives on, and interpretations of, mismanaged rapport.

Jochen Rehbein and Jutta Fienemann deal with politeness in a particular phase of multilingual encounters, namely introductions of persons into a social group. The authors analyse a (videotaped and transcribed) section of an intercultural dinner conversation in which students from different countries take part, who use German as a medium of conversation. Forms and functions of introductions in Arabic, Norwegian, English, Chinese, Turkish and Malagasy are discussed. One of the authors' major findings is that participants engage in pragmatic transfer of (knowledge of) patterns of polite action from their respective mother tongues into German as a lingua franca.

Part IV: Grammar and discourse in a contrastive perspective is dedicated to detailed contrastive analyses of particular grammatical phenomena. These phenomena are selected for study by the authors because they present problems for learners of the respective languages.

Shinichi Kameyama investigates modal expressions in Japanese and German planning discourse taken from a multilingual data corpus. Concretely, the author looks at forms and functions of modal expressions in stretches of planning discourse in mother tongue German and in Japanese as both a first and a foreign language. On the basis of his results, the author suggests that learners of both languages would greatly benefit from a heightened awareness of the di-

verging functional means used in these different languages for corresponding discourse domains.

Christiane Hohenstein reports on her comparative analysis of L1 Japanese and L1 German complement constructions with matrix verbs of thinking and assessing – phenomena known to present problems for learners of both languages. On the basis of her examination of various construction types and the frequency of their occurrence in academic conferences, commercial product and expert round table presentations, the author manages to pinpoint some characteristic functional differences in the use of complement constructions following “mental verbs” of thinking and assessing – knowledge of which might be useful for learners of both German and Japanese.

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Towards an agenda for developing multilingual communication with a community base*

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The ideas for this paper flow from a longstanding preoccupation with multilingualism in Australia, an interest that is motivated by personal biography, research, and activism. However, the intention is not to limit myself to that situation but rather to present a position paper that can be applied in a general context to other multicultural societies, especially in Europe, in which immigration has played a role. The crux of the argument is that the multilingualism resulting from the presence of immigrants can and should be regarded as a national asset for the host country. An assumption in this paper will be the desirability for everyone to have a competence in several languages, not just their first language, English, or their first language and English. Multilingualism (rather than bilingualism) will be projected as a desirable cooperative goal of all nations. The maintenance, development and spread of multilingualism will be related to other issues in language policy, including school language choice, university language offerings, and the linguistic effects of the internationalization of universities. The need to support immigrant language maintenance as a national resource applies even to English as an immigrant language, for studies of American English language maintenance in Scandinavian contexts (Boyd, Holmen, & Jørgensen 1994), where the language is such an important commodity, point to similar tendencies to language shift as with Scandinavian languages in English-speaking countries.

In this paper I will focus on the opportunities for and impediments to boosting the multilingualism resulting from immigration as a national asset and utilizing it to spread multilingualism and multilingual communication. I will commence by considering the value and importance of multilingualism,

some paradoxes of monolingualism and multilingualism and some myths and misconceptions impeding multilingual communication. I will try to develop an agenda for ways in which educational institutions, the media, libraries, and other bodies can contribute to an agenda of sharing languages. I will consider the more general role of the government of the host nation, the government of the immigrants' former nation, and the ethnic community in making this possible.

1. The value of multilingualism

A language is an asset that is difficult to estimate in simple monetary terms, though Grin and others (Grin 1996; Grin & Villancourt 1997; Pool 1996) have made considerable advances in that direction. But it is the human and social dimension that needs to be prioritized. Multilingualism is a resource in many ways.

1. The practices of code-switching and the metalinguistic awareness flowing from early bilingualism have facilitated a distinctive cognitive style of young bilinguals which promotes an earlier understanding of cultural relativity, differences between form and content, and the arbitrariness of the linguistic sign; divergent thinking; and early reading readiness (Cummins & Gulutsan 1974; Yelland, Pollard, & Mercuri 1993; Baker 2001; Cummins 2000).
2. The increased self-esteem and family cohesion in immigrant families flowing from the recognition of the language as an asset.
3. The relationship-building function of a language between parent and child and with other people.
4. As a symbol of identity – multilingualism expresses multiple identity.
5. The cultural knowledge vested in a language, which makes language the deepest manifestation of a culture. This is an issue raised in relation to the endangerment of the majority of the world's languages (Dixon 1997; Grenoble & Whaley 1998). In this paper, however, we are focusing on taking advantage of the opportunity to acquire the capacity for multilingual communication.

Multilingualism may have a positive impact on international business, academic and diplomatic communication. In an immigration country, not only external but also internal business is promoted by multilingual communication, i.e. operating in more than one language. Internationalization of univer-

sity education should also provide new opportunities and requirements for multilingualism. In fact, student mobility through study abroad schemes has led to many countries recently initiating English as the language of some university courses (Ammon & McConnell 2002). The danger is that this can result in the impoverishment of the national language in some academic domains and a restriction in the possibility for communication of scholarly discoveries to the lay population, as has been found when Swedish medical and natural scientists encountered difficulty writing for the Swedish *National-Encyclopedi* (Lars-Gunnar Andersson, pers. comm.).

Some European countries have rethought the strong emphasis they have been placing on English to the exclusion of other languages of wider communication such as German, French, Spanish, and Russian. So the Netherlands language action plan of 1991 (Ministerie voor Onderwijs en Wetenschappen 1991) found a renewed place for German and French and a new one for Spanish in schools, while in the document and beyond (e.g. Extra, Mol, & de Ruiter 2001), there are persistent voices promoting immigrant languages Arabic and Turkish as alternatives. Languages of the neighbours have become a curriculum feature of some German primary schools. In principle, such an initiative provides opportunities for six foreign languages other than English to be taught in German schools, and give the German language opportunities in the schools of eight countries without German as a national official language. The French education system has taken care that there are alternative second languages to English in primary schools (Spanish, German, Italian). A widely discussed proposal from Weinrich (1990) systematically excludes English as the first foreign language on the grounds that it will be learned anyway and does not need the protection of language-in-education planning.

2. A demographic reality

The 2001 Australian census indicates that over 200 languages are used in the homes of Australians. Apart from indigenous languages, they include languages from all over the world, covering a wealth of typological variation and sociolinguistic histories and including those which are taught in schools because of their international importance or economic or other significance in the South-East Asian region. Among those with considerable increases in home use over the past decade are Mandarin (139,228 home users, 155% increase 1991–2001), Indonesian (38,724, 42%), Vietnamese (174,236, 58%), and Korean (39,528, 100%), as well as Cantonese (225,307, 39%) which is not a school language

and Hindi (47,817, 110%), which is not taught in mainstream schools but for which there is provision on Saturdays and a matriculation examination. 29% of Sydney's population and 27% of Melbourne's speak a language other than English at home. The proportions would rise if the statistics included people speaking a language other than English regularly but not necessarily in their own homes (such as in their parents' home).

Among the aspects of Australian life reflecting this linguistic diversity are:

- a. 45 languages accredited as subjects in the examination in the final year of secondary schooling;
- b. a range of languages taught to students of all backgrounds in mainstream primary and secondary schools;
- c. all languages taught on Saturday within the aegis of the state education department at schools acting as regional centres in four states (in addition to government-subsidized after hours ethnic community schools);
- d. a government-run nationwide television network showing films in immigrant languages with English sub-titles and also transmitting satellite news telecasts in a number of immigrant languages;
- e. government-run and public multilingual stations broadcasting in over 60 languages;
- f. library holdings reflecting the linguistic diversity of the local population; and
- g. public notices in a range of immigrant languages according to needs.

A high incidence of linguistic diversity is also a feature of urban centres of other immigrant countries of the New World, such as the US, Canada, Brazil, and Argentina. Today it is also true of cities of the previously monolingual Old World, such as London, Paris, Hamburg, Stockholm, and Amsterdam. In the absence of censuses with language use questions, we do not have comparative statistics available. However, birthplace figures provide at least fragmentary evidence which needs to be supplemented by estimates of second and third generation speakers and a reduction in some groups for first generation shift. In 2000, it was estimated (Edwards 2001:247 based on Storkey 2000:65) that the eight most widely used languages other than English in London were:

Punjabi	143,600 to 155,700
Gujarati	138,000 to 149,600
Hindi/Urdu	125,900 to 136,500
Bengali and Sylheti	119,000 to 136,300
Turkish	67,600 to 73,900

Arabic	49,500 to 53,900
English creoles	46,300 to 50,700
Cantonese	45,100 to 47,900

The figures for Hamburg are restricted to schoolchildren. In 1999, about 90 languages were spoken by a total of 34,000 Hamburg schoolchildren including:

Turkish	10,800
Russian	4500
Polish	2300
Farsi	2300
Dari	1900

followed by Bosnian, Arabic, Serbian and Croatian (Gogolin & Reich 2001:203). About 30% of the population have foreign passports and almost the same proportion in Bonn, Cologne, and Munich (Gogolin & Reich 2001:196), which suggests that with the second generation, the proportion speaking a language other than German at home is considerably higher than that. Gogolin and Reich (2001:197) estimate that 16 languages (including Arabic, English, Farsi, French, Italian, Russian, Spanish, and Turkish) have more than 100,000 speakers in Germany.

49% of primary school children in The Hague come from homes where a language other than Dutch is spoken, with Turkish, Hindi, Berber, Arabic and English as the top community languages (Extra et al. 2001). There is clearly a need for better statistics on language use in most European countries.

While I will extend some arguments from the New World to European countries with large immigrant populations, I will refrain from including stable bilingual areas in this consideration and from regarding a borderless Europe with a great deal of 'internal' immigration as an incipient multilingual nation. Even if one could, it would be organized according to the territorial principle as Switzerland or Belgium and as in areas of stable bilingualism such as Paraguay and the area around Bolzano (Bozen) in Northern Italy.

There have been quite different levels of perception and acceptance of multiculturalism in different countries with large immigrant populations, Sweden and the Netherlands adopting positive policies for home language tuition as a right and various states of Germany developing policies oriented more towards assimilation or towards marginalization. The newer immigration countries of Italy and Greece lag behind the New World initiatives which have been enjoyed by large numbers of their former countrymen.

3. Some myths, some paradoxes

Globalization has provided an opportunity for a harmonious and collaborative, dynamic pluralist world situation or for a conflict- and competition-ridden homogenizing one. While the latter forces are taking centre stage, it is not too late to redress the balance. One way in which this can be done is for different nations and cultures to accept, understand and benefit from one another's communicative behaviour. Fitzgerald (2002), for instance, has demonstrated that various cultural variants of meeting routines can all be implemented to achieve different goals of meetings. Multilingualism provides a good start to achieving an understanding of variation in communicative styles.

The need for multilingual and multicultural communication – communication in different languages and across cultures – will be greatly enhanced by global interaction through the internet/email, and videoconferencing, in business and the academic sphere, by global cooperation in politics, academia and administration, increased migration, short and long term, and study abroad.

One paradox of multilingual countries whose national language is a language of wider communication is that no matter how significant linguistic diversity is, as a result of immigration, the monolingual population tends to remain unashamedly monolingual and characterize the tone of the entire nation. This applies especially to English-speaking countries, which have had a long history of absorbing immigrants of different language backgrounds. It came out for instance in a survey (Rosen, Digh, Singer, & Phillips 2000) of the number of languages in which chief executive officers from the top companies from 28 countries are proficient. The four bottom results were from English-speaking countries – Australia, US, UK and New Zealand (i.e. not including Canada, where the English-speaking population is becoming increasingly bilingual).

Another paradox particularly evident in the English-speaking countries has been the speed and eagerness with which nations have espoused the discourse of globalization in contrast with their reluctance to understand the linguistic and cultural implications of that same globalization – namely the increasing need for multilingualism and multiculturalism. To some extent this applies also to nations using other languages of wider communication such as French, German, Russian and Spanish.

There are those countries of north-western Europe and south-east Asia who have been infected by the discourse of homogenization under the domination of the English language and Anglo-American cultures, and those who are resisting – an increasing number. While a high level of proficiency in En-

English is a great asset, a strong preoccupation with English as the main foreign language to the exclusion of other languages, whether languages of wider communication or immigrant languages detracts, from the multilingualism that should be a common pursuit between nations.

English needs to be taken out of the equation because it is now different to other languages. In terms of motivation and language learning needs, it holds a special status as a second language outside the English-speaking region. In many countries, other languages such as French and German have been reduced in status on the curriculum, and programs in those languages suffer from a gender bias (almost entirely female learners) as in English-speaking countries.

Of late, despite the increased commodification of languages, the value of multilingualism has been undermined as an argument by those antagonistic to multilingual communication. The argument *Multilingualism presents opportunities for trade because it is good for the economy* has been replaced by the counterargument *Multilingualism costs too much*. The latter premise, which has become prominent over the feasibility and expenses of interpreting and translating 210 pairs of languages within the European Union following its eastward expansion is actually less about cost than about priorities. A similar argument has turned up in Australia in the allocation of time for languages other than English in schools. While languages are one of the eight key learning areas, they become electives in many schools sooner than the others. Similarly, as from the school year 2003–2004, English-medium primary schools in Ireland have reduced the amount of Irish¹ taught by 30% to make way for other subjects.

Other negative ‘monolingual thought’ also obstructs multilingual communication in some countries – fallacies generally believed, and then often propagated by professionals and thrust upon multilinguals who are not in a position to challenge them:

1. Language maintenance is inevitable therefore no support is needed for this.
2. Language shift is inevitable therefore it is not worth raising children in a language other than the majority language (especially if only one parent is bilingual).
3. There is competition between the two languages in the speaker’s brain, which cannot cope with two languages, and it is in the interests of young people from ethnic minorities to concentrate on the national language even to the exclusion of the home language to ensure they master it. Certainly any educational and developmental problems will be attributed to bilingualism. Also, the educational system is too overtaxed to be able

to support multilingualism – the national language plus English will have to do.

4. Standards in the national language are declining, especially in literacy. This needs to be offset by a strong concentration on the national language. Other languages are more of a luxury.

Let us consider each of these myths:

1 and 2. Neither language maintenance nor language shift is inevitable. There is evidence from all immigration countries that, even in the first generation, the immigrant language is being maintained by only some. Australian Census statistics show that there is a 2.4% chance that a Vietnamese-born person will speak only English at home but a 62.9% of a Dutch-born person doing so. Many of the over 70% of German- and Austrian-born Australians now in the 45–54 year age group were casualties of assimilationist policies and attitudes in Australia at the time of their immigration and probably children of immigrants who believed that language maintenance was inevitable. For all groups, but not at all at the same rate, the shift to the national language is very much higher in the second generation (born in the immigrant country) than in the first (born in the family's country of origin). This applies especially to some groups. In 1996, the English home use rate jumps intergenerationally from 6.8% to 35.7% among those originating from Hong Kong and from 4% to 37.4% among those originating in the People's Republic of China. However, it rises only from 5.2% to 16.1% among those of Turkish origin and from 6.2% to 28% among those of Greek origin (Clyne & Kipp 1997).

Certainly *support* needs to be given, especially in the provision of the appropriate languages as part of children's education, radio and TV programs in the languages, and public library holdings in them. This is not only to provide input for language maintenance, but also as a public recognition of the value of bilingualism to both the individual and the wider community to motivate the bilingual families and to encourage positive attitudes in the community. However, none of these domains can do more than to support and strengthen bilingualism initiated in the family context (cf. Fishman 1977). There are many smaller countries (such as Finland, Hungary, and Luxembourg) which have demonstrated that the educational system is flexible enough to accommodate several languages. The recent success of immersion (including double immersion) and other bilingual and content based language programs in many parts of the world (see e.g. Wesche 2001) offers another alternative to integrate language and content teaching, with opportunities to reduce the 'cost' in time of the language program while improving its efficiency.

3. All those working in the educational professions should be confronted with the facts about bilingualism, which is a fact of life for the majority of the world's population. There is no evidence that stammering or late speech development is due to bilingualism as is popularly believed by some professional groups (cf. Taeschner 1983). While it is not possible to find evidence of a blanket advantage for bilinguals (Bialystok 2001), studies of bilingualism since the Second World War have found more proof of advantages than of deficits (Peal & Lambert 1962; Lambert & Gulutsan 1974; Balkan 1970; Baker 2001; see below).

4. Similarly, professionals need to be aware that literacy is an underlying skill which can be acquired and developed through any language and transferred or through more than one language. Even differences in writing systems do not frustrate such a transfer as recent studies by Arefi (Farsi-English, 1997) and Burragh-Pugh and Rohl (Khmer-English, 2001) have shown. Therefore, multilingualism is not an impediment to literacy but rather a benefit.

4. Why not Turkish in Kreuzberg or Arabic in Paris or Eindhoven?

Many education systems do not acknowledge that the presence of a large immigrant community give a strong justification for its language to be offered as a school language, not only to members of that community but also to others in the local area in which the language is a living medium of communication. Few European countries teach immigrant languages as 'mainstream' second languages at school although some, such as the Netherlands and some states of Germany (certainly not all), enable students of the appropriate immigrant background to take certain immigrant languages as a 'second foreign language' as if the language is not of any relevance to anyone else. Even the provision of home language instruction for children of immigrants or its funding is being reduced or has recently been reduced in some countries (e.g. Denmark, the Netherlands). The term 'foreign language' for 'community language'² (in relation to education, the media or public notices) is in itself a statement minimizing its status and functions and distancing it from internal relevance to the wider student body. Yet the utilization of community resources in a language, whether they be shops, cafés, secular community organizations, festivals, public notices, religious services, newspapers, radio and television programs,³ will provide communicative needs, input, and output opportunities for second language learners and for those growing up bilingually but with the national language as the dominant language (see below, *How will it work in practice?*).

The acquisition of the community language as a second language can act as an apprenticeship for further languages (Hawkins 1981). One of the many arguments in favour of bilingualism for those with a family background in another language is the mounting evidence that those who are functionally bilingually and are using their languages in a range of domains do better than monolinguals in the acquisition of a (further) language. This is due to the bilinguals' greater metalinguistic awareness (regardless of whether the two languages are related). The subsequent acquisition of a third language provides a motivation for the maintenance of the home language and stimulates a more general interest in languages (see e.g. Clyne, Rossi Hunt, & Isaakidis 2004; Cenoz & Hoffmann 2003).

5. The value to a nation for its minority languages to be maintained and developed

The integration and co-operation agendas of Europe have necessarily raised questions about the differentiation within the EU between national languages and minority or regional languages. This is illustrated in the contrast between the 'regional and minority languages' Catalan (7 million L1 speakers) and Welsh (600,000) with the 'national languages' Danish (4 million), Estonian (1 million), and Maltese (600,000). Pluralist agendas must include not only 'minority' languages such as the above but also immigrant languages (cf. Extra, Mol, & de Ruiter 2001). As with stable minority languages (there are Hungarian-speaking minorities in Serbia, Serbian-speaking ones in Hungary, Danish-speaking minorities in Germany, German-speaking ones in Denmark), nations hosting immigrant languages have experienced the export of their own language through emigration. English, Italian and Greek are examples of such languages. Immigrants can therefore be the source of input, output, motivation and cultural modeling for those wishing to acquire the language as of course can and do L1 speakers of the national language. This can constitute the basis of a sharing of languages leading to a more harmonious multilingual, multicultural society.

Propagating multilingualism on the basis of immigrant languages will, among other things, strengthen the status of bi-/multilinguals regardless of their other language/s. It gives young people from ethnic communities the opportunity to excel in professions using their bilingualism (such as language teaching, interpreting/translating) or in areas combining their bilingualism with other fields. But this requires programs which allow them to develop their

linguistic resources and their potential to the fullest. Such programs may need to include teaching the standard language to dialect speakers and to focus on certain academic areas of vocabulary which the bilinguals are transferring from the national language to their immigrant language.

6. Multilingual and multicultural interaction

There is a body of popular opinion that multilingualism and multilingual communication will not be necessary in the new world order because everyone will be able to communicate in a *lingua franca*, presumably English.

This argument is fallacious in a number of ways. Let us assume that the facilities will be available to teach everyone this *lingua franca*. There is a simplistic assumption of blissful homogeneity which will lead to the return of a 'pre-Babel state of affairs'.

But the very use of a 'lingua franca' is by definition inter-cultural communication because people transfer into their *lingua franca* the pragmatic and discourse patterns of their own languaculture⁴ (Clyne 1994). The users of English in the non-traditional English-speaking countries, what Kachru (1985, 1997) terms the outer circle (the nations of the New Englishes, such as India, Singapore, Fiji, Nigeria, and the Philippines) and the expanding circle of countries adopting English in a limited number of domains (such as Denmark, Sweden, the Netherlands, Lebanon, Israel) now outnumber L1 English speakers three to one. An increase in this imbalance will make it all the more imperative for L2 users to be given a chance to codetermine the conventions for the use of the language. Otherwise their academic production, their businesses and their diplomatic endeavours will continue to be undervalued on the basis of their variety of English (Clyne 1981, 1994; Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas 1999). All the more imperative it will become for English speakers of the inner circle to learn about and accept the communication patterns of others. Pragmatic and discourse patterns are so closely linked to people's cultural values and personality that requiring learners to change them as part of the acquisition and use of a *lingua franca* is an infringement of human rights unless an unusually high level of biculturality can be achieved. Moreover, an intimate knowledge of at least a second language and culture enables a person to know what kinds of questions to ask in order to understand the communication patterns of a different culture and a good knowledge of several facilitates an understanding of the range of possibilities of such communication patterns. The use of a *lingua franca* is not sufficient to gain access to the deep cultural aspects or to insider

perspectives of a society – without a knowledge of the target language, one is dependent on the selective interpretation of the ‘other’.

One of the arguments in favour of monolingualism is the myth that English is permanently the sole language of the web, which is the medium of the future. While the web had earlier been seen as an instrument of linguistic homogenization, the percentage of home pages in English have decreased markedly since 1998 (Graddol 1998:51; Ammon 2000; cf. GlobalReach 2003). It is incumbent on those (governments especially) who are defending multilingualism to ensure that there are incentives for electronic multilingual communication.

7. ‘European’ and ‘other’ languages

The newly expanded and integrated Europe’s internal and external language needs will extend beyond the languages with national or regional status within the borders of Europe. Not only economic relations but also the global political situation, academic exchange, and continuing population movement will dictate even greater contact and understanding between European countries and other parts of the world. The language menu of European schools and the definition of ‘minority language’ (excluding those that are not languages of stable or regional minorities or EU nations) reflect a Fortress Europe mentality which does not concur with some European countries’ desire to again play a greater role in shaping the world. Yet many of the major languages from outside the (expanded) European Union are well represented within its borders by immigrants (and refugees), sometimes in numerous countries. According to Extra and Gorter (2001: 12–13), ‘about one third of the population under the age of 35 in urbanized Western Europe’ in that year ‘had an immigrant background’. Migrants and their descendants can provide resources in and/or links to such languages as Arabic, Farsi, Hindi, Mandarin, Russian, Turkish and Urdu. There is a strong need for statistical information on this. EuroStat (1997) estimates put ‘official numbers of inhabitants of Turkish origin’ at slightly over 2.5 million. They are strongly represented in Germany, the Netherlands, and France. The number of Arabic speakers in three countries, France, the Netherlands and Germany alone is likely to exceed 2.3 million, but they come from countries using different national varieties of the spoken language. Serbian, Croatian and Bosnian as well as Farsi are prominent in Sweden and Germany, Hindi and Urdu in Britain, Germany, and the Netherlands, Mandarin increasingly in various places. Such languages are an asset for the whole of Europe.

8. A joint undertaking

In Europe, sharing languages means not only spreading some languages from the migrants to the general community. It entails sharing the responsibility for multilingualism, including language maintenance. This should be an international undertaking (cf. reciprocity, see above). Some governments such as that of Italy have long taken responsibility for their languages as foreign languages and as immigrant languages elsewhere (Totaro-Génévois 2004). It should be generally understood that caring for the use of your language as a minority language in a different country is part of looking after your national language in an explicit or implicit language policy. Treating minorities in your country as an asset should be the first step towards strengthening your own language and its speakers where they are in a minority situation (see above). But it is just as important for this to be considered part of a cooperative undertaking in the interests of a multilingual Europe. Moreover, pluralist language policies are particularly successful if they also address the interests of the majority language, as became apparent in the first Australian National Policy on Languages (Lo Bianco 1987; see Clyne 1991: 228).

I would therefore find it desirable for all EU countries to contribute a certain percentage of their GDP to the implementation of a collaborative pluralist European language policy (Clyne 2003). This could form a basis for regional language policies in other parts of the world. Such a policy should underlie measures by member nations.

The European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages contains many sound principles intended to protect stable ethnolinguistic minorities, which could be extended to promote multilingual communication. Examples are provision of education, public information, media, aged care, and cross-border communication in the minority language – all being important aspects of language maintenance and of reversing language shift (Fishman 1991). However, the Charter would have to be extended to address immigrant groups and immigrant languages, which in many countries are demographically far more significant than ‘regional and minority’ languages. It may, of course, not be possible to give equal treatment to all languages in all domains but provision of this kind is not as difficult as it may sound. Some bilingual education should be striven for, especially two-way programs in which students with the national language and those with the community language as L1 can develop an academic competence in one another’s languages. If curricula could be developed cooperatively, this activity would be rationalized across national boundaries. The Australian experience shows that for public notices, language

examinations, and the electronic media, provision is not very costly and cumbersome per additional language once a multilingual infrastructure in the above-mentioned domains has been established. Several Australian states have an institution within the Education Department that provides Saturday classes in a wide range of languages for those who do not have the language of their background and/or choice available at their own school during the school day. This is separate from any instruction provided by ethnic communities themselves. Universities have an important role to play since they provide a link with schools in two ways – advancing the language proficiency and cultural competence of the students beyond what they have gained by the end of secondary school, and offering programs to prepare people for teacher training.

We have been discussing measures promoting multilingual communication so far in the Australian and European contexts. However, they may have wider applicability, for instance in the Asia-Pacific region. This is a richly diverse region with many existing multilinguals, who have as L1 a minority language or a regional language (*fangyan*) designated as a ‘dialect’. The status of English as the sole language of ASEAN (Association of South-East Asian nations) puts those without a British or American colonial history at a disadvantage. It would be in the interests of cultural understanding and justice in communication in the region if the official languages of ASEAN nations, Mandarin, Indonesian/Malay, Thai/Lao, Khmer, Vietnamese, and Myanmar could become its official languages along with English, with interpreting and translating provided. The learning of some of these languages should be introduced in the schools of these countries.

9. How will it work in practice?

One of the challenges posed by the extension of the language menu in schools to include immigrant languages is programs with children of different degrees of home background or no background in the target language. The following is a taxonomy of student backgrounds found in such secondary classes in Australia (Clyne, Isaakidis, Liem, & Rossi Hunt 2004):

1. Students with a home background and (some) experience in the country of origin of formal education through the language as a medium of instruction.
2. Students with an active home background in the language and some formal instruction (primary and/or ethnic school) in Australia.

3. Students with an active home background in the language and no formal instruction prior to secondary school.
4. Students with an active home background in a variety of the language but not in the standard language, in which classes are conducted with or without formal instruction in the language here or elsewhere. (Examples are Cantonese, or the various national varieties of spoken Arabic.)
5. Students with a passive home background in such a language.
6. Students with no home background in the language but formal instruction in the language at primary school.
7. Third language learners, whom we treat as a separate subgroup in our study.
8. Students with a passive family background (usually one parent or grandparent/s) and no formal instruction in the language prior to secondary school.
9. Students with a passive family background in a variety of the language and no formal instruction in the standard language prior to secondary school.
10. Students with no home background and no prior knowledge of the language.

Such diversity entails tailoring curricula to meet the needs of different groups, perhaps with the help of new technologies and appropriate assessment systems so that all can develop their language potential to the fullest. It means offering opportunities for cooperative learning activities between students of different backgrounds and degrees of backgrounds which can utilize local community resources in the language (Clyne, Isaakidis, Liem, & Rossi Hunt 2004). Possible activities might include shopping and other transactions with businesses trading in the language, participating in ethnic community festivals and radio programs, helping/showing around newly arrived immigrants, refugees and tourists, helping and generally interacting with elderly members of the ethnic community who may not have acquired the national language or may not use it much now because of reverting to their original culture, students with different degrees of backgrounds and without a home background in the language producing a newsletter in the language, including reports on ethnic community events. The elderly, in particular, tend to be keen to communicate with young people, and young people can improve their knowledge of the target language by assisting in the integration of new waves of refugees and immigrants. This could create communicative need, input, and output opportunities for those wishing to develop their competence in the language. It is

important to enable young people to find their own functions and needs for the community language.

Ethnic communities can become havens of the use of the minority language in a society in which the thrust is in the direction of monolingualism, thereby also assisting cross-cultural communication and understanding.

10. The role of institutions

It is not only different nations but also different institutions within and across nations which should play a part in the joint undertaking to facilitate and promote multilingual communication. I would like now to enumerate some of the tasks and functions these different institutions could take on:

Role of governments

Governments can assist in the maintenance and development of multilingualism in a number of ways. They should:

1. Develop a national languages policy and, between them, a regional (e.g. European or South-East Asian) language policy around goals such as:
 - a. Language maintenance and development;
 - b. Second language acquisition of the national language, immigrant languages, and other languages;
 - c. Provision of services in relevant immigrant languages.⁵
2. Undertake for each nation to contribute an agreed percentage of its GDP to implement the policy within its borders and to cooperate with other nations in more general projects, including making their own language more accessible abroad.
3. Be charged with the implementation of the policy within its borders.⁶
4. Collect data on the use of languages within their nation.
5. Support rhetorically and financially the sharing of languages within and beyond the borders.
6. Promote awareness of the importance of languages and cross cultural communication within institutions of education, business and industry, the public service, and the media, and the utilization and rewarding of multilingual human resources in these institutions.

7. Constantly monitor that the implementation of the policy is being adequately implemented, involving linguistic minorities and experts as well as professional and other interest groups in this.
8. Cooperatively develop schemes for the pooling of resources in languages, including joint curriculum development and teacher training.
9. Make available tax relief for companies with multilingual web sites.
10. Develop multilateral incentive schemes for EU officials to be proficient in more European languages and for ASEAN officials to be proficient in more languages of the region.

Role of ethnic communities

1. To see themselves as an important link between generations in the transmission of community languages (see above) and between speakers of their community language and those in the wider community wishing to acquire that language.
2. To try to create new uses of the community language which will be relevant to the next generations.
3. To provide classes outside normal school hours within the mainstream school system in languages that cannot be catered for in regular day schools.
4. To facilitate links with young people in the country of origin.
5. To acquaint themselves and their parents and grandparents in their ethnolinguistic group with the value and feasibility of, and appropriate approaches to raising children in more than one language.

Role of education systems

1. To work together to produce curricula and materials for the teaching of students from the full range of backgrounds and those learning it formally as a second language.
2. To develop bilingual education programs in a range of languages at primary, secondary and tertiary levels.

Role of universities

Universities provide the link between secondary schools and professions such as teaching. They should:

1. Offer a range of languages to enable students to advance beyond their proficiency level and knowledge at the end of secondary school.

2. Offer a range of languages to facilitate the training of well-prepared teachers.
3. Conduct research that is relevant to the better understanding of bi- and multilingual communication, the interdependence of languages in the acquisition and development process, and the reactivation of language skills which have not recently been drawn upon.

Business

Must understand the significance of language in communication for marketing, trade/tourism and workplace relations.

11. Summary and conclusions

This paper has developed a co-operative approach to the maintenance and spread of multilingualism which would empower 'minorities' and develop the linguistic potential of the next generations of both the 'majority' and the 'minorities'. It is argued that multilingual communication is advantageous for individuals, families, and nations and attempted to dispel negative myths and misconceptions about multilingualism. The paper has drawn attention to existing widespread multilingualism resulting from migration and advanced the position that community languages can form a basis for more multilingual nations. Ways are suggested for governments to co-operate in this and for different institutions within a nation to play a role.

Notes

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1. The national language but spoken at home by only a small proportion of the population.
2. Most European languages do not have an equivalent.
3. Providing they are of interest to young people.
4. This term, devised by Agar (1994), is useful because it stresses the inseparability of language and cultural styles.

5. Drawing on the report of the Australian Senate Committee investigating the need for a National Policy on Languages (1984) and the actual policy, Lo Bianco (1987).
6. In some federated political entities, there may have to be a role for the states.

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PART I

Mediated multilingual communication

***Ad hoc*-interpreting and the achievement of communicative purposes in doctor-patient-communication**

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o. Introduction¹

Although there is a growing body of literature on the topic, many aspects of interpreting in medical settings are still like the uncharted territory on a map. The reason for this is not a lack of scholarly interest, but rather the difficulty of collecting and analyzing discourse data in medical institutions. Thus, while we already know a bit about different types of interpreter training and interpreting services or techniques on the one hand, and about the socio-political matters regarding immigration, culture and medicine on the other, we still know little about how communication operates when doctors and patients do not speak the same language and, therefore, need the help of a third, bilingual person.

The following article summarizes several studies that have been carried out during the last three years within the project ‘*Dolmetschen im Krankenhaus*’ (*Interpreting in Hospitals*) at the Sonderforschungsbereich Mehrsprachigkeit (*Research Center on Multilingualism*) at the University of Hamburg. The aim of the project was to investigate those aspects of interpreting in hospitals that could not be investigated in detail by referring to anecdotal evidence or interviews. We wanted to know whether bilingual staff members or relatives of the patient are able to identify features of discourse that are related to the institutional framework of doctor-patient-communication. We also looked at how they manage to bring these across in the target language.

Regarding the methodology, which consisted of a collection of authentic data and analysis of transcriptions, as well as a combination of qualitative and quantitative research, our approach is similar to earlier studies concern-

ing medical interpreting (Prince 1986; Wadensjö 1998; Tebble 1999; Bolden 2000; Davidson 2002), and it corresponds to linguistically oriented approaches of translation theory and translation criticism (House 2001). The difference, however, lies in the fact that we focused our analysis not on the interactional organization of interpreter-mediated talk, but on the achievement of communicative purposes. Our assumption was that even linguistically skilled individuals, i.e. bilinguals with near-native competence in both languages, would have difficulties in recognizing and processing the institutional dimension of doctor-patient communication. This approach picks up on Rehbein's (1985) observations concerning qualitative changes caused by omissions and additions of *ad hoc*-interpreters, and it follows Bührig and Rehbein's (2000) work on different realizations of speech actions in simultaneous interpreting, consecutive interpreting, and literal translation. Although data were collected in different settings, most studies presented in what follows refer to interpreter-mediated discourse in briefings for informed consent, i.e. conversations in which doctors inform patients about medical procedures.

1. The data

Our analysis is mainly based on transcriptions of tape-recorded mono- and bilingual talk between doctors and patients. The languages investigated in the project were German, Turkish, and Portuguese. Turkish and Portuguese were chosen because these languages are typologically different and because both communities in Hamburg differ in size and cultural background. We made the attempt to gather data in hospitals in Germany, Portugal, and Turkey, but it was not possible to tape-record briefings for informed consent in Turkey. In addition to transcribed audio data, we conducted interviews with hospital employees and reviewed non-linguistic literature so as to achieve a better understanding of communicative practices in the hospitals where our data came from.

In terms of Müller's (1989) distinction between 'transparent' and 'opaque' bilingual constellations, parts of the sample are 'transparent', rather than 'opaque'. In other words, the language barrier in the interpreter-mediated interactions was not always totally impermeable. Rather, participants, namely the patients, were in many cases able to communicate to a certain degree in both languages: German and Turkish or Portuguese. Therefore, the bilingual interactions were in many cases influenced by the fact that German and the respective native language of the patients were used and so the need for in-

Table 1. Languages in the corpus

Monolingual briefings		Bilingual briefings	
German	Portuguese	German-Portuguese	German-Turkish
3	3	12	6

terpreting had to be negotiated constantly. In some cases doctors addressed patients directly in German during entire sections of the discourse without resorting to the bilingual staff members or relatives who were present.

This article is based on a sample from our data consisting of twenty-four briefings for informed consent. Six are monolingual interactions in either German (with German patients) or Portuguese (recorded in Portugal with Portuguese patients). Eighteen interpreted interactions (German-Portuguese and German-Turkish) took place in hospitals in Hamburg and were mediated by *ad hoc*-interpreters (nursing staff or relatives of the patient). In seven of the eighteen multilingual recordings, the interpreters were relatives of the patient. In all other cases, members of the nursing staff participated as interpreters in the interaction. Although the sample comprises interactions carried out in three languages, the transcripts presented in this article will only be in German and Portuguese.

The interpreters were mostly younger individuals of an immigrant background who were either born in Germany or came to Germany during their childhood. The patients, on the other hand, were usually elderly individuals who generally have lived in Germany for more than ten years and have their permanent residence in Germany. The doctors who carried out the briefings are specialists for internal medicine, anesthesia, or surgery and do not speak Turkish or Portuguese. However, two doctors in this sample spoke a bit of Spanish and Turkish, which enabled them to understand small parts of the interpreted discourse or to address patients (i.e. in greetings) in their native languages.

All interactions were tape-recorded in units for internal medicine, surgery, or anesthesia. The planned medical procedures were mainly standard diagnostic or therapeutic methods (gastroscopy, bronchoscopy, bone marrow puncture, resection of gallbladder, etc.).

2. Methodology

As we are primarily concerned with the impact of interpreting on the achievement of institutional purposes, we first had to identify the purposes of briefings for informed consent. Secondly, we wished to find out which linguistic means are relevant for the achievement of these purposes. Thirdly, we had to look at how these relevant linguistic expressions are handled by *ad hoc*-interpreters.

In an action-theoretical approach to language and communication (Rehbein 1977), the connection between the context and the use of a language is systematically taken into account by referring to the specific pre- and post-history of a communicative event, structures of the societal reality, the subjective and objective possibilities of the actors, their stocks of knowledge, and, finally, the specific and systematic changes caused by speech actions. These systematically occurring changes or purposes are, in this interpretation, not individually designed goals, but rather societal parameters that allow actors to change reality along the lines of socially established action systems ('speech action patterns'). In other words, goals may vary among individuals, but purposes do not, as they are not expressions of personal needs, but rather the accomplishment of personal needs in a socially determined way.

In institutional settings, shorter linguistic forms or patterns (like QUESTION-ANSWER, REPORTING, ANNOUNCING, OR DESCRIBING) constitute institutional types of discourse, which themselves integrate different forms of action. Furthermore, Ehlich and Rehbein's (1986) analysis of communication in schools has shown that purposes of speech actions in institutions are often shaped by specific agent-client constellations, which lead to certain aberrations in the realization of speech action patterns. For example, teachers frequently use a question-answer pattern to direct lessons. However, the systematic difference from ordinary communication outside of schools is that within schools the one who asks questions (the teacher) knows the answer, whereas the one who does the answering (the student) knows, in most cases, only parts of it. Thus, the purpose of the question-answer pattern, to instantiate a transfer of knowledge from someone who knows to someone who does not, is systematically (mis)used to focus the students' attention on the teacher's plan.

Purposes within institutional genres or discourse types are usually not easy to determine without referring to information about the institutional background or context (Askehave & Swales 2001). Sarangi (2000) takes 'context' into account by distinguishing between 'settings' or 'activity types' on the one hand, and 'discourse types' or 'forms of talk' on the other. He points out that the link between the former and the latter is not always straightforward. For ex-

ample, a narrative may occur in various settings, for instance, during medical history taking or counseling, and a single setting may evoke, or even require, that different forms of talk take place.

In order to recognize the specific impact institutional purposes have on everyday speech action patterns, it is, from our point of view, necessary to reconstruct the purpose of institutional discourse types by comparing various examples of the same type with each other and with linguistic data from ordinary communication outside the institution. In addition, these comparisons and analyses of speech action patterns need to be corroborated by research from other disciplines on the same topic. In the case of briefings for informed consent it was necessary to look at sociological research on informed consent and the informational needs of patients, as well as literature on legal aspects of the doctor-patient relationship and legal norms governing the process of medical treatment (i.e. Raspe 1979; Geiß 1993).

Identifying the building blocks of briefings for informed consent via their communicative purpose(s) allows us to separate relevant features of discourse from superficial discursive similarities or dissimilarities, as well as from accidental evidence. Furthermore, the notion of ‘communicative purpose’ establishes a *tertium comparationis* for the analysis of speech actions carried out in different languages because it does not relate solely to the linguistic surface or form, but has, rather, a “reconstructive-hermeneutic quality” (see Rehbein 2001 or Bührig forthcoming, for a detailed discussion). The identification of constitutive speech actions further enables us to focus the analysis on certain sections of discourse and certain linguistic expressions. In doing so, the approach also allows the corroboration of qualitative findings by quantitative methods. In the following section, we will look at the realization of speech action patterns in source and target language discourse and will address the questions of if and how interpreters achieve (or fail to achieve) functional equivalence of linguistic means in the target language.

3. Briefings for informed consent: Institutional purpose(s) and linguistic structures

The normative concept of informed consent implies that the patient receive full information about a medical procedure, including possible complications, benefits, and alternative treatments (Kaufert, O’Neil, & Koolage 1991). From this view, the purpose of informing the patient is to enhance the patient’s autonomy and to guarantee the patient’s self-determination of medical pro-

cedures. Terms like 'autonomy' and 'self-determination' clearly indicate that the concept of 'informed consent' is strongly determined by legal norms and ethical considerations, rather than medical ones.

Empirical studies of briefings for informed consent reveal that there is a gap between the normative concept and the actual performance of participants. In particular, the communication of risks depends on the doctor's understanding of which information is appropriate for a specific patient in a given institutional context (Meyer 2002, 2003a). Moreover, an important medical reason for a briefing seems to be the preparation of the patient for future action. This action (the diagnostic or therapeutic procedure) is in many cases a standard routine for employees of the hospital, but unfamiliar to the patient (Meyer 2004).

As has already been shown in earlier studies, briefings are characterized by a repetitive and somehow generic or standardized course of action. They are usually composed of an ANNOUNCEMENT of the procedure, which then is expanded by DESCRIPTIONS, ELUCIDATIONS OR EXPLANATIONS of its various aspects (Biel 1983; Mann 1984; Krafft 1987; Meyer 2004). After announcing and describing the procedure, doctors should refer to possible complications, but they do not do so in all cases. If complications are mentioned, doctors usually also add information about the frequency and seriousness of complications. The last and pivotal step is the closure of the briefing and the signing of the consent form. The patient's consent has to be documented in written form in order to prove that authorization has been given before the treatment has been carried out. This reduces the risk of litigation for the doctor.

The prototypical course of the briefing for informed consent (ANNOUNCING, DESCRIBING, POINTING OUT risks to the patient, and letting the patient sign the form) integrates legal and medical requirements. The legal requirement is that the patient's autonomy is respected by giving him or her the hypothetical option to say 'no'. The medical requirement is that the patient be enabled to actively cooperate in the preparation and carrying out of the planned procedure. The patient's 'consent', thus, refers to different communicative outcomes: the fulfillment of legal norms and, at the same time, the establishment of common ground regarding future cooperation (see Fig. 1).

The medical procedure is part of a larger, all-encompassing plan for medical action and the patient's decision-making potentially jeopardizes the carrying out of the plan at this stage. If the patient rejects a proposed treatment or method, the medical staff has to restart the whole process of planning and checking for alternative treatments. We may therefore deduce that doctors do not necessarily adopt an impartial stance regarding the patient's decision-

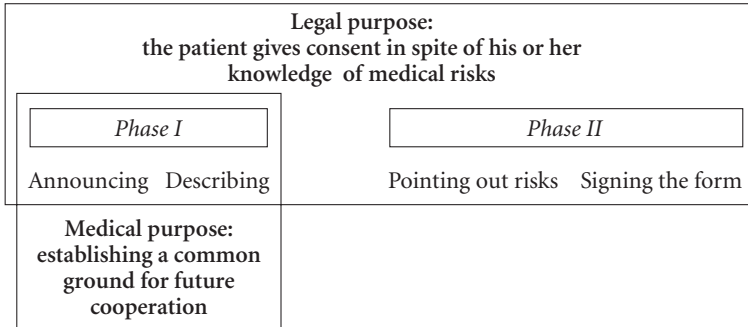


Figure 1. Integration of legal and medical purposes in briefings for informed consent (adapted from Meyer 2004)

making. Rather, the purpose of briefings seems to be that the patient consents to the planned diagnostic or therapeutic procedure, although he or she has been informed about the possible complications that this procedure might entail. This is further supported by the fact that in our data doctors characterize complications mainly as ‘infrequent’ and ‘non-serious’. The relevance of possible negative outcomes is downplayed so as to ensure the patient’s affirmative decision.

Against the background of this brief discussion of the communicative purpose(s) of briefings for informed consent, we will, in the following segment, analyze specific sections of the discourse data. In particular, we will look at how ad hoc interpreters handle constitutive linguistic elements in announcements, descriptions, and the pointing out of complications to the patient.

3.1 ANNOUNCING the medical procedure

According to Rehbein’s (1981) analysis, the purpose of ANNOUNCING something to someone is the organization of joint action and the establishment of a common focus. ANNOUNCEMENTS are made if two parties are interacting with each other and one party knows about an action that is relevant to the joint action process, but this action is not evident to the other party. ANNOUNCEMENTS consist prototypically of a certain propositional “matrix” (ibid.:238) which includes expressions for “actually acting persons” (ibid.), indications of the speaker’s knowledge and certainty about the future (as, for example, in the use of modal verbs), an “indication of the point in time” (ibid.), and ex-

pressions for the action that is yet to be performed (for instance, through the nominalizations of verbs).

In our data, the impact of interpreting on the achievement of communicative purposes in ANNOUNCEMENTS can be observed with regard to modal expressions and medical terms. In the example (1) below, an excerpt from a transcript, a German doctor for internal medicine (DOC) talks to a Portuguese housewife about an invasive diagnostic method used to survey bile ducts. The interpreter (INT) is her seventeen-year old daughter who grew up in Germany.

Example (1)

DOC: *Wir wollen ((1s)) äähm versuchen, die/ ((0,5s)) die Gallenwege noch ein bisschen besser darzustellen.*

We want to uuhm make an attempt to display the bile ducts a little bit better.

((...))

INT: *Eles vão fazer a mesma coisa como fizeram da outra vez.*

They will do the same thing as they did the other time.

In the example (1) above, the use of different pronouns (*wir* ‘we’ vs. *eles* ‘they’) reflects the interpreter’s position as a third person within the participation framework. However, the changes regarding modal constructions (*wir wollen* ‘we want to’ vs. *eles vão fazer* ‘they will do’) and medical terms (*Gallenwege darstellen* ‘to display the bile ducts’ vs. *a mesma coisa como fizeram da outra vez* ‘the same thing as they did the other time’) are more serious interventions into the communicative exchange between doctor and patient.

3.1.1 *Modal verbs*

As has been pointed out in the previous sections, the importance of modality in announcements of briefings for informed consent is not negligible, as the patient’s consent cannot be taken for granted by the doctor. Therefore, doctors in our data frequently use the German modal *wollen* (‘want to’) or similar constructions. By doing so, they express their motivation and ability to carry out the medical procedure (Ehlich & Rehbein 1972). A modal like the German *werden* (‘will’, ‘going to’), however, is found to be used only in four out of twenty-one of such announcements carried out in briefings for informed consent. This modal has been analyzed by Redder (1999) as expressing not just motivation and ability regarding future action, but rather a ‘resolution to perform’ (*Ausführungsentschluß*). By using *werden* (‘shall’, ‘will’, ‘going to’), actors

indicate that they are no longer planning an action, but that they are actually switching from planning to carrying out the action.

As has been shown in Meyer (2002), *ad hoc*-interpreters often change modalities from planning ('we want to do X') to carrying out ('they will do X'). By so doing, interpreters present a constellation suggesting that there is no longer any room for decision-making by the patient. The change is not caused by differences between the languages involved: Portuguese modal verbs and periphrastic constructions and Turkish modal affixes allow similar references to stages of an action process as those expressed by German modals (Johnen 2003). We may therefore conclude that it is not language contrast or lack of linguistic proficiency that causes the change from 'want' to 'will', but rather a lack of awareness of such inconspicuous linguistic elements and their far-reaching institutional implications.²

3.1.2 *Medical terms*

At first glance, the German medical terms used above do not seem to be professional terms. Compounds like *Magenspiegelung* ('gastroscopy') or phrases like *Gallenwege darstellen* ('display bile ducts') are made out of German lexical items, and they are partially comprehensible even for persons who do not know anything about medicine. Nevertheless, these expressions are professional terms within the frame of the medical institution. The co-occurrence of German and Latin- or Greek-based terms is a specific and widespread feature of German medical terminology (Wiese 1997; Thurmair 1994). Löning and Rehbein (1995) call these terms "semi-professional" to account for the fact that they are accessible for laypersons and, at the same time, designate specific medical entities. According to their view, semi-professional terms allow medical staff to accommodate their discourse to the communicative needs of their clients, thus allowing a certain adjustment between the 'action systems' of experts and laypersons (Rehbein 1994).

Not surprisingly, *ad hoc*-interpreters have difficulties even with these semi-professional terms. Family members are simply not acquainted with medical issues or methods, but even bilingual staff members often fail to reproduce these terms in target languages. Nurses know what *Gallenwege darstellen* ('display bile ducts') means in German, but they do not know what this method is called in Portuguese or Turkish. The reason for this is that they usually speak about such issues in German, so that lexical knowledge in their native language is restricted to non-professional terms and registers. German is not the only language spoken amongst medical employees in German hospitals, but in terms of professional issues it is surely the predominant one.

The use of semi-professional terms at the beginning of a briefing for informed consent contributes to the purpose of this type of discourse in two ways. First and foremost, the method is named as a whole and is therefore identifiable for the patient. This is important for the patient's orientation towards a complex plan of action, and it has legal implications as well; if the name of the procedure is unknown to the patient, it will later be more difficult to substantiate a claim. Secondly, the naming of the procedure is important for the thematic organization of the discourse. The semi-professional term anchors the sections of discourse which follow, in which the doctor expands and elaborates on the term (gastroscopy, broncoscopy, etc.).

As Meyer (2004) has shown, *ad hoc*-interpreters use specific strategies to compensate for their lack of knowledge about medical terminology. In example (1) above the semi-professional term ('to display bile ducts') is substituted by a rather unprofessional characterization ('the same thing as they did the other time'), which is based solely on individual experience. In other cases, *ad hoc*-interpreters attempt to translate complex compounds by translating each linguistic component independently, or they characterize the announced action by referring to some central aspect of it: thus, 'broncoscopy' turns into a 'look into your lungs'. This manner of turning semi-professional terms into fairly different propositional elements damages their communicative function in announcements. It neither provides the patient with the correct label for the proposed treatment, nor allows the doctor to establish a topical anchor point and to proceed smoothly with the following thematic subsections.

3.2 DESCRIBING the medical procedure

After having announced the proposed treatment, doctors usually make some, either short or extended, remarks on the course of the procedure, its general and specific goals, the instruments used, the parts of the body, and necessary preparations. We view these sections of the briefing for informed consent as being DESCRIPTIONS in the sense of Rehbein (1984) without, however, claiming that this characterization will be true for all cases. EXPLANATIONS may also occur whereby doctors try to provide a deeper understanding of how and why the treatment should be carried out one way and not another. But, generally speaking, doctors seem to be much more concerned with providing superficial information rather than with drawing a complete and professional picture. Thus, the main communicative function of this section is that the patient is able to recognize relevant parts of the planned action and to cooperate in an adequate way. However, to ensure the patient's cooperation and to establish a

relationship of trust, doctors also tend to demonstrate that the procedure is based on a professional, well-established plan and that everything will be done in accordance with good medical practice.

3.2.1 Linguistic reference to institutional agents

A discourse feature that probably underlines the professional and well-established character of the planned procedure is the use of impersonal constructions (passives, middle voice, impersonal pronouns). Whereas in ANNOUNCEMENTS doctors tend to use the speaker-deictic *wir* ('we') in subject position, during the description of procedures they later switch to the use of *man* ('one') or passives and passive-like constructions in order to avoid reference to specific actors (Bührig & Meyer 2003).

By avoiding deictic expressions, doctors weaken the link to the 'here and now' of the actual speech situation and the specific actors within it. Instead, they highlight the generic character of the procedure: the patient will receive the standard treatment, and not some idiosyncratic, *ad hoc*-version of it. Another reason for the doctors' attempts to blur their participation in medical treatment might be that the described actions are usually displeasing for the patient.

In example (2), a German doctor for internal medicine (A) describes the insertion of a tube into the stomach via the esophagus to an elderly Portuguese patient (P). No interpreter is used in this section of discourse. Although the physician herself or one of her colleagues will insert the tube, she does not overtly refer to medical employees (see bold utterances 64 and 66 in the transcript below).³

Example (2)

25	A	/61 Magenspiegelung , genau. Da bekommen Sie Gastroscopy, exactly. There, you will receive/	/62
	P	/60 Mage n spiegelung. Gastroscopy.	
26	A	hier/ da müssen Sie einen Schlauch schlucken , • ne? ((1s)) Den/ there you must swallow a tube, right? That/	/64
	P	/63 [Hm]	/63 [Hm]

[clears throat]

27	/65	/66
A	der wird eingeführt. • Und dann • schlucken Sie einmal. Und	
	it will be inserted. And then you swallow once. And	
28	dann • geht er durch die Speiseröhre bis in den Magen.	
	then it goes through the esophagus all the way down to the stomach.	

The doctor in example (2) describes a part of the procedure that is essential for correct diagnosis. Gastrosopies often fail because the patient's throat cramps and the tube cannot be inserted into the stomach. The cooperation of the patient is therefore especially important. Although she addresses the patient quite directly (62: 'you must swallow'; 65: 'then you swallow once'), she does not overtly mention the participating doctors. As Table 2 shows, within our data there is not a single instance in which doctors mention the participating medical staff overtly in this section of the briefing. Rather, they mainly use impersonal constructions when they describe the course of the planned procedure. The German indefinite pronoun *man* ('one') is most frequently used, as well as passives or passive-like constructions. The deictic pronoun *wir* ('we'), however, is used only in about one third of all utterances during the description of treatment.

Ad hoc-interpreters, in contrary, tend to use the third person plural almost exclusively to refer to medical employees. Instead of following the doctors' switch between *wir* ('we') in announcements and impersonal constructions in the subsequent sections of discourse, they almost continuously use the Portuguese pronoun *eles* ('they') or the respective inflectional morphology (3rd person plural, see Tab. 3).

Table 2. How physicians refer to medical employees during the description of treatment (tokens)

	Impersonal constructions	Deictic reference
<i>Man</i> ('one')	Passive or passive-like constructions	<i>Wir</i> ('we')
81 (46,5%)	44 (25,3%)	49 (28,1%)

Table 3. How *ad-hoc*-interpreters refer to medical employees during the description of treatment (tokens)

<i>se</i> (Middle voice)	Passive	3rd person plural	3rd person singular	1st person plural
2 (2,3%)	7 (8,2%)	71 (83,5%)	4 (4,7%)	1 (1,1%)

As seen in Table 3, *ad hoc*-interpreters used the third person plural when they refer to agents of the medical institution in the description of treatment in more than seventy utterances. This preference for the third person plural may be caused by various factors, like, for instance, the need to express the interpreter's 'footing' (Knapp & Knapp-Potthoff 1986). The result is, however, that an important feature of medical discourse does not show up in the target language. The achievement of the communicative purpose is affected because the switch from an overt, deictic reference to specific actors to a rather implicit reference through the use of impersonal constructions allows the doctors to stress that the respective action is a standard, non-idiosyncratic procedure; this meaning is lost when the *ad hoc*-interpreter uses the third person plural in the target language. Thus, the respective speech actions do not provide a deeper understanding of how and why the treatment should be carried out in one way and not another.

3.2.2 Referring to consent forms and diagrams

Bührig (2004) found a similar effect in her work on 'multimodality' in briefings for informed consent. In her case study, she analyzed how a physician integrates diagrams and consent forms into his verbal explanations concerning the formation of gallstones in the gallbladder. The patient is a Portuguese woman who seems to be proficient in German and the briefing is mainly carried out in the German language. However, at some points it is unclear if the patient has understood the physician's explanations and it is mostly in these situations that her daughter acts as an interpreter.

Bührig shows that the physician uses the diagrams on the consent form as a "perceptual basis of knowledge". In explanations, he successively and systematically builds up the patient's knowledge. With his short utterances he identifies elements in the diagram (gallbladder, bile ducts, liver), and clarifies their functional interplay regarding the causation of gallstones and, subsequently, stomach pain. The interpreter, on the other hand, does not follow the physician in the attempt to build up the knowledge of the patient. Rather, she interprets only isolated chunks of the source language discourse and therefore fails to achieve a functionally equivalent interpretation. According to Bührig, reasons for this may be the transparent bilingual constellation, but also the interpreter's lack of understanding that makes it impossible for her to thoroughly reproduce the explanations of the physician in Portuguese.

3.3 POINTING OUT complications

POINTING OUT undesired outcomes of treatment to the patient is a communicative task that is done more because of legal, rather than medical, requirements. Whereas ANNOUNCING and DESCRIBING the procedure can clearly enhance the patient's capacity to cooperate in medical treatment, information about complications obviously does not reduce possible reluctance in the patient. Nevertheless, such information is part of most briefings. As has already been pointed out in the beginning of this article, modes of providing this information may vary among doctors according to the institutional pre- and post-history of the briefing, as well as in relation to the planned procedure itself and the subjective preconditions of the patient. The most common situation, however, is that doctors do not adopt an impartial stance regarding the patient's decision; they want the patient to agree to the proposed treatment, and if they do provide information about complications, they do so in such a way that the patient's consent is not endangered. In other words, doctors often point out complications in such a way that the patient will hardly take this important information into consideration. Therefore, the manner in which doctors point out complications in briefings for informed consent is often a 'one-sided realization' of this speech action pattern (Bührig 2001; Bührig forthcoming).

As Meyer (2003a) has shown, *ad hoc*-interpreters do not treat all components of the communication of risks in the same way. In a comparison of ten interpreter-mediated briefings, the probabilistic aspect of complications was translated correctly in nine cases. However, less convergence between doctors and interpreters was found in those parts of the doctors' discourse that referred more directly to the patients' decision-making. Interpreters were found to work accurately regarding statements about the probability of complications, but left out, exaggerated, or played down statements concerning the seriousness or frequency of complications. It seems as if *ad hoc*-interpreters do not regard these utterances as relevant parts of the doctors' discourse.

Other studies (Gutteling 1993; Adelswärd & Sachs 1998; Gigerenzer & Edwards 2003; Sarangi et al. 2003) have shown that the consideration of risks by an actor depends, primarily, not on the mere, numerical probability of the risk occurring, but rather on the reliability of the information source, and the seriousness, impact and relevance of the undesired outcome or event. Therefore, statements about these aspects are equally as important as statements about probability. *Ad hoc*-interpreters, however, seem to focus their attention primarily on the statements about the probability of complications and handle the accompanying parts of the doctors' discourse quite casually. Again, this

supports our general assumption that the achievement of functional equivalence in the target language depends primarily not on linguistic proficiency, but rather on the interpreter's understanding of the communicative purpose and the general constitution of the specific type of discourse the actors are engaged in.

4. Conclusions

Our findings support Wadensjö's (1998) criticism of the monological concept of translation and interpreting. "The monological view of language and language use" she argues, conceptualizes languages "in terms of morphemes, words, sentences and other textual structures perceived as 'carrying' certain meanings" (ibid.:8). In contrast to this, she distinguishes 'talk as text' and 'talk as activity' as two different, but somehow compatible perspectives on speech actions. The former is, in her view, insufficient for the analysis of interpreter-mediated discourse if not used in combination with the latter (ibid.:9). In our opinion, however, the reductionist view on language and interpreting cannot be overcome by treating linguistic and social structure, 'text' and 'activity', as separate entities.

It was our goal to find out if and how communicative purposes are achieved in interpreter-mediated briefings for informed consent. To answer this question, we first outlined the relationship between a social 'context', a certain type of 'activity', and specific linguistic structures. After identifying specific linguistic structures, such as modal verbs or passives, as being important for the achievement of the communicative task, we were able to compare specific parts of the source and target discourse. The picture is clear: the communicative purpose of briefings for informed consent was achieved in all interactions in our sample not *because* of, but rather *despite* the fact that interpreting took place. All patients agreed to the proposed treatments or diagnostic procedures although, in most of the investigated cases, *ad hoc*-interpreters failed to provide a functionally equivalent version of the doctors' talk. The communicative drift towards consent seems to be so strong that even severe cases of misinterpreting did not lead patients to reject a proposed treatment.

The basis of that consent, however, does not fulfill institutional requirements; the patient's consent should not be an act of submission to the wishes of the medical staff, but rather an autonomous decision. The patient's autonomy in informed consent is, as we have shown, a rather theoretical concept that does not fit into the institutional reality. Nevertheless, it should be the basis for eval-

uating the performance of *ad hoc*-interpreters. Considering the action quality of the source and target language discourse, we showed that ad hoc interpreters failed in almost all areas that may stimulate the patient's decision-making: the marking of stance through modal verbs, the accentuation of the standard character of the proposed treatment with passives and indefinite pronouns, and the pointing out of complications. Thus, *ad hoc*-interpreters observed in this study did not aid in enhancing the patient's autonomy. We may, therefore, conclude that, at least within briefings for informed consent, the participation of *ad hoc*-interpreters deepens the communicative asymmetries that are inherent to this type of discourse.

5. Further suggestions

Our findings emphasize the need for qualified medical interpreting services in German hospitals. We should, however, keep in mind that it is uncertain how so-called professional interpreters would perform under similar conditions. A comparison of the performance of professional and lay interpreters in institutional settings would therefore be an interesting suggestion for further research.

Due to budget cuts, the implementation of professional interpreter services in health care institutions does not seem to be an immediate possibility and alternative proposals are needed, as a substantial number of patients in German hospitals do not speak German well enough to communicate adequately with medical staff. The customary public reaction is to blame these patients for their lack of linguistic proficiency in German. However, if we compare Germany to other countries with significant immigration it is apparent that learning the language of a foreign country is difficult for many migrants and that individual laziness is therefore not a good explanation for such a widespread phenomena.

The most suitable short-term solution seems to be the development of training programs for bilingual staff. Many hospitals already rely more or less on their bilingual employees. As our studies have shown, though, the participation of untrained bilingual staff members as interpreters may aggravate communicative problems. On the other hand, some of the more experienced *ad hoc*-interpreters among medical employees seem to be quite sensitive and reflective towards the task of interpreting.

In a training module based on transcriptions of authentic discourse developed and tested with a group of nineteen participants, an attempt was made to activate the linguistic knowledge of *ad hoc*-interpreters through having them reflect on authentic instances of *ad hoc*-interpreting in typical hospital settings

(Meyer 2003b). This rather explorative study seems to confirm that by using transcripts the capacity of bilinguals to identify the pitfalls of interpreting can be systematically enhanced. Compared to this, enhancing the capacity of a society to cope with immigration and integration of foreigners seems to be a rather difficult task.

Notes

1. We wish to thank two anonymous reviewers for their helpful comments and suggestions.
2. By using ‘will’ instead of ‘want’, the interpreters adopt the doctors’ stance, i.e. that the desirable result of the briefing is the patients’ consent. A similar ‘take-over’ of institutional stance by interpreters can be observed in interpreter-mediated medical interviews, cf. Bolden (2000), Davidson (2002).
3. Transcription conventions: Numberings (‘61’) refer to segments of ongoing discourse. ‘●’ refers to short hesitations of less than a second. ‘/’ refers to utterance-internal self-repair. Underlined sections indicate emphasis on the underlined syllable(s). The transcript is presented in ‘score format’ (Ehlich and Rehbein 1976, Ehlich 1993), translations of the original utterances are provided below each utterance.

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The interaction of *spokenness* and *writtenness* in audience design

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1. Introduction

In this paper we want to show how linguistic elements which are prototypically associated with spoken discourse are strategically employed in written texts such that they produce certain effects on the part of the reader. For this purpose we have analyzed English original texts, their translations into German and original texts in German. The genre under investigation is popular prose and comprises popular science texts from periodicals such as *Scientific American* and its German counterpart *Spektrum der Wissenschaft*, *UNESCO Courier* and *UNESCO Kurier*, as well as *National Geographic* and *New Scientist* in English and German. The analyses are carried out both qualitatively and quantitatively. For the qualitative analyses as they are presented here we considered only English originals and their translations, whereas for the quantitative analyses we considered English original texts, their German translations, and German original texts. The study is based on work carried out in the research project “Covert Translation” at the Research Center on Multilingualism (University of Hamburg).¹ The project investigates whether and how English in its role as a global lingua franca impacts on German textual norms via translations. The underlying hypothesis is that culture-specific differences in the linguistic and cultural conventions of English and German texts fade away with German texts adopting Anglo-American text conventions – a drift which can be attributed to the increasing dominance of the English language. Such adaptations can be located along parameters of culturally determined communicative preferences such as preferred or dispreferred foci on the interpersonal or the ideational function of language. Results from studies conducted by e.g. Clyne (1987)

Fabricius-Hansen (1996), Doherty (1996) or House (1996) have substantiated the hypothesis that English and German speakers have different communicative preferences, which – according to House (1996) – appear as tendencies on a continuum and not as poles of a clear-cut dichotomy. Such preferences are reflected, for instance, in the typical Anglo-American interpersonal focus in terms of (inter-)subjectivity and addressee-orientation which contrasts with a tendency towards a more pronounced content- or object-orientation in German, i.e., a stronger focus on the ideational function of language (in the sense of Halliday 1994). The general hypothesis of our work is that there are shifts of specific German communicative preferences in the direction of English or Anglo-American preferences. We assume that popular scientific texts belong to an area of text production in which globalisation and internationalisation processes are most marked. As a consequence, their textual norms and linguistic conventions should be particularly likely to converge.

The paper is structured as follows: First, an outline of the integrated qualitative and quantitative approach to text and translation analysis will be given. After a brief description of the data used for this investigation, the concepts of *spokenness* and *writtenness* as used in the analysis will be described with respect to the genre of popular scientific writing. Finally, we will present and discuss some examples of the different degrees to which English and German texts apply *spokenness* as a strategy of reader involvement.

2. Analytic procedure

The analysis is conducted both qualitatively and quantitatively. For the qualitative analyses of the English and German texts a model of text and translation analysis (House 1977, revised 1997) is applied. The model is based on Hallidayan systemic-functional theory, discourse analysis, register and text linguistics. The three Hallidayan contextual parameters *Field*, *Tenor* and *Mode* serve as superordinated features in the model. They are closely connected with the expression of the ideational, interpersonal and textual functions of language and texts, which Halliday (1979) also posits.

Field refers to the nature of the social action; *Tenor* encapsulates in its subsections *Stance*, *Social Role Relationship*, *Social Attitude* and *Participation* the linguistic documented relationship between the participants in the text. *Mode* comprises various linguistic mechanisms for generating cohesion and coherence on clause and text-level. *Mode* also captures the degree of *spokenness* and *writtenness* along Biber's (1988) most important parameters: *involved*

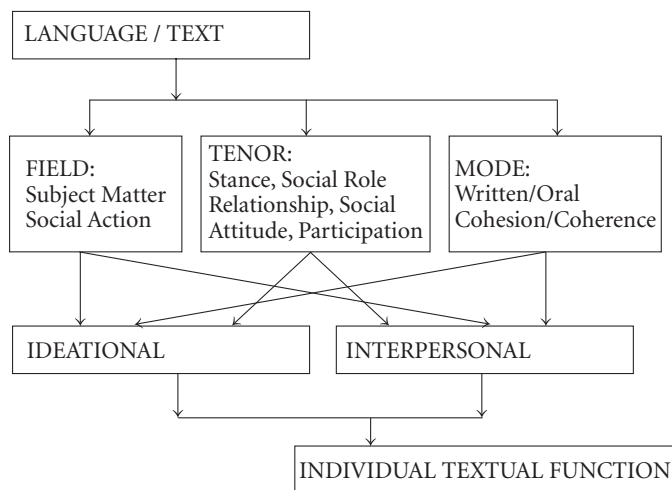


Figure 1. Model of text and translation analysis (adapted from House 1977, 1997)

vs. *informative text production, situation-dependent* vs. *explicit reference* and *non-abstract* vs. *abstract presentation of information*. The endpoints of the three dimensions are characterized according to Biber by informal conversation and academic exposition.

Each investigation starts with the qualitative analysis of individual text exemplars. First, the English original is analysed along the dimensions *Field*, *Tenor* and *Mode*. On the basis of findings on the lexical, syntactic and textual levels, a particular textual profile is set up reflecting the individual textual function. Then the translated text is analysed along the same dimensions. The comparison with the source text finally shows where and how source and translation text differ and where and how they converge. The partitioning of the analysis along the register variables results in a clear view which lexicogrammatical features are responsible for the expression of the ideational, interpersonal, and textual metafunctions. In this way the qualitative analysis will ideally yield the repertoire each language has for the realization of the functions of language in the text and register types under investigation.

In the second step of the analytic procedure the case study approach is supplemented by quantitative analyses. The corpus is a diachronic translation and parallel text corpus featuring the genres of popular scientific writing and external business communication (cf. Baumgarten forthcoming for a detailed description of the corpus). The individual lexicogrammatical features which the qualitative analyses point out as particularly salient in terms of divergence

and convergence of English and German communicative conventions are used to query the corpus as a whole. For the present paper this involved running, for both languages, concordances for single lexical items, regular expressions and grammatical classes in the translation and parallel parts of the corpus. This is done with freely and commercially available concordancing software.² The concordances provide the matches on the query expressions and – as minimum context – the complete orthographic sentence in which the search word(s) occur. This is necessary for the functional categorization of the single matches and for retrieving information about their syntactic and semantic context. The concordances are manually checked for accuracy and the ensuing frequency counts are normalized on the basis of 10000 words (cf. Biber 1998). The normalised frequencies facilitate the comparison of the lexicogrammatical features across the data sets; their statistical significance, however, has not yet been tested. The results of the quantitative analyses are primarily intended as empirical backup for the qualitative case studies, but they may point into other directions, that may be promising to pursue in follow-up studies. The database used for the synchronic investigation presented here consists of three separate sets of texts:

1. English original texts from the years 1999–2002 (122866 words).
2. The German translations of these English texts (113420 words).
3. German original texts from the years 1999–2002 (100648 words).

All texts are published articles. Most of them appeared in the popular scientific journals *Scientific American*, *New Scientist* and *Spektrum der Wissenschaft*. All German translation texts in the samples are translations of the English original texts in the samples. The corpus is annotated with *part-of-speech*-tags (Susanne tagset for English and the STTS tagset for German). The source and the translation texts are not aligned,³ i.e., we treat English original texts, German translations and German original texts as separate text collections.

3. Concepts of *spokenness* and *writtenness*

Classified under the dimension *Mode*, the notion of *spokenness* and *writtenness* is firmly established in House's model of text and translation analysis. As has been stated above, the concept basically follows Biber's (cf. 1988) dimensions set up on the basis of co-occurrence patterns among features found across registers. A co-occurrence pattern is a group of features that consistently co-occur in texts. According to Biber, those features define a linguistic dimension.

This means that the co-occurrence patterns are first identified and then are interpreted in functional terms (Biber 1988: 13).

Biber carried out both quantitative and qualitative analyses of more than 500 text samples of 20 different spoken and written discourse types of English. He realized that no clear-cut classification could be made between spoken and written discourse. Although one can speak of prototypical written discourse types (e.g. academic articles) and of prototypical spoken or oral discourse types (e.g. face-to-face-communication), the majority of discourse types cannot be assigned to either one of the poles but rather somewhere in between the two. Accordingly, there are written texts that reflect features of spoken language in many respects (e.g. personal letters), and spoken discourse types that reflect features of the written mode (e.g. speeches). Biber's results are thus not to be interpreted as a strict variation of *spoken* and *written*, but rather as a fundamental variation within discourse types of English. In order to specify this variation, Biber identifies linguistic features that occur frequently and, which is more important, simultaneously, i.e., as linguistic bundles. These bundles (*co-occurrences*) of linguistic features form specific patterns from which the respective communicative function can be derived. It is hence assumed that reoccurring features which appear as linguistic bundles reveal equal or similar communicative functions. From these linguistic bundles Biber has generated seven different dimensions (Biber 1988, 1995: 141–168): 1. *Involved vs. Informative Production*, 2. *Situation-dependent vs. Explicit Reference*, 3. *Abstract vs. Non-abstract Style*, 4. *Narrative vs. Non-narrative Discourse*, 5. *Overt Expression of Argumentation*, 6. *On-line Informational Elaboration*, 7. *Academic Hedging*.

1. *Involved vs. Informative Production*

This first dimension, which can be regarded as the dimension which correlates most strongly with the notions of *spoken* and *written*,⁴ refers to the degree of immediacy of situation as well as to the degree of the “speaker's personal presence” in the discourse. The endpoint *involved* reflects a linguistic presentation which involves, for instance, direct interaction. Most typically, an immediate situation is focused in which personal attitudes, thoughts, and feelings of the speaker are expressed. Thus, an affective and interpersonal function of language is achieved. Linguistic features are e.g. private verbs that express the speaker's attitudes and emotions, discourse particles, personal pronouns (1st and 2nd person), a predominantly active and verbal style, main clauses, emphatics, and amplifiers. The discourse appears generally in a fragmented form as it uses mainly coordination and paratactic sentence constructions – a form of expression, which Koch and Österreicher (1990) consider as stylistically “less

sophisticated". Conveying information is not a predominant purpose of involved presentation. It is rather characterized by an unspecific or imprecise realization of the content expressed by the use of hedges, possibility modals, present tense, as well as a low type-token ratio.

The other extreme of this dimension is the so-called *informative* presentation. It is characterized by a planned and careful integration of information with a large amount of information packed into relatively few words. Typical linguistic features are nouns and nominalizations, pre-nuclear adjectival and participial constructions, many prepositions, and attributive adjectives (in opposition to predicative adjectives or relative clauses), ad-hoc-composita and a high type-token ratio. Altogether the information is presented in a precise, edited manner and in a predominantly hypotactic order.

2. *Situation-dependent vs. Explicit Reference*

Communication is considered *situation-dependent* when it refers to an external situation (exophoric reference) or when it can only be interpreted with reference to the extralinguistic context. Linguistic features are for instance temporal or local adverbs and also other adverbs that function as deictics and refer to objects and occurrences outside the text or discourse. *Explicit* communication on the other hand specifies or directly defines those objects that have been treated in the discourse (endophoric reference). This is done for instance through the use of (wh-)relative clauses in object or subject position which specify the identity of actors participating in the text, or pied-piping-constructions by which the referent is explicitly defined. The co-occurrence of nominalizations and the features mentioned above indicates that explicit discourse is also rather integrated and informative.

3. *Abstract vs. Non-abstract Style*

Abstract presentation of information is characterized by the non-accentuation of the agent, which is either in the object position or not mentioned at all (e.g. agentless passive). Thus the predominantly inanimate patient of the verb is stressed. Further linguistic features marking abstract presentation of information are adverbial participial clauses, postnominal perfect participial clauses, and by-passives. The counterpart of abstract presentation, *non-abstract presentation*, shows the opposite grammatical attributes or is marked through the absence of the mentioned features.

4. *Narrative vs. Non-narrative Discourse*

Typical linguistic features found in narrative discourse are verbs of past tense and perfect aspect, public verbs through which speech-acts are mediated, present participial constructions, third person pronouns that refer to animate, often human participants. Although the distribution of the register under investigation along the dimension narrative vs. non-narrative does not directly refer to the scope *written* vs. *spoken*, narrativity can be understood as a strategy of construing a close relation between the text and the reader. This fact makes it relevant for our study. In many genres, narrativity presents a subordinate rhetorical means, i.e., narrative elements are ‘scattered’ sporadically into the discourse where they function as emphatics and/or contribute to a more lively and animated presentation of information (cf. Koch & Österreicher 1990).

5. *Overt Expression of Argumentation*

This dimension refers to written discourse types such as professional letters or editorials, in which the author tries to convince the reader of his attitude towards a given subject matter. Linguistic features are, for instance, infinitives that co-occur with expressions of the speaker’s stance (*I’m happy to do*), modal verbs and modal words, persuasive verbs, conditional clauses, or split auxiliaries.

6. *On-line Informational Elaboration*

This dimension refers mainly to spoken registers with an informational focus and which are produced under extreme time constraints (e.g. speeches, interviews). It reflects at the same time the presentation of information and the explicit presentation of speaker’s stance towards the content. Characteristic features are mental verbs with the speaker being the agent going together with constructions of subordinate clauses plus *that*.

7. *Academic Hedging*

The strategy of hedging involves, for instance, the use of downtoners and expresses the speaker’s confidence in the reliability, correctness, authority, or truth of what is literally said (cf. Janney 1996). Linguistic means are, for instance, concessive subordination, which constrains the validity of an utterance, or adjectives and adverbials that refer to ‘possibility’ or ‘generalization’.

The results from Biber’s studies reveal that the dimensions described above overlap in various instances, so that no definite correspondence with either one of the poles *written* or *spoken* is possible. Obviously, the relationship between

written is spoken discourse is not a clear-cut dichotomy, but has to be described as a multidimensional construct. The dimensions of *involved* vs. *informative production*, *situation-dependent* vs. *explicit reference*, and *non-abstract* vs. *abstract information*, however, do allow strong correlations with *conceptional writtenness* and *spokenness* (which is why they are integrated in House's model and serve us as a tool of analysis).

The linguistic features empirically associated with these categories play a defining role in the audience design. They are the culture- and language-specific options of linguistic expression available to the author when he/she wants to address the reader in one specific way. The communicative purpose of a written text may induce the author to employ linguistic means which are more typically expected in forms of spoken discourse. For the study of our corpus, which consists of written texts only, this implies that any text is likely to feature different aspects of both *spokenness* and *writtenness*.

For German, there are no comparable empirical register analyses available; however, Koch and Österreicher (1990) postulate similar categories for *spokenness* and *writtenness* in German. Their concepts of "language of closeness" and "language of distance" categorize linguistic means which reflect prototypical characteristics of spoken and written language with spoken language being subjected to communicative conditions such as time constraints, immediacy of production and situation-dependency, and written language being subjected to communicative conditions such as spatio-temporal distance between author and addressee (cf. also Ehlich's 1983 characterization of communication via written texts as "dilated speech situation"). The absence of immediate temporal constraints provides the author with the opportunity for reflected and carefully edited text production.

4. Characteristics of popular scientific texts

Which status does the notion of *spokenness* and *writtenness* have in the genre under investigation? Contrary to the genre "academic prose" or "scientific prose", which is usually characterized as being depersonalised, distant, content- and object-oriented, technical etc. (cf. Gläser 1990; Drescher 2003) and thus corresponds rather to the features of written mode (cf. Biber 1988, 1995), the genre "popular science texts" is rather difficult to classify as its style is generally characterized as being 'technical' or 'scientific' due to the informational character of scientific matters. But as popular science texts are directed to the lay reader, they must also fulfil communicative functions (cf. Drescher

2003; Niederhauser 1999; Biere 1996; Ciapuscio 1992). In Hoffmann's model of horizontal and vertical organization of scientific languages ("Modell der horizontalen Gliederung und vertikalen Schichtung der Fachsprachen" (Hoffmann 1976)), the genre popular science texts is not firmly anchored, but it is posited somewhere between the level of high abstractness – associated with a very high proportion of technical vocabulary – and the level of low abstractness – associated with a restricted proportion of technical vocabulary (adapted to the special kind of addressee, i.e., the lay reader) and a less formalized syntax.

Thus technical as well as everyday language is used in popular science texts in order to make the texts more comprehensible. Moreover, interactive structures which imitate prototypical spokenness and present speaker and addressee as participants in the text are employed, as well as expressions of feelings or affect which involve the reader cognitively and emotionally, attract attention, raise interest and facilitate understanding (Ciapuscio 1992: 187). According to Biere (1996: 299), the strategy of facilitating understanding follows the model of *orality*. Altogether, the interpersonal function of language has much more weight in popular science texts than in academic text production which addresses a very specialized readership and is rather more object-oriented than person-oriented. Popularized presentations of information on the other hand foreground communicative functions and try to dissolve abstractness by stressing subjectivity, which includes the speaker's personal stance (e.g. by the use of evaluative expressions and evidentials), figurativeness, and concreteness (cf. Drescher 2003). And, last but not least, the reader is *told* about scientific facts, i.e., narrative forms are applied in order to draw the reader into the text (Niederhauser 1999: 166).

Taken together, all the characteristics of the genre popular science texts described above suggest that always two goals must be taken into account: The reader wants to be both informed *and* entertained. This is why this specific type of external scientific writing is sometimes called "infotainment".

In the following section we will present an extract of an exemplary qualitative text analysis. Where applicable we will add a quantification of the linguistic phenomena in question, giving the total frequency of their occurrence in our corpus. The texts under qualitative investigation comprise an English original and its German translation from the year 1999. Analogously, the quantitative database consists of English original texts and their German translations. As a further point of cross-linguistic comparison, we will also give the frequencies of the particular lexicogrammatical features in so-called German parallel texts, i.e., in original text production in German. This tripartite analysis is intended to sharpen the characteristics of the relationship between the communicative

conventions in English original texts and their German translations on the one hand, and the relationship between German translations and German original texts on the other hand. In particular, we will be concerned with whether and how elements of spoken language are employed as strategies of reader involvement in written texts, (i.e., as a means of binding the reader more closely to both the author and the text), and whether English and German texts employ those means in a comparable way.

The presentation of the analysis corresponds to the procedure of analysis outlined in Section 2. Note, however, that only a selected set of results which is directly connected to the notion of *spokenness* and *writtenness* are presented here.

5. Phenomena of *spokenness* and *writtenness* in English and German popular scientific texts

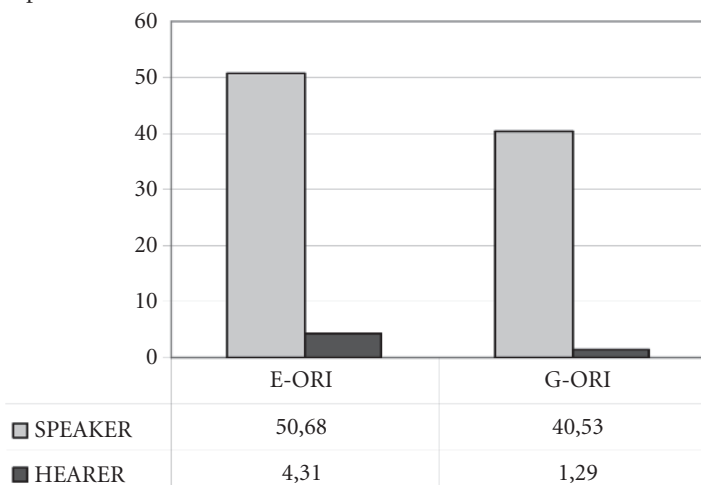
5.1 The English original text

The text is an extract of an English original taken from an issue of the *Scientific American* published in 1999.⁵ In this example, which can mainly be analysed along the dimension *involved* vs. *informative*, the speaker presents himself as personally involved. His/her personal commitment to the subject matter is expressed through the frequent use of deictic 1st-person (plural), which can be interpreted either as an inclusive “we” with the general public (including the readership) being addressed and thus providing an offer of identification for the reader, or as an exclusive “we” with the general public not being addressed. “We” in this second sense will only embrace the author as scientist and other scientists:

- III, 5 we *will* perhaps meet with success
- II, 6 We *will* have discovered
- II, 7 And we *will* have undertaken
- II, 5 we *will* have thoroughly explored
- II, 4 we *may* finally know
- III, 1 We *may* find that

Compared to German original text production, the use of speaker-hearer deictic elements appears as a rather frequent feature of English texts. The value of 50,68 in Table 1 stands for the normalized frequencies of the speaker-deictic tokens “I” and “we”. Another perspective on this value is that of the total of

Table 1. Speaker-hearer-deictics



[normalized frequencies on the basis of 10.000 words]
 E-ORI = English original texts; G-ORI = German original texts
 SPEAKER DEICTICS: English: I, we; German: ich, wir
 HEARER DEICTICS: English: you; German: Du, Sie, Ihnen

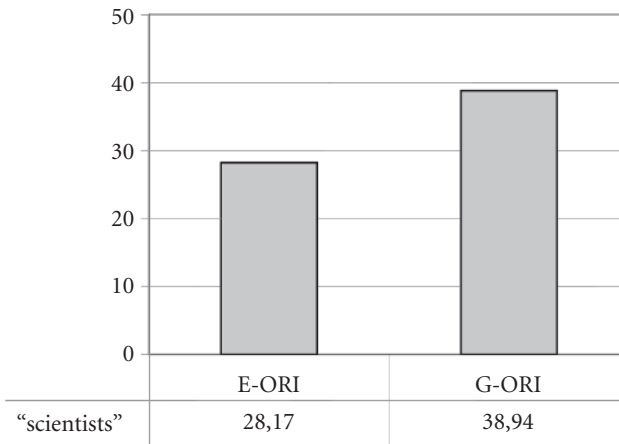
122866 words in the English data set, the tokens realizing speaker deixis belong to the 16 most frequently used lexical items in the data. The German speaker-deictic elements “ich” and “wir”, in comparison, occupy the ranks 338 and 38 in the respective data set.

Through the use of 1st-person pronouns the speaker presents himself as a scientist and therefore as an expert. Furthermore, through the choice of a human actor combined with predominantly material processes (Halliday 1994), the action appears to be dynamic. The reader is able to picture the action. This character of ‘activity’ is further stressed by syntactic parallelisms such as the repetition of the verbal structure “we will” or “we may” as well as in the example below, by the repetition of human actors as process participants:

- I,2 **Scientists’** search for life beyond Earth has been less thorough than commonly thought
- II,1 For 40 years, **scientists** have conducted searches for radio signals from an extraterrestrial technology, sent spacecrafts to all but one of the planets in our solar system, and greatly expanded our knowledge of the conditions in which living things can survive.

Human beings – “scientists” – are foregrounded und function as actors. Table 2 shows, that the use of noun phrases that denote a member or members of the

Table 2. Scientific personnel as author/actor: Lexical expressions

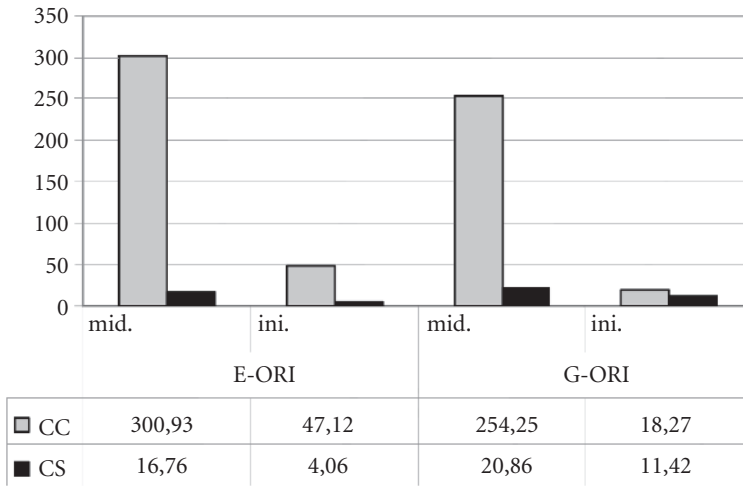


scientific community in action is a more frequent feature of German than of English texts.⁶

A general feature of the language used in the text is the use of elements that express both evaluation – conveyed by statements that claim absoluteness – and a certain fuzziness. This combination is achieved for instance by the use of expressive adverbs in an amplified form:

- II,1 For 40 years, scientists have conducted searches for radio signals from an extraterrestrial technology, sent spacecrafts to all but one of the planets in our solar system, and **greatly** expanded our knowledge of the conditions in which living things can survive
- II,2 we have looked **extensively** for signs of life elsewhere
- II,4 we may **finally** know whether there is, or ever was, life elsewhere in our solar system
- II,5 At a minimum we will have **thoroughly** explored the most likely candidates
- III,1 We may find that life is common but technical intelligence is **extremely** rare or that both are common or rare
- III,4 Indeed, we have **so poorly** explored our own solar system

Amplifiers such as “greatly” or “extensively” mark strong involvement with the topic. At the same time those adverbs express, semantically, a very general and fuzzy meaning, since they are neither concrete nor measurable, but rather based on a general, subjective assessment. Due to their fuzziness, coarse granularity and generality they are easy to fit into the discourse.

Table 3. Coordinating (CC) and subordinating (CS) conjunctions in medial and sentence-initial position

Considering the textual level, simple coordination dominates the sentence structure. According to Biber's first dimension, parataxis is a typical feature of a fragmented and thus *spoken* presentation of information:

- II,1 For 40 years, scientists have conducted searches for radio signals from an extraterrestrial technology, sent spacecrafts to all but one of the planets in our solar system, and greatly expanded our knowledge of the conditions in which living things can survive.

Also associated with spoken discourse are conjunctions in clause- and sentence-initial positions (cf. Biber et al. 1999 and Schiffrin 1987). "And", "Or" and "But" in the examples below serve the linear sequencing of the propositions across sentence boundaries:

- II,3 **But** in reality, we have hardly begun to search
 II,7 **And** we will have undertaken the systematic exobiological exploration of planetary systems around other stars, looking for traces of life in the spectra of planetary atmospheres
 III,6 **Or** the situation may remain the same

The quantitative data confirm the high frequency of clause and sentence linkage via coordinating conjunctions (see Table 3). Compared to German original texts coordination in mid- and sentence-initial position is more conventional in English.

5.2 The German translation compared to the English original

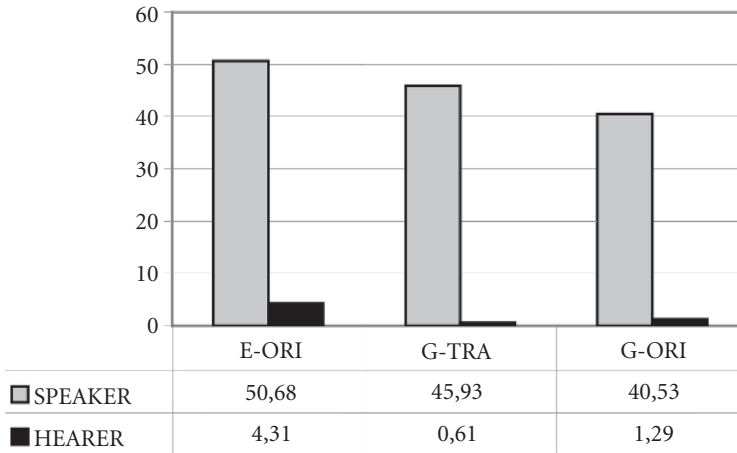
There are also phenomena of *spokenness* to be found in the German translation text, which are used to involve the addressee. But compared to the English original they appear less frequently and show reduced emotional involvement on the part of the speaker. True, the speaker takes a subjective and evaluative attitude, but it is less pronounced than in the English text, reflected in the choice of more neutral or moderate adverbials, or even in their absence:

- II,2 Sie haben Raumsonden zu allen Planeten unseres Sonnensystems – bis auf einen – geschickt und unser Wissen über die Bedingungen, unter denen Leben gedeihen kann, **beträchtlich** erweitert
- II,1 For 40 years, scientists have conducted searches for radio signals from an extraterrestrial technology, sent spacecrafts to all but one of the planets in our solar system, and **greatly** expanded our knowledge of the conditions in which living things can survive
- IV,1 Vielleicht werden wir dann bereits wissen, daß das Leben im Universum weit verbreitet ist, technische Intelligenz hingegen **rar** – oder aber, daß beide häufig oder selten vorkommen
- III,1 We may find that life is common but technical intelligence is **extremely rare** or that both are common or rare
- IV,4 Sogar unser eigenes Sonnensystem haben wir bisher erst **so bruchstückhaft** erkundet
- III,4 Indeed, we have **so poorly** explored our own solar system

The use of human beings as actors in the texts is also found in the German translation. The personal pronoun “wir” functions in two ways: In an inclusive sense it encompasses the author and the addressee(s) and, as in the examples below, in an exclusive sense it refers to the author as part of the scientific community:

- II,1 Seit vierzig Jahren suchen **Wissenschaftler** das Universum nach Radiosignalen von einer außerirdischen Intelligenz ab
- II,1 For 40 years, **scientists** have conducted searches for radio signals from an extraterrestrial technology
- II,2 Sie haben Raumsonden zu allen Planeten unseres Sonnensystems – bis auf einen – geschickt und unser Wissen über die Bedingungen, unter denen Leben gedeihen kann, **beträchtlich** erweitert
- II,1 (**they**) sent spacecrafts to all but one of the planets in our solar system, and greatly expanded our knowledge of the conditions in which living things can survive

Table 4. Speaker-hearer-deictics



E-ORI = English original texts; G-TRA = German translations;
 G-ORI = German original texts
 SPEAKER DEICTICS: English: I, we; German: ich, wir
 HEARER DEICTICS: English: you; German: Du, Sie, Ihnen

- II,3 Für die Öffentlichkeit scheint es, als hätten wir unsere Fühler bereits weit ins All ausgestreckt
- II,2 The public perception is that we have looked extensively for signs of life elsewhere

The quantitative data show that German translations use the linguistic means to textualize the author more frequently than German original texts. In the case of the deictic expressions (cf. Table 4), the frequency value for the translations is again almost exactly in the middle between English and German original texts. In the case of the lexical expressions (cf. Table 5), the translations surpass both the English source texts and the German original texts.

Thus the 'German' speaker appears to be involved, too. However, the linguistically strongly marked persuasive strength of the original is not achieved to the same extent because the adverbials used are either more moderate or completely absent. Consequently, the translation text can be interpreted as making less sweeping claims.

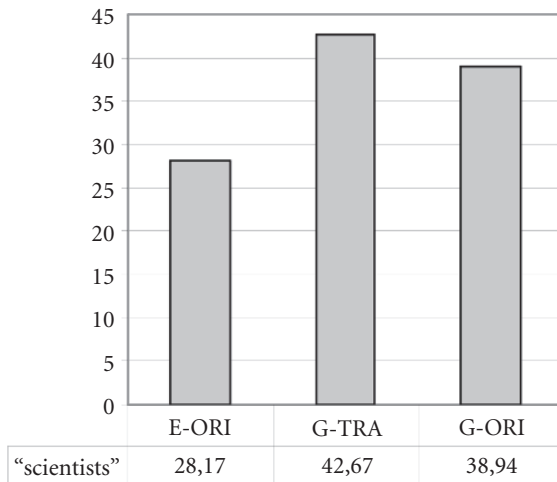
The fuzzy presentation of information that has been stressed for the English text is expressed differently in the German translation text: Those utterances that express absoluteness in the English text are toned down in the German translation. This is done through the use of modal particles or other hedging adverbials:

- I,2 Die wissenschaftliche Suche danach ist bislang **allerdings auch** weniger gründlich gewesen als gemeinhin angenommen
- I,2 Scientists' search for life beyond Earth has been less thorough than commonly thought
- III,3 Bis dahin werden wir **beispielsweise** herausfinden
- II,6 We will have discovered
- IV,1 Vielleicht werden wir dann bereits wissen, daß das Leben im Universum weit verbreitet ist, technische Intelligenz hingegen rar – oder **aber**, daß beide häufig oder selten vorkommen
- III,1 We may find that life is common but technical intelligence is extremely rare or that both are common or rare
- IV,4 daß wir nicht einmal die – **zugegebenermaßen** exotische – Möglichkeit ausschließen können
- III,4 that we cannot even rule out exotic possibilities

The use of these downtoning means in the German translation reflects a different kind of speaker involvement: The speaker comments and qualifies the degree of commitment to the truth of the proposition through hedging and thus sheds light on his/her personal stance. Such hedges or even an accumulation of hedging or modalizing expressions – as they typically occur in German – downtone the degree and intensity of a qualification. They are typically associated with spoken or even colloquial language.

The predominant additive and sentential organization of information is – as in the English original – maintained in the German translation text. Especially at the beginning of the text sentences are reduced in length.

Table 5. Scientific personnel as author/actor: Lexical expressions



II,1 Seit vierzig Jahren suchen Wissenschaftler das Universum nach Radiosignalen von einer außerirdischen Intelligenz ab. Sie haben Raumsonden zu allen Planeten unseres Sonnensystems – bis auf einen – geschickt und unser Wissen über die Bedingungen, unter denen Leben gedeihen kann, beträchtlich erweitert

II,1 For 40 years, scientists have conducted searches for radio signals from an extraterrestrial technology, sent spacecrafts to all but one of the planets in our solar system, and greatly expanded our knowledge of the conditions in which living things can survive

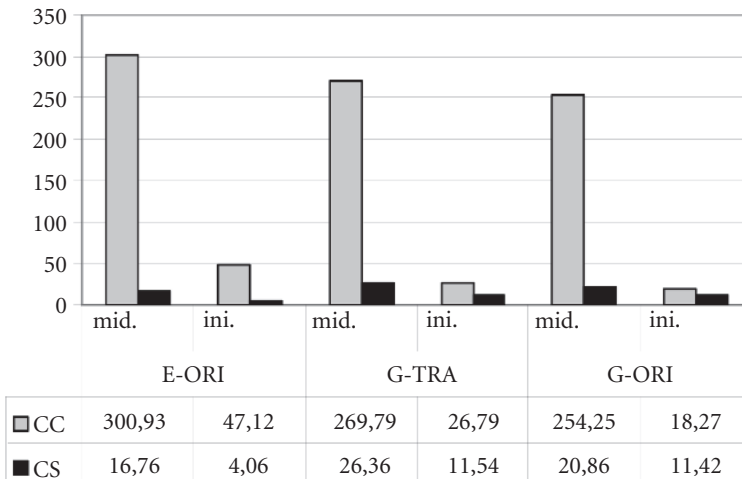
Just as the English original the German translation also features conjunctions in sentence-initial position, which maintain the paratactic order:

I,3 **Doch** das wird sich bald ändern

III,4 **Und** wir werden mit der Untersuchung begonnen haben

Our quantitative analyses show that German translations use more coordinating conjunctions in mid-position than German original texts (see Table 6). They thus resemble more closely the conventionalised use of coordinating conjunctions in English texts. However, the translations are seemingly more reluctant to follow the English texts in their use of coordinating conjunctions in initial position. This might be explained by the fact that, putting coordinating conjunctions in sentence-initial position is a stylistically strongly marked, non-standard use in written German. It is associated with narrative forms of

Table 6. Coordinating (CC) and subordinating (CS) conjunctions in medial and sentence-initial position



discourse. In written language, conjunctions in initial position invoke a style of narration characteristic of biblical texts (Weinrich 2003:806). This style has also been described as “a text, written to be spoken as if not written” (House 1981:43). Therefore, in German too, conjunctions at the beginning of sentences serve the linear sequencing of information and thus help to convey the impression of *spokenness* in the text. The comparatively small value (18,27) for the original German texts also seems to support the hypothesis that such a convention is operational in German. In this respect, the value for the German translations (26,79) – as small as the difference to the German original texts may appear – might nevertheless be interpreted as a departure from conventional German use.

6. Conclusion

The comparison of one English text and its German translation has shown that the linguistic means that are frequently used in the spoken mode in order to express reader involvement are found in both languages. However, as we have seen, the English text shows more pronounced speaker involvement and evaluation because more expressive and thus persuasive means (e.g. adjectives, adverbs, amplifiers) are employed. The German translation text, on the other hand, shows a reduced use of such expressive forms and thus a more neutral, distant or downtoned personal attitude. Due to the more pronounced German strategy of hedging, though, the author’s stance is well reflected, but more in terms of evidentiality, i.e., varying certainty about the truthfulness of the proposition, than in terms of persuasion.

The evidence from quantifying selected lexicogrammatical phenomena in our project corpus suggests that translations from English into German occupy the middle ground between English and German original text: In most cases the translations use the lexicogrammatical feature in question more frequently than German original texts and less frequently than English original texts. This situation is interesting because in the instances which we have presented in this paper, the German linguistic system clearly provides equivalent means for expressing the English source text structures in a way that would result in analogous surface structures in the translations. However, obviously, the translators chose to mimic their English source texts only to a certain extent. But this extent still makes the translations depart from the conventionalised use of the lexicogrammatical features in German original texts.

Concurrent diachronic analyses of our project corpus indicate that this situation is indeed a stage in the process of convergence between English and German in this particular genre, spearheaded by German translations – of course not in terms of the language systems as a whole, but in terms of certain functional areas which are expressed by a specific repertoire of linguistic means (see also House forthcoming; Baumgarten forthcoming). The investigation of aligned translation corpora and the semantic analysis of e.g. adverbials, adjectives, and particles are among the next analytical steps to be undertaken. Since we seem to be witnessing a converging movement of certain English and German communicative conventions, our goal is to find out which areas of the German language system are ‘vulnerable’ and likely to change in language contact with English, and which are not.

Notes

1. The Center is funded by the German Science Foundation (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft). The project members are Juliane House (PI), Nicole Baumgarten, Claudia Böttger and Julia Probst.
2. MonoConc and WinConcord.
3. At the time of the completion of this paper the alignment is in progress.
4. See also Chafe (1982, 1985) who sets up similar dimensions: *Involved* vs. *detached* and *integrated* vs. *fragmented*.
5. See the Appendix for the full text.
6. See Appendix for the query expressions.

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Appendix

J. Tarter & C. Chyba: "Is There Life Elsewhere in the Universe". In *Scientific American* December 1999, 80–83.

Is There Life Elsewhere in the Universe

I.

1. The answer is: nobody knows.
2. Scientists' search for life beyond Earth has been less thorough than commonly thought.
3. But that is about to change.

II.

1. For 40 years, scientists have conducted searches for radio signals from an extraterrestrial technology, sent spacecrafts to all but one of the planets in our solar system, and greatly expanded our knowledge of the conditions in which living things can survive.
2. The public perception is that we have looked extensively for signs of life elsewhere.
3. But in reality, we have hardly begun to search.
4. Assuming our current, comparatively robust space program continues, by 2050 we may finally know whether there is, or ever was, life elsewhere in our solar system.
5. At a minimum we will have thoroughly explored the most likely candidates, something we cannot claim today.
6. We will have discovered whether life dwells on Jupiter's moon Europa or on Mars.
7. And we will have undertaken the systematic exobiological exploration of planetary systems around other stars, looking for traces of life in the spectra of planetary atmospheres.
8. These surveys will be complemented by expanded searches for intelligent signals.

III.

1. We may find that life is common but technical intelligence is extremely rare or that both are common or rare.
2. For now, we just don't know.
3. The Milky Way galaxy is vast, and we have barely stirred its depths.
4. Indeed, we have so poorly explored our own solar system that we cannot even rule out exotic possibilities such as the existence of a small robotic craft sent here long ago to await our emergence as a technological species.
5. Over the next 50 years, our searches for extraterrestrial intelligence will perhaps meet with success.
6. Or the situation may remain the same as it was in 1959, when astrophysicists Giuseppe Cocconi and Philip Morrison concluded, "The probability of success is difficult to estimate, but if we never search, the chance of success is zero."

Jill C. Tarter & Christopher F. Chyba: "Gibt es außerirdisches Leben?" In *Spektrum der Wissenschaft* Spezial 2000, 66–68.

Gibt es außerirdisches Leben?

I.

1. Ob Leben auch außerhalb unserer Erde existiert, wissen wir nicht.
2. Die wissenschaftliche Suche danach ist bislang allerdings auch weniger gründlich gewesen als gemeinhin angenommen.
3. Doch das wird sich bald ändern.

II.

1. Seit vierzig Jahren suchen Wissenschaftler das Universum nach Radiosignalen von einer außerirdischen Intelligenz ab.
2. Sie haben Raumsonden zu allen Planeten unseres Sonnensystems – bis auf einen – geschickt und unser Wissen über die Bedingungen, unter denen Leben gedeihen kann, beträchtlich erweitert.
3. Für die Öffentlichkeit scheint es, als hätten wir unsere Fühler bereits weit ins All ausgestreckt.
4. Tatsächlich hat die Suche nach außerirdischem Leben aber kaum erst begonnen.

III.

1. Wenn wir unser gegenwärtiges, vergleichsweise solides Programm zur Erforschung des Weltraums wie geplant fortsetzen, dann werden wir bis zum Jahr 2050 wissen, ob es anderswo in unserem Sonnensystem Leben gibt oder gab.
2. Zumindest werden wir die wahrscheinlichsten Kandidaten gründlich geprüft haben – was wir heute noch nicht behaupten können.
3. Bis dahin werden wir beispielsweise herausfinden, ob auf dem Jupitermond Europa oder auf dem Mars Spuren von Leben zu finden sind.
4. Und wir werden mit der systematischen biologischen Untersuchung extrasolarer Planeten begonnen haben, indem wir die Spektren ihrer Atmosphären nach Zeichen von Leben absuchen.
5. Ergänzt werden diese Projekte durch eine verstärkte Suche nach Signalen von intelligenten Absendern.

IV.

1. Vielleicht werden wir dann bereits wissen, daß das Leben im Universum weit verbreitet ist, technische Intelligenz hingegen rar – oder aber, daß beide häufig oder selten vorkommen.
2. Bislang wissen wir es schlicht und einfach nicht.
3. Das Milchstraßensystem ist groß, und wir haben gerade erst angefangen, in seine Tiefen vorzudringen.
4. Sogar unser eigenes Sonnensystem haben wir bisher erst so bruchstückhaft erkundet, daß wir nicht einmal die – zugegebenermaßen exotische – Möglichkeit ausschließen können, irgendwo erwarte uns ein kleines Roboterraumschiff.
5. Vor langer Zeit könnte es hierher geschickt worden sein, um darauf zu warten, daß auch wir Erdlinge eine technische Intelligenz entwickeln.

Query expressions:

Scientific personnel as author/actor: lexical expressions:

English:	German:
ist*	*gemeinschaft*
ian*	*gruppe*
team*	*forscher*
colleague*	*gemeinde*
researcher*	*kreise*

co-worker*	*wissenschaftler
group*	*kollege*
communit*	*mitglieder*
	mitarbeiter
	loge
	ärzte
	arzt
	ker
	team

Connectivity in translation

Transitions from orality to literacy

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In this chapter we want to explore how particular forms and functions of oral and written discourse can be said to differ across languages and genres, and how oral and written genre traditions are being influenced by language contact in translation.¹ Concretely, we will compare an American source text and its translation into German. An important feature of this source text is its multimedial production history: The text first existed as a lecture, was then published as a written public relations document, and later translated into German for the purpose of self-presentation on the German market. A comparison of the German and American texts shows that the two texts differ substantially in the area of connectivity. These differences cannot be explained by the fact that there are fewer means of creating connectivity in German, and that it is therefore not possible to reproduce the American text's particular connective quality. Rather we suspect that it is some kind of 'pragmatic shift' which is responsible for differences in terms of connectivity, and that this shift makes the German text appear somewhat more 'written'. Our main interest in this paper is then to find out which consequences derive from those connectivity-related shifts from orality to literacy detected in the translation. Given this goal, we will first review what types of characteristics of orality and literacy have been discussed in different schools of thought. Secondly, we will take a closer look at some selected connective procedures in the introductory parts of the American original and its German translation text, and how they contribute to the functions of the linguistic units in which they occur. The analysis presented here is a qualitative one, and we hope that its results will stimulate supplementary quantitative procedures with the larger multilingual corpus now available in the Research Center on Multilingualism at Hamburg University.²

1. Connectivity in orality and literacy

Differences between orality and literacy have been investigated by scholars from many different vantage points, who emphasized different aspects of these phenomena and advanced different explanatory hypotheses. But even though most scholars agree that there *are* differences between orality and literacy, they still differ markedly about what exactly is to be understood by orality and literacy: Some scholars believe that orality and literacy must be regarded simply as different types of the communication channel or the medium of linguistic communication (cf. e.g. Crystal 1987; Wilson & Sarangi 2000). Another position in the debate about orality and literacy can be characterized by an attempt to relate the two to different concepts of ‘text’ and ‘discourse’ (cf. e.g. Brown & Yule 1983; Ehlich 1994; Schiffrin 1994; Widdowson 1995; de Beaugrande 2000).

In yet another tradition, following the seminal work by Söll (1974), a distinction is made between “conceptual orality” and “conceptual literacy” (Koch & Österreicher 1985, 1990), which can be described as separate communicative strategies that correlate, for instance, with the relationship between the participants in the communicative event and other extra-linguistic factors, and which result in specific syntactic planning processes. However, as Roberts and Street (1997) have emphasized, the relationships between spoken and written language must not only be explained in terms of on-line cognitive demands of production and reception, or in terms of isolated (universal) features of spoken and written modes, but also in terms of the social contexts of orality and literacy in different cultural traditions. This view is reminiscent of Biber (e.g. 1988), who has shown in his extensive corpus-based work that conventions for oral and written texts holding in different cultures in terms of e.g. author and/or reader ‘involvement’, reference to the enveloping situation, and abstract vs non-abstract presentation of information differ widely. He points out that while there may certainly be a general tendency for spoken language to be more ‘involved’, this need not be so, and, further, while spoken discourse may indeed tend to be more ‘situation-dependent’ in that the situation of contact is physically and perceptually shared by speaker and hearer, this need not be so. Similarly, while reference is often made in spoken language to the (non-abstract) ‘here and now’ of the communicative situation, this need not be so.³ Besnier (1988), in a survey of the fundamental differences that are often claimed to exist between writing and speech, points out that if detailed ethnographic analyses and fully contextualized ‘thick descriptions’ are available, few general differences remain.

We cannot give a comprehensive overview of the on-going controversial discussion about orality and literacy in the framework of this chapter, nor can we give a satisfactory answer to the question of what orality and literacy ‘really’ is. Rather we want to focus our attention in this chapter on the observation made by several scholars that the information structure in linguistic action and the possibilities of processing knowledge seem to depend on whether the reception can proceed in recursive steps (as is the case with written material) or must rely (in the oral variant) on a single act of exposure to a series of communicative units (cf. Chafe’s 1982, 1994 notions of “integration” and “fragmentation”, and see Ehlich 1994). This information structure is created *inter alia* through connections within and across linguistic units, i.e., through linguistic forms which can be subsumed under the label of “connectivity” (cf. Rehbein 1999), and which are apparently sensitive to the specific production- and reception potential in oral and written language use.

‘Connectivity’ is also the central concept for MODE, one of the categories considered in the framework of systemic functional grammar (Halliday & Hasan 1989; Martin 1992). MODE is described by Halliday as “the particular role that is assigned to the text in a particular situation” (1989:34). In the interpretation by House (1977, 1997), MODE refers to both the channel (spoken–written) or *medium*, which can be ‘simple’ (e.g. ‘written to be read’) or ‘complex’ (e.g. ‘written to be spoken as if not written’), and to the degree to which potential or real participation between the interlocutors is allowed for. Participation can also be ‘simple’, i.e., a monologue with no addressee participation ‘built into the text’ or ‘complex’ with various addressee-involving mechanisms characterizing the text.

Ehlich’s (1994) ideas point in a similar direction. He assumes that the quality of linguistic action changes according as the use of specific linguistic forms changes in oral versus in written texts. And if there are differences in the linguistic means of creating connectivity in oral and written language use, then these should be reflected in the nature of the linguistic action realized by these linguistic means. We will try to verify this assumption by comparing an American speech with its German translation. Concretely, we will examine procedures, which process the internal and the external connectedness between utterances in order to realize the purpose or function of a text (Rehbein 1999:232). In the following sections of this paper we will analyse in some detail a text – “The Boa Principle” – taken from the corpus of the project “Covert Translation” inside the Hamburg Research Center on Multilingualism. We will conduct this analysis with a focus on the interaction between connectivity, and orality and literacy.

2. The Boa-Principle

The text entitled “The Boa-Principle” is available in written form in two languages: in its original American-English version and its German translation, each of which consists of an introduction and six major text segments.⁴ Both texts belong to a set of ‘mission statements’ which is made available by Procter and Gamble’s (P&G) public relations department. As a written document, the American article is based on a ‘macro-unit’ (a “Grossform” in the sense of Rehbein 1984) of linguistic action, which has, in large parts, been preserved in the oral delivery as a ‘speech’: The speech was given by John E. Pepper, P&G’s Chairman and Chief Executive, in January 1997 at Florida A&M University as part of a workshop for business students on the topic of “Operating Ethically in Today’s Business Environment”.

Unfortunately we do not know whether Pepper gave his speech on the basis of a complete manuscript or whether he only relied on notes. However, if we look more closely at the articles, notes provided by the editors make it clear that the speech, which is the basis of the American original, was edited before publication. The translation into German is then a further step in the process of textual and written ‘adaptation’, such that we are in a position to reconstruct at least three major steps in the movement from the speech to the published articles:

- (a) Speech at Florida A & M University
- (b) American Article
- (c) German Article

These steps in the production line are affected by differential production and reception constellations holding for each step (a), (b) and (c): In the case of the speech, for instance, the audience is engaged in a listener role. Since the audience is in the same room as Pepper, they can see him as an orator with his gestures, facial and bodily movements etc. Further, we may assume that several linguistic parts of the speech will have been made available to the audience in the form of written overhead transparencies. However, the bulk of the speech was clearly designed for auditive perception by the audience. Pepper and his co-present audience have thus shared a joint ‘perception space’ (‘Wahrnehmungsraum’ in the sense of Bühler (1934/1982: 124), in which both the acoustic and the visual dimension can be used.

In terms of Koch and Österreicher’s ‘conceptual’ orality and literacy, Pepper’s speech might be classified as more written and more “text-like” because of the ‘public character’ of the speech, the sparse interventions on the part of

the audience during the speech, the presumably low degree of spontaneity on the part of the orator, and the pre-fixed topic. Only with reference to medium (or mode in sense of Ventola 2001) and code, Pepper's speech might be regarded in Koch and Österreicher's terms as an example of 'transfer' from the written medium (graphic code) into the oral medium (phonic code).⁵ Since Koch and Österreicher's model of conceptual orality and literacy was developed in accordance with the *Freiburger Redekonstellationsmodell* ('speech constellation model') – a model which takes account of extra-linguistic features of communication such as demographic information about the interlocutors and information, the setting (time, place), but provides not theoretically elaborated link to language use – one may legitimately ask whether a classification of the linguistic realization of Pepper's speech in terms of Koch and Österreicher's criteria can in fact do justice to the nature of the speech. If we consider the different action forms which Pepper details in his speech and the linguistic means he uses, the complexity of the communicative character of the speech, i.e., its specific textual character, oscillating between orality and literacy and how it is shaped by the translation, might become more visible.

Thus, for instance in his introduction, Pepper systematically integrates elements of the actual speech situation into his linguistic action, using for instance deictic expressions such as 'here', 'today', 'you' and 'we', focussing the attention of the audience onto the speaker's "origo" (Bühler 1934/1982) in the actual speech situation. In addition Pepper topicalizes the interaction itself in its various dimensions. For instance, Pepper's thanking⁶ the moderator in A.I.1 (see Note 4) and D.I.1 ("Thank you, Oscar (Joyner), and good afternoon everyone" – "Danke, Oscar (Joyner)") can be attributed not only to his thanking Oscar for the introduction but also to his assumption of the speaker role, a role which he was presumably given as part of the routine of introducing his person. This transition from hearer to speaker role is characteristic for 'discourse', in which participants are co-present and contribute to the communicative event as both speakers and hearers. Because the institutional frame makes it amply clear that the invited speaker will be given the speaker role for a long time, Pepper's thanking routine is an explicitly polite action, which is presumably meant for acknowledging the public nature of the speech situation on hand.⁷

In later phases of the speech, Pepper integrates situations from the past (illustrative anecdotes from the history of the company and its products – clearly a PR effect) and prospects onto future situations by means of directives and action-regulating speech acts and maxims. He uses for instance in the context of processing the examples (Section C) (see Note 4) so called 'rhetorical questions', which may be interpreted with Grieshaber (1987) as "didactic ques-

tions". There are also direct instructions addressed to the audience/readers, for instance, when they are referred to as using material (Statements of Purpose, Values and Principles) specially made available to them. Linguistic action in both texts thus also concerns future actions on the part of listeners/readers, who are addressed as future leaders and actors in business.

Taken together, the communicative structure of the speech can be characterized as reflecting an interaction between past and future situations of linguistic and non-linguistic action, with which Pepper confronts his hearers/readers. Pepper uses various procedures that result in an 'appellative' character of the speech, i.e., he instructs his hearers/readers to mentally assume the role of decision making actors, and to use the knowledge provided by Pepper for future actions. Together with this role attribution, Pepper also communicates the knowledge he verbalizes for the purpose of 'tradition' ('Überlieferung' in the sense of Ehlich 1983, 1984). He produces a ('written to be spoken as if not written') 'text', and the knowledge verbalized in this text is supposed to be used by the hearers/readers later on in business situations.

The written articles, on the other hand, are addressed to readers for whom the written texts are accessible visually and in toto. The readers' perception process is not parallel to Pepper's speech, rather it is temporally removed,⁸ it happens after the occasion. Because of the written nature of the articles, the reception process can, if necessary, take place recursively, whereas the audience as listeners are confronted in their reception to a large extent with the fleeting nature of spoken language.

With reference to the issues of orality and literacy and text and discourse, the two texts can be characterized by their complex communicative nature, which will be described in greater detail in the following description of how different connective procedures operate in the introductions of the American original and its German translation. Let us first look at these introductions in their entirety.

3. The introduction: Original and translation

Table 1 contains the American and the translated German introduction. As opposed to the original, the translation explicitizes the segmentation of the text by numbering the linguistic units, which are separated via punctuation (more precisely by using full stops) and the use of paragraphs. Table 1 also contains back translations of the German translation into English (in round brackets)

Table 1.

A.I.1	Thank you, Oscar (Joyner), and good afternoon everyone.	D.I.1	Danke, Oscar (Joyner). <i>(Thank you, Oscar (Joyner))</i>
		D.I.2	Ich wünsche Ihnen allen einen schönen Tag. <i>(I wish you all a beautiful day)</i>
A.I.2	It's a real pleasure to be here today.	D.I.3	Es ist für mich ein Vergnügen, heute hier zu sein. <i>(It is for me a pleasure to be here today)</i>
A.II.1	We at Procter & Gamble have had a long and very beneficial relationship with this school.	D.II.1	Wir bei Procter & Gamble haben eine sehr lange und sehr fruchtbare Beziehung zu dieser Schule. <i>(We at Procter & Gamble have a very long and very fruitful relationship with this school)</i>
A.II.2	In fact, our partnership reaches back almost 30 years now.	D.II.2	Tatsächlich reicht unsere Partnerschaft nunmehr fast 30 Jahre zurück. <i>(In fact our partnership goes back nearly 30 years)</i>
A.II.3	Two of our former chief executives – John Smale and Ed Artzt – participated in this Forum Series.	D.II.3	Zwei unserer früheren Chief Executives – John Smale und Ed Artzt – haben an diesen Veranstaltungsreihen teilgenommen. <i>(Two of our former Chief Executives – John Smale and Ed Artzt – have participated in these series of events)</i>
A.II.4	Dr. Humphries, Dr. Mobley and members of our faculty have visited with us, and have done internships at P&G.	D.II.4	Dr. Humphries, Dr. Mobley und Mitglieder Ihrer Fakultät waren bei P & G und haben Praktika absolviert. <i>(Dr. Humphries, Dr. Mobley and members of your faculty have been with P&G to do a practical)</i>
A.II.5	And, of course, many of our graduates have joined our Company over the years.	D.II.5	Und natürlich sind im Laufe dieser Jahre viele Absolventen in unser Unternehmen eingetreten. <i>(And of course many graduates have joined our company over the years)</i>
A.III.1	So, it's easy to see why we continue to place such importance on our relationship with all of you.	D.III.1	Deshalb ist es leicht zu verstehen, warum wir dieser Beziehung mit Ihnen allen auch für die Zukunft so viel Bedeutung beimessen. <i>(This is why it is easy to understand, why we attribute so much importance to this relationship with you also for the future)</i>

Table 1. (*continued*)

A.III.2	We count on Florida A&M and are grateful for the interest you've shown in our Company.	D.III.2	Wir rechnen mit Florida A&M und danken Ihnen für das Interesse, das Sie unserem Unternehmen entgegenbringen. (<i>We count on Florida A&M and thank you for the interest which you have in our company</i>)
A.IV.1	When I was first started to put together my remarks for today, I asked for some input from Dr. Amos Bradford, who provided a broad list of subjects he thought you'd be interested in hearing about:	D.IV.1	Zur Vorbereitung meines heutigen Vortrages bat ich Dr. Amos Bradford um ein paar Vorschläge. (<i>For the preparation of my lecture today I asked Dr. Amos Bradford for a few suggestions</i>)
		D.IV.2	Er legte mir eine lange Liste mit Themen vor, die er für interessant hielt. (<i>He presented me with a long list of topics, which he regarded as interesting</i>)
A.IV.2	what it takes to win in the global marketplace, what it takes to be a successful business leader today, what unique strengths P&G has that have made our Company so successful for so long.	D.IV.3	Welche Voraussetzungen müssen wir erfüllen, um auf einem globalen Markt zu gewinnen oder eine erfolgreiche und führende Rolle in der Gesellschaft zu spielen? (<i>Which conditions do we have to meet in order to win in a global market or play a successful and leading role in society?</i>)
		D.IV.4	Er fragte, über welche besonderen Stärken P&G verfügt, die unser Unternehmen über einen so langen Zeitraum hinweg so erfolgreich machten. (<i>He asked which particular strengths P&G has that have made our company so successful over such a long period of time</i>)
A.V.1	And as I was trying to decide which of these topics to focus on, it occurred to me that there was, in fact, a common theme that tied them all together: and that theme is the very important issue of business ethics.	D.V.1	Als ich versuchte, zu entscheiden, auf welches Thema ich mich konzentrieren sollte, wurde mir klar, daß ein Thema alle anderen zusammenhält: Geschäftsethik. (<i>When I tried to decide which of these topics I should concentrate on, it became clear to me that one topic holds all the others together: business ethics</i>)

Table 1. (*continued*)

A.VI.1	Ethics are crucial to succeeding globally.	D.VI.1	Ein Unternehmen kann nur dann weltweit erfolgreich sein, wenn es sich an ethische Grundsätze hält. <i>(A Company can only be globally successful if it keeps to ethical principles)</i>
A.VI.2	A company that operates ethically, no matter where or with whom it's doing business, will have an edge, ultimately, over companies that don't operate ethically.	D.VI.2	Ein Unternehmen, das nach ethischen Grundsätzen handelt, wird letztendlich, ganz gleich, wo und mit wem es Geschäfte betreibt, gegenüber Unternehmen, die nicht nach ethischen Grundsätzen handeln, einen Vorsprung haben. <i>(A Company that acts according to ethical principles will in the end, no matter where and with whom it does business, have an advantage over companies that do not act according to ethical principles)</i>
A.VI.3	This is especially true for companies entering new markets and building new relationships with consumers and stakeholders.	D.VI.3	Dies gilt insbesondere für Unternehmen, die in neue Märkte eintreten und neue Beziehungen zu Verbrauchern und Aktionären aufbauen. <i>(This is especially true for companies which enter new markets and build new relationships with consumers and shareholders)</i>
A.VII.1	Ethics are key to individual leadership and personal success.	D.VII.1	Der Schlüssel zu einer Führungsposition und zum persönlichen Erfolg ist das Handeln nach ethischen Grundsätzen. <i>(The key to a leading position and personal success is the action according to ethical principles)</i>
A.VII.2	Individuals who operate ethically – and both expect and reward ethical behavior from those they work with – will gain an advantage; in tough times and over the course of their career.	D.VII.2	In schwierigen Zeiten und während ihrer gesamten beruflichen Laufbahn sind die Menschen im Vorteil, die ethisch handeln und von ihren Mitarbeitern das gleiche Verhalten erwarten und auch honorieren. <i>(In difficult times and during their entire professional career, individuals who act ethical and expect and also reward the same behaviour from their colleagues, will have an advantage)</i>

Table 1. (*continued*)

A.VIII.1 And finally, ethics are at the heart of Procter & Gamble's success.	D.VIII.1 Und, zu guter Letzt, ist ethisches Verhalten der Grundstein des Erfolges von Procter & Gamble. <i>(And, last but not least, ethical behaviour is the foundation of Procter & Gamble's success)</i>
A.VIII.2 You can analyze our marketing strategies, our organization design, our product development expertise – but if you really want to get at what drives our Company's success, the place to look is at our people and the values and principles, founded on ethics and integrity, that unite us.	D.VIII.2 Sie können unsere Marketing-Strategien analysieren, den Aufbau unserer Organisation, unser Know how bei der Produktentwicklung – wenn Sie aber wirklich wissen wollen, warum wir so erfolgreich sind, dann müssen Sie sich unsere Mitarbeiter und die uns alle verbindenden, auf ethischem Verhalten und Integrität beruhenden Grundwerte und Prinzipien anschauen. <i>(You can analyze our marketing strategies, the make-up of our organisation, our knowhow in product development – but if you really want to know why we are so successful, then you have to look at those basic values and principles which unite all our colleagues and us all)</i>
A.IX.1 So, given this common theme, I thought I'd use my time here to talk about why ethics are important, to share a few examples of ethical issues from our own experience and to challenge each of you to think about what you would do in the situations I'll describe.	D.IX.1 Ich möchte die mir zur Verfügung stehende Zeit nutzen, um darüber zu sprechen, warum ethisches Verhalten so wichtig ist, Ihnen dazu einige Beispiele aus unserer eigenen Erfahrung aufzeigen und Sie alle bitten, darüber nachzudenken, was Sie in der gleichen Situation getan hätten. <i>(I want to use the time available to me to talk about why ethical behaviour is so important, give you some examples for this from our own experience and ask you all to think about what you would do in the same situation)</i>
A.IX.2 After I've finished, I'll be happy to answer any questions you may have and, hopefully, to engage in a bit of conversation about the issues we'll raise here this afternoon.	D.X.1 Nach meinem Vortrag werde ich gerne alle Ihre Fragen beantworten und mich mit Ihnen über die Themen dieses Nachmittags unterhalten. <i>(After my lecture I will gladly answer all your questions and converse with you about the topics of this afternoon)</i>

for the benefit of readers with no knowledge of German. Emphases of certain segments of the texts in bold print are those of the original versions.

The introduction contains four sections (see Note 4), in which John E. Pepper first thanks the moderator Oscar Joyner and greets the audience (paragraphs I in both texts). In a second step, he informs the audience/readers about the long-standing ‘action system’ (‘Handlungssystem’) (Ehlich & Rehbein 1972:105), which exists between Florida University and P&G (paragraph II in both texts). Pepper’s illustration of the cooperation between the university and P&G functions as a transition for providing reasons why P&G wants to continue this cooperation, and ends with a statement proclaiming P&G’s current position vis à vis the university (paragraph III in both texts). The next major part of the introductory passage leads the audience to Pepper’s topic selection and the way he had been supported by a member of the university, who had asked him several questions. Pepper had then selected “Business Ethics” as the topic for his speech. In his view, it is the one topic which pulls together all the others (paragraphs IV and V in both texts). Pepper then presents this topic in the form of several guiding principles (paragraphs VI–VIII in both texts) before giving an overview of the structure of his speech and the ensuing discussion (paragraphs IX in the original text and paragraphs IX and X in the German translation).

4. Some differences in realising connectivity in original and translation

Differences in the linguistic realisation of connective relationships in the American original and its German translation can be detected in the occurrence of the following phenomena: temporal expressions; discourse markers (or, gambits), so-called ‘composite deictics’, ‘list structures’ and various types of ‘recapitulating’ linguistic means such as lexical and syntactic parallelism and repetition with which connectivity is created.

4.1 Temporal clauses and prepositional phrases

Having thanked the moderator, greeted the audience and having elaborated on the relations between A&M University and Procter & Gamble, Pepper moves on (from paragraph IV onwards) to a new topic, namely his procedure in his lecture. In the first sentence of this paragraph (IV.1, see E1), he starts with his preparations for the lecture, which he began, as we learn from the follow-

ing main clause, by asking a member of the university Dr. Amos Bradford) for support.

(E1)

A.IV.1	When I was first started to put together my remarks for today, I asked for some input from Dr. Amos Bradford, who provided a broad list of subjects he thought you'd be interested in hearing about:	D.IV.1	Zur Vorbereitung meines heutigen Vortrages bat ich Dr. Amos Bradford um ein paar Vorschläge. <i>(For the preparation of my lecture today I asked Dr. Amos Bradford for a few suggestions)</i>
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In the original, Pepper starts his transition with a subordinate temporal clause introduced with the conjunction 'when': "When I was first started to put together my remarks for today. . .". The German translation features a prepositional phrase "Zur Vorbereitung meines heutigen Vortrags". (For the preparation of my lecture.) The verb phrase "was started to put together my remarks for today" in the original is reproduced in German with a complex nominal object phrase "Vorbereitung meines heutigen Vortrags".

There is a comparable equivalence phenomenon at the end of the introduction, which Pepper closes with a reference to the discussion following his lecture (E2):

(E2)

A.IX.2	After I've finished, I'll be happy to answer any questions you may have and, hopefully, to engage in a bit of conversation about the issues we'll raise here this afternoon.	D.X.1	Nach meinem Vortrag werde ich gerne alle Ihre Fragen beantworten und mich mit Ihnen über die Themen dieses Nachmittags unterhalten. <i>(After my lecture I will gladly answer all your questions and converse with you about the topics of this afternoon)</i>
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Here again we find a temporal subordinate clause in the American original "After I've finished" and a prepositional phrase in the German translation "Nach meinem Vortrag" (after my lecture).

The temporal subordinate clauses in the original and the prepositional phrases in the translation both function as a break from previous textual stretches. At the same time they offer a starting point for the knowledge verbalised in the ensuing main clause. They thus establish both an internal connection inside the complex linguistic unit to which they belong and a connection to a previously occurring linguistic unit. In E1 this unit comprises an

antecedent textual stretch, in E2 a linguistic unit which belongs to the same paragraph (X).

Despite their ostensible similarity, the subordinate clause and the prepositional phrase realise different types of connectivity, which are – together with other linguistic means – responsible for the specific functional character of the linguistic units in question. In using a temporal clause, Pepper achieves a congruent (in the sense of Halliday 1994) presentation of states of affairs and events by means of stringing together sets of verb phrases featuring mental or material processes and, with them, human participants. By contrast, the translator of the German text substitutes such congruent descriptions with nominalizations or, in Halliday's terms, "grammatical metaphors", with the effect that the clause lacks the presence of human participants and thus an effective identificatory potential for the audience as well as, by implication, a forceful means of addressee orientation. Moreover, the prepositional phrase in the German translation results in a conceptual categorisation⁹ of the relevant knowledge, which covers the entire propositional content of the main clause.

Through the use of the preposition 'zu' in the German prepositional phrase in E1 "zur Vorbereitung meines Vortrags" ('for the preparation of my lecture') the object is qualified as a target category with which Pepper asks Dr. Bradford for advice. By contrast, the American original features the interaction between Pepper and Bradford as initial element of a series of action steps around the lecture, which Pepper describes in their chronological sequence. With the phrase "after I've finished" in E2, Pepper also includes the prospective ending of his current linguistic action and thus the end of a line of action as a lecturer and as a person speaking on his own, which then gives way to an interaction with the audience. Through such a procedure, the discussion with the audience announced by Pepper appears as a future element of a joint line of action, whose co-operative character is emphasized by the use of the collective speaker deixis 'we'.

The translation text, too, is concerned with the discussion planned with the audience following the monologue. However, in the translation this discussion does not appear as an element of a joint future action line. Further, the prepositional phrase does not refer to Pepper's current action. Rather, the lecture is categorized through the use of the preposition 'nach' (after) as a discrete state of affairs and only the ensuing finite verb ("werde ich" ('will I')) makes it clear that we are here dealing with a categorization of the lecture as a temporally limited event and a starting point for Pepper's ensuing actions (answering questions, conversing with the audience). As opposed to the original, where a common action is announced, the translation thus focuses on the lecture as an

event followed by further actions on the part of Pepper. As a result, the discussion with the audience appears more like a concession Pepper makes to the audience than a joint activity undertaken by two equal interactants.¹⁰

If we consider for a moment the affinity of the connective procedures in question to the production and reception conditions holding for orality and writtenness, we can come to the following conclusion: The use of prepositional phrases as a procedure of conceptual categorization in the German translation suggests that we are here dealing with an exploitation of the possibility of recursive reception typical of written discourse, whereas the linearised sequence in the English original text cannot necessarily be linked to specific planning- and reception conditions characteristic of written discourse but rather to the production and reception conditions holding for oral discourse. This analysis is supported by Ford (1992), who looked at the connective potential of different types of adverbial clauses involving intonation or punctuation in English conversations and written texts respectively. Ford concludes that

temporal specification seems to be the most straightforwardly connected to its associated assertion; [...]. In cognitive terms, this suggests that events and states are stored and retrieved in close association with their temporal grounding while their conditional and especially causal circumstances are less immediately retrievable. (Ford 1992: 7)

On this view, temporal subordinate clauses might be preferred over other connective procedures in oral discourse because of the role they play in storing and recalling knowledge.

Taken together, our contrastive analysis of temporal phrases and prepositional phrases has shown that the choice of prepositional phrases as connective procedures in the German translation results in changes of the translation's communicative quality (when compared to the original.) These changes are reinforced through the employment of other connective procedures which we will discuss in the following sections.

4.2 Discourse markers ('Gliederungssignale') and *zusammengesetzte Verweiswörter* ('composite deictics')

Differences between original and translation can further be found because the translation either does not reproduce¹¹ specific linguistic elements, or uses elements that differ functionally. Linguistic elements such as 'so', 'well' or 'now', i.e., so-called 'discourse markers' or 'gambits' as well as 'zusammengesetzte Verweiswörter' ('composite deictics') are a case in point. Discourse markers,

gambits and composite deictics have been described in the literature as being both closely related to the speech situation and functioning as a means of intervening into acts of negotiation between speaker (S) and hearer (H)¹²—characteristics that go hand in hand with their predominance in oral conversation.

In both the American original and the German translation, discourse makers or gambits frequently occur outside an utterance unit, in the so-called ‘left periphery’ (“Vor-Vorfeld” or “linker Satzanfangsrahmen”)¹³ and they are separated by commata (in spoken language by a separating pause) from the ensuing utterances. If one considers more than one or two utterances, one notices that these markers typically occur at ‘discursive transition places’ (“diskursiven Übergangsstellen” cf. Liedke 1994: 36), and that they connect both the preceding and the ensuing discourse,¹⁴ i.e., they function as a type of communicative link in the structuring of the discourse.¹⁵ Consider, for example, section A.III.1 of Pepper’s introduction (E3):

(E3)

A.III.1	So, it’s easy to see why we continue to place such importance on our relationship with all of you.	D.III.1	Deshalb ist es leicht zu verstehen, warum wir dieser Beziehung mit Ihnen allen auch für die Zukunft so viel Bedeutung beimessen. <i>(Therefore it is easy to understand why we attribute so much importance to this relationship with you all also for the future.)</i>
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After Pepper has mentioned the tradition of P&G’s cooperation with Florida University, he turns (in A.III.) to the present time: “So, it is easy to see why we continue to place such importance on our relationship with you all. We count on Florida A&M and are grateful for the interest you’ve shown in our Company”.

Through the use of ‘so’ as a discourse marker (A.III.1), Pepper performs a ‘para-expeditive procedure’, which is the result of functionalizing the originally ‘deictic procedure’ that ‘so’ contains.¹⁶ As a consequence of this act of functionalizing, Pepper directs the audience’s attention in two directions: to what was said and to what follows, without achieving linguistically an integration of these two parts of his speech. He leaves this integration to the audience, which is also attested by the linking phrase ‘it’s easy to see’. This procedure results from the fact that the positive assessment of the relation between A&M Uni-

versity and P&G, which is the object of the following utterance, assumes a truly original character.

In the German translation, “so” is substituted by “deshalb” (‘therefore’) in DIII: “Deshalb ist es leicht zu verstehen”. As opposed to “so” in the original, the expression “deshalb” is not set off from the linking phrase “ist leicht zu verstehen” via punctuation, rather it introduces, and is part of, a matrix construction. According to Rehbein (1995), ‘deshalb’ can be described as a ‘composite deictic’ (‘zusammengesetztes Verweiswort’), a connective element which – due to its two morpho-pragmatic parts¹⁷ – has a dual effect: Firstly, it causes the hearer/reader through the deictic component ‘des’ to refocus his previously verbalized knowledge. This knowledge is however not a discrete element of knowledge, rather, the deictic component results in making the hearer/reader refocus his attention to a type of knowledge which is, as it were, ‘ready’ in the hearer/reader’s imagination from his having previously read several linguistic elements.¹⁸ Secondly, the composite deictic instructs hearers on account of the component ‘-halb’ to integrate this knowledge in a specific way into the current utterance. In the course of its linguistic development, the component ‘-halb’ has turned into an element which categorizes verbalized knowledge as a ‘reason.’¹⁹ The utterance in the previous paragraph thus retrogressively assumes the characteristics of ‘giving reasons’ (‘Begründen’).²⁰ In this way, the relationship between the two paragraphs in the German text becomes rather ‘convoluted’ (‘verschachtelt’), i.e., it is not as linearly arranged as is the American original. Furthermore, the positive assessment is represented as something in need of reasons given for it – it is therefore a mediated one.

When Pepper explains at the end of his introduction how he will handle the topic “ethical conduct” in his lecture, he again uses the expression ‘so’ (see E4). Similar to his using ‘so’ in E3, Pepper also uses ‘so’ in E4 together with a linking phrase (“given this common theme”). This linking phrase²¹ makes the text cohere because it provides, in the sense of ‘dispositio’ (see below p. 107), ‘an order to befit speakers’ intention and genre’. In the translation, however, we find neither an equivalent expression to the “so” of the original text nor an equivalent to the linking phrase. Instead, the last paragraph of the introduction in the German text begins relatively abruptly with a preview of what is to follow in the lecture. While Pepper makes a connection between the ensuing lecture and the topic “ethical behavior” in the original, the information about what happens next given to the readers in the translation appears to be a purely formal act. This all the more so, because the original’s deictic expression “here” in the noun phrase “my time here”, which refers the hearers to the actual speech situation, is expressed in German through the complex phrase “die mir zur

(E4)

<p>A.IX.1 So, given this common theme, I thought I'd use my time here to talk about why ethics are important, to share a few examples of ethical issues from our own experience and to challenge each of you to think about what you would do in the situations I'll describe.</p>	<p>D.IX.1 Ich möchte die mir zur Verfügung stehende Zeit nutzen, um darüber zu sprechen, warum ethisches Verhalten so wichtig ist, Ihnen dazu einige Beispiele aus unserer eigenen Erfahrung aufzeigen und Sie alle bitten, darüber nachzudenken, was Sie in der gleichen Situation getan hätten. <i>(I want to use the time at my disposal to for talk about why ethical behavior is so important, give you some examples from our own experience and ask all of you to think about what you would have done in the same situation.)</i></p>
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Verfügung stehende Zeit” – a phrase which is not only characterized by a much greater lexical density than is the case with the equivalent expression in the original, but also evokes an impression of a premeditated formulation and is thus reminiscent of a written document.

4.3 List structures and compositional parallelism

According to Ehlich (1979, 1994), ‘lists’ are a special form of a text, which acts as a mnemonic procedure and facilitates the tradition of verbalized knowledge. As Selting (2003) points out, a ‘list’ has a special structure, which can be highlighted by the particular prosodic features it assumes in oral everyday conversations. Lists are also characterized by syntactic parallelisms and by the semantic compatibility of their individual elements.²²

The original text features such a list in the fourth paragraph of the introduction, where Pepper reports on the topics for his lecture suggested to him by Bradford (see E5).

In the original (A.IV.2), Pepper uses the interrogative pronoun ‘what’ to create individual slots into which elements of the list can be inserted. These elements resemble predications verbalised ex-post-facto. They represent variations for making the relative clause in A.IV.1 “who provided a broad list of subjects...” complete and concrete. The list assumes a homogeneous internal structure and a certain rhythmic quality because of the parallel use of ‘what’.²³

There is no such parallel format in the translation.²⁴ Rather, the list structure is broken up and the lost connection between the individual elements is

(E5)

A.IV.1	When I was first started to put together my remarks for today, I asked for some input from Dr. Amos Bradford, who provided a broad list of subjects he thought you'd be interested in hearing about:	D.IV.1	Zur Vorbereitung meines heutigen Vortrages bat ich Dr. Amos Bradford um ein paar Vorschläge. <i>(For the preparation of my lecture today I asked Dr. Amos Bradford for a few suggestions)</i>
		D.IV.2	Er legte mir eine lange Liste mit Themen vor, die er für interessant hielt. <i>(He presented me with a long list of topics, which he considered interesting.)</i>
A.IV.2	what it takes to win in the global marketplace, what it takes to be a successful business leader today, what unique strengths P&G has that have made our Company so successful for so long.	D.IV.3	Welche Voraussetzungen müssen wir erfüllen, um auf einem globalen Markt zu gewinnen oder eine erfolgreiche und führende Rolle in der Gesellschaft zu spielen? <i>(Which conditions must we fulfil in order to win in a global market or play a successful and leading role in society?)</i>
		D.IV.4	Er fragte, über welche besonderen Stärken P&G verfügt, die unser Unternehmen über einen so langen Zeitraum hinweg so erfolgreich machten. <i>(He asked what special strengths P&G has that have made our company so successful for such a long period of time.)</i>

compensated through the use of different connective procedures: the interrogative pronoun “welche” (‘which’); the coordinating conjunction “oder” (‘or’) (D.IV.3); the matrix construction realised by a *verbum dicendi* “Er fragte” (‘he asked’) (D.IV.4), to which the last element of the original list is added via the prepositional phrase “über welche” (on which). The rhythm of the original list format, which gives Dr. Bradford’s suggestions in the original text a certain systematic character of ‘togetherness’, is thus – and as it appears needlessly – destroyed in the translation. As a consequence of this divergence from the original, the individual suggestions appear to be rather arbitrary. While the fact that Pepper mentions Bradford’s suggestions in the original text and talks about how he uses them in the preparation of his lecture (see also below under ‘lexical repetition’) serves as an expression of appreciation of, and a deliberate empha-

sis on, fruitful cooperation between A&M University and Procter & Gamble in the future, this communicative quality is completely lost in the translation.

The introduction of the original text also features parallel linguistic structures as connective procedures across a number of paragraphs, for instance in A.VI.1, A.VII.1 and A.VIII.1 (E6), where the theme “business ethics” is unfolded.

(E6)

A.VI.1	Ethics are crucial to succeeding globally.	D.VI.1	Ein Unternehmen kann nur dann weltweit erfolgreich sein, wenn es sich an ethische Grundsätze hält. <i>(A company can only be globally successful, if it upholds ethical principles.)</i>
A.VII.1	Ethics are key to individual leadership and personal success.	D.VII.1	Der Schlüssel zu einer Führungsposition und zum persönlichen Erfolg ist das Handeln nach ethischen Grundsätzen. <i>(The key to a leading position and to personal success lies in acting according to ethical principles).</i>
A.VIII.1	And finally, ethics are at the heart of Procter & Gamble’s success.	D.VIII.1	Und, zu guter Letzt, ist ethisches Verhalten der Grundstein des Erfolges von Procter & Gamble. <i>(And, last but not least, ethical behavior is the foundation of Procter & Gamble’s success)</i>

The linguistic units appearing in E6 are marked (in bold print) as headings for the ensuing paragraphs. Because of their parallel syntactic structure (thematic expression plus copula) “Ethics are crucial, Ethics are key, And finally, ethics are...”, these units show firstly the interconnectedness of the text segments which they introduce, and which Pepper had already mentioned in the fifth paragraph of his introduction (see below ‘lexical repetition’). Secondly, they function as a kind of propositional schema (of a thematic character) for the remainder of the lecture, to be filled out with anecdotes from Procter & Gamble’s company history.

These parallel structures – aesthetically pleasing, effective and persuasive – are omitted in the German text. True, the translation does feature the adjective “ethisch” in the corresponding units, but – as opposed to the original text – “ethisch” does not appear consistently as a thematic element. In D.VI.1 and in D.VII.1 it belongs to the predicate of the linguistic unit. Only in D.VIII.1

is it used as a thematic element. This interruption of the syntactic parallelism also detracts from the interconnectedness of the respective paragraphs, damaging both the connecting thread running through the entire lecture and the appellative character of the lecture.

4.4 Lexical repetition

Before Pepper presents the three major points of his lecture, he uses the fifth paragraph of his introduction to talk about how he has used Dr. Bradford's suggestions to prepare for his lecture (see E7).

(E7)

A.V.1	And as I was trying to decide which of these topics to focus on, it occurred to me that there was, in fact, a common theme that tied them all together: and that theme is the very important issue of business ethics.	D.V.1	Als ich versuchte, zu entscheiden, auf welches Thema ich mich konzentrieren sollte, wurde mir klar, daß ein Thema alle anderen zusammenhält: Geschäftsethik. <i>(When I tried to decide which of these topics I should concentrate on, I realized that one topic ties all the others together: business ethics).</i>
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When Pepper was first involved (as we learn in A.V.1) in a process of decision making and considered Bradford's suggestions, he recognized that the suggestions were tied together by a common theme: "Business Ethics". Pepper therefore topicalizes mental processes, which are intensified by a repeated description of their content, literal repetition of the expression "theme" and repeated use of similar expressions such as "topics" or "issues". With this procedure, Pepper creates at the same time a considerable tension, especially because he fails to mention the topic of the lecture until the very end of the linguistic unit in question. While this tension is to a certain degree reproduced in the German text, the original's simulation of Pepper's intensive mental processes, is, however, clearly absent from the German text. Since Pepper's introduction is immediately followed by the naming of his major theses, the German text loses much of the original's cleverly devised plan. It also loses the original's processual, and thus "oral" character.

5. Conclusion

In our analysis we have tried to reveal how the fact that the use of temporal clauses in the English original and their translation with German prepositional phrases pushes the communicative quality of the German text into the direction of “writteness”. Further, we found that the positioning of certain discourse markers and gambits such as ‘so’ in the left periphery provides strong communicative links in the American original but not in the German text. And we saw how the employment of the particularly German device of ‘composite deictics’ (such as ‘deshalb’) partially compensates for the absence of the communicative binding achieved by the use of discourse markers in the English text, but creates linkage in a very different manner, one that is both less linear (more complex, more ‘devious’), and more mentally demanding. Where the American text simulates improvisation and oral impromptu talk, the German text indexes premeditated formulation not least because it features, to a much greater degree, grammatical metaphors and lexical density – two features which in Halliday’s (1994) view characterize written language. We have also tried to support this finding by providing in our analysis evidence of the differential use of various rhetorical devices such as lexical repetition and grammatical parallelism.

The Boa text’s macro-function is to persuade recipients to believe and act in an ethical way. Not only is this function realized linguistically very differently in the original and its translation, as we have shown in the reconstruction of the communicative quality of the linguistic units we have analysed, the German text also appears to be less rhetorically effective. Since Aristotle, rhetoric, the art of persuasion, has been the classical instruction of how to produce language that befits the situation and the addressee(s). As a ‘system for producing texts’, rhetoric traditionally comprised several phases: *inventio*, in which the ideas suitable for a set purpose (and a specific audience) are discovered in one’s mind; *dispositio*, where these thoughts are ordered to befit the speaker’s intention and genre; *elocutio*, the heart of the system of text production involving the translation of selected ideas into appropriate linguistic expressions and style levels; *memoria* and *pronuntiatio* instructing the speaker to memorize and deliver his speech effectively. Reviewing our analysis of the various connective procedures in the original and its translation, we might hypothesize that it is above all *dipositio* und *elocutio* which are less effectively employed in the German text.

This is not an isolated finding. The results presented in this paper clearly support many previous findings (cf. for instance Baumgarten et al. 2001;

Böttger & Probst 2001; House 2002; Baumgarten et al. 2004): German economic and popular scientific texts show a general tendency towards being ‘more written’ than their English counterparts, and this tendency is – among other things – a result of the conventionalised use of different connective mechanisms.

In the English and German Boa texts we have examined, we can see different ‘cultural traditions’ at work. In order to take account of these traditions, the translator seems to have employed a so-called *cultural filter* (House 1977, 1997), with which the translation, (a ‘covert one’ in the sense of House) was adapted to the new readers’ culture-conditioned genre expectations. As we have seen in this paper, the application of this filter has involved, among other things, the use of different means of connectivity in the original and its translation, a certain disregard in the translation for the macro-structure of the text and its function, and a transition in the translation from orality to literacy. As a result, the original’s communicative quality and, by implication, the nature of the interaction between speaker/writer and listeners/readers is substantially changed in the translation. The relationship between connectivity on the one hand and orality and literacy as well as addressee orientation on the other hand, which we have explored in this paper, is a highly complex one. We have approached this relationship with a qualitative approach and have undertaken a small qualitative contrastive text and discourse analysis. Given the nature of this data and the methodology we have chosen, our results need validation through large-scale quantitative corpus-based studies as well as triangulating data. While some of this research is already well underway in our research center, much needs to be done, if the research agenda is to keep up with the reality of language contact and its impact on multilingualism.

Notes

1. We want to thank Nicole Baumgarten, Claudia Böttger, Jutta Fienemann, Julia Probst, Jochen Rehbein as well as two anonymous reviewers for their constructive comments and suggestions.
2. The research presented here was conducted by the authors inside the projects they direct (‘Interpreting in the Hospital’ and ‘Covert Translation’ respectively). These projects are supported by the German Science Foundation (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft) in its Research Center on Multilingualism at the University of Hamburg.
3. For a more detailed discussion of Biber’s work see Baumgarten and Probst this volume.

4. The content of these text segments is partially identical with some of the graphically prominent headings (small capitals and bold face):

- A Ethical behavior is good business(A.X-XIX)
- B Values cannot be add-ons (A.XX-XXIV)
- C Examples (A.XXV-LIV)
 - a. Can Consumers trust you?
 - b. Wouldn't you like to know what your Competitor is doing?
 - c. Is it a bribe – or just the cost of doing business?
 - d. Is it unkind to be honest?
- D The ethics of Community Involvement (A.LV-LXIX)
- E Principles for creating an ethical environment (A.LXX-LXXXIV)
- F The Boa Principle (A.LXXXV-LXXXIX)

5. Crystal and Davy (1969:70) would call it 'written to be spoken'.

6. See Fienemann

(2000) for a discussion of 'Danken' ('Thanking') and its realisations as forms of 'polite action'.

7. Interestingly, we can see already at the very start of the speech/article a big difference between the English and the German versions in terms of the 'traces of the speech situation', i.e., the way Pepper greets the audience differs already substantially in the two texts: While 'and good afternoon everyone' (AI1) is a wish formula in 'optative mood', the German version (DI2) "Ich wünsche Ihnen allen einen schönen Tag" is a speech act in 'descriptive form' (cf. Rehbein 1999a), with the German verb 'ich wünsche' verbalizing the mood of the American utterance in lexical form – a procedure typical of written text.

8. The written text, and writing in general, serves, according to Ehlich (1994: 18), as a means of 'Verdauerung' ('Making to last') of something already said.

9. For a description of how prepositions function as 'categorizers' cf. Grieshaber (1999) and Bednarský (2002).

10. This analysis is supported by work conducted in the frame work of the project Covert Translation, cf. e.g. Böttger and Probst (2001), Baumgarten et al. (2004), Böttger (this volume).

11. With a view to the actions in the process of translation one might characterize the lack of expression in translations as an 'Unterlassen' (leaving out) within the process of 'reproduction' (cf. Bührig & Rehbein 2000) of the person doing the translation.

12. For an overview as well as contrastive German-English studies see for instance Edmondson and House (1981); House (1982, 1996, 2003); Liedke (1994), Hoffmann (1998).

13. Cf. e.g. Auer (1997) or Rehbein (1992). Even though the terminology may diverge with regard to naming the individual topological fields of a sentence or an utterance in research on the position of words in a sentence/utterance, there is nevertheless agreement about the communicative relevance of certain positions, which can be occupied by different expressions.

14. A comparable description of such elements and their function is already described in Edmondson's (1981) discourse model, which also features 'gambits' as multifunctional 'con-

versational lubricants' and 'everywhere elements'. For instance 'so' can function, in Edmondson's view, both as an 'uptaker' (directed backwards) and as a 'starter' (forwards-pointing), and is thus directed towards both the hearer and the speaker.

15. Thus, for instance, Güllich coined the term 'Gliederungssignal' (structuring signal) for expressions which are conceived as a "distributionell bestimmbare, einheitliche Klasse von textuellen Elementen mit einer gemeinsamen Grundfunktion, Texte zu gliedern". (A distributionally determinable unitary class of textual elements with a common basic function of structuring texts) (1970: 9).

16. See Ehlich (1987) for such a description of 'so' and how it is functionalized as a 'Gliederungssignal' (structuring signal) in instructional discourse.

17. See Rehbein (1995) for a discussion of the morpho-pragmatic composition of the individual components of 'zusammengesetzte Verweiswörter' and the reconstruction of its function from a functional-etymologic view, and cf. Böttger (2000) who investigates the special relevance these expressions take on in German business communication in comparison to their English originals.

18. Cf. Rehbein (1995: 172–174).

19. Cf. Rehbein (1995: 176–177).

20. Following Ehlich and Rehbein's (1986) and Redder's (1990) concept of the communicative deep structure constitutive of 'Begründen' ('Giving Reasons'), one might capture more precisely the knowledge verbalized in the utterance as a 'D-Element' used to restructure hearer knowledge inside the linguistic action pattern 'Begründen', while at the same time achieving a synchronisation of the 'Verständigungshandeln' ('negotiation of meaning') between speaker and hearer as the overall purpose of the action of 'Begründen' ('Giving Reasons').

21. See Siepmann (2003) for a recent insightful analysis of such connective devices, and see Doherty (2003) for a German-English contrastive description of discourse connectors.

22. Characteristics of lists, and in particular their tripartite structure, have already been mentioned by Jefferson (1990). Erickson (1992) and Lerner (1994, 1995) have investigated the function of lists in everyday talk and Müller (1989) explains the rhetorical functions of lists in narrations.

23. For a discussion of the role of rhythm in texts as a means of creating cohesion and coherence in advertisements see e.g. Bračić (2000).

24. Similar findings in German translations of English original texts in the genres popular science and economic texts can be found in House (2002); Baumgarten et al. (2004), and Böttger (this volume).

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Genre-mixing in business communication

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o. Introduction¹

Global business communication comprises a wide variety of texts written with different purposes for different target-groups by different authors in different languages. To facilitate understanding in multilingual business settings, many of these texts are translated from and into the *lingua franca* English. Translating is in itself a complex undertaking which is rendered even more complex when the genre of the original text is not known by readers of the target text or if the target text conventions differ from the text conventions of the source text. The paper will address this issue with reference to translations (English-German and German-English) of one business genre, namely corporate philosophies.

1. Definitions of genre

One of the concerns of linguistic research has been the classification of texts, and various parameters (e.g. Askehave 1999:13) have been suggested to group texts to genres, either according to linguistic features (e.g. Henderson & Hewings 1987; Biber 1988; Salager-Meyer 1994), or to situational features (e.g. Halliday 1978; Halliday & Hasan 1976) or functional features (e.g. Swales 1990; Bhatia 1993; Eggins 1994; Eggins & Martin 1997; Martin 1992). The latter approach particularly developed by Swales (1990) and Martin (1992) is based on the assumption that the primary determinant of genre-membership is the communicative purpose of a given text. Although Martin's genre theory is based on Halliday's systemic functional grammar, it extends beyond his work on language varieties. Martin's (1985:25) understanding of genre is that of a "[...] staged, goal-oriented, purposeful activity in which speakers engage as

members of our culture.” The staged and goal-oriented organisation of genre is expressed linguistically through a functional constituent structure referred to as the ‘schematic structure’ (cf. Askehave 1999:15). Whereas the primary determinant of genre membership is that of ‘purpose’, the schematic structure and linguistic features are regarded as dimensions in the realisation of genres (cf. Eggins 1994:36). This view is shared by Swales (1990) who defines genre not as texts but rather as

a class of communicative events, the members of which share some set of communicative purposes. These purposes are recognised by the expert members of the parent discourse community and thereby constitute the rationale for the genre. This rationale shapes the schematic structure of the discourse and influences and constrains choice of content and style. (Swales 1990:58)

On the basis of language use texts are therefore classified as belonging to particular genres on the basis of functional criteria, i.e., their communicative purpose. The communicative purpose is seen as “both a privileged criterion and one that operates to keep the scope of a genre as here conceived narrowly focused on comparable rhetorical action” (Swales 1990:58). Genres exhibit various patterns of similarity in terms of structure, style, content and intended audience so that they can be viewed as prototypical by the parent discourse community. Basing his views on Swales’ theoretical framework, Bhatia (1993) regards genres as

not only extremely versatile in that they can be constructed, interpreted and exploited at various levels, they can also appear in interesting combinations, such as mixed, hybrid, and embedded forms. It is even possible for expert writers to bend, or appropriate genres, bringing in interesting patterns of intertextuality and interdiscursivity. Genres also appear to form colonies, indicating interesting relationships amongst the members. All these factors make genre not only a very complex concept, but a dynamic one too. (Bhatia 1993)

Genres as constitutional communicative constructs realising specific communicative purposes are therefore not fixed but flexible, not prescribed but negotiated and at times even contested. Out of this arises a set of questions, especially when texts are translated and when the communicative purpose of the target language text deviates from the communicative purpose of the source language text: Does the translated text orientate itself according to the communicative purpose of the genre in the source language or the genre in the target language? What happens if the genre known in the source language is not known in the target language? How can one assess whether the text function of the source text

is maintained in the target text? The paper attempts to address these questions drawing on recent findings by the project “Covert Translation”.²

2. Methodology

In linguistic research, a variety of translation critical and translation didactic approaches have been developed (e.g. Reiß 1971; Reiß & Vermeer 1984; Koller 1972, 1992; Gerzymisch-Arbogast 1998; House 1997; Engberg 2002). Of these approaches, House’s Translation Assessment Model (1977, 1997) will be discussed in what follows as it attributes to the text function a comprehensive role extending beyond the mere use of language. House’s systemic-functional model which is applied as a *tertium comparationis* to analyse the relationship between an original text and a target text, is based on discourse analysis and speech act theory as well as on Halliday’s register dimensions *Field*, *Tenor* and *Mode*. These dimensions correlate with the ideational, interpersonal and textual functions of language and texts. The central categories will be defined briefly below, for a more detailed description see House (1977, 1997). *Field* captures the nature of the social action of the text, *Tenor* encompasses the relationship between the author and the reader and the author’s attitude towards the propositional content of the text. The dimension is divided into four subdimensions: *Stance* concerns the author’s attitude towards the knowledge presented and the author’s relationship to the readers; *Social Role Relationship* captures the relationship between author and readers; *Social Attitude* captures the social distance and the degree of formality between author and reader, and *Participation* captures the involvement of the reader. *Mode* is concerned with linguistic features creating cohesion and coherence as well as theme-rheme sequences and the macro-structure of the text.

The level of *Language/Text* in House’s model and the individual textual function are seen as two of four distinct levels, the other two being *Genre* and *Register*. *Register* is used as a general term for Halliday’s dimensions *Field*, *Tenor* and *Mode* interfacing the analysis of social context with the metafunctionally diversified organisation of language resources (Martin 1992:6). *Genre* is understood in the framework of House’s model as a socially established category characterised in terms of source and target text communicative purpose. Inside the translation assessment model, “genre might serve as a category linking register (which realises genre) and the individual text function (which exemplifies genre)” (House 1997:107). (Cf. Model of text and translation analysis, adopted from House 1977, 1997 on p. 65 of this volume.).

2.1 Hypothesis

Due to the globalisation of financial markets, English has established itself as a *lingua franca* in business communication catering to the increasing demand for texts simultaneously addressed to members of different linguistic and cultural communities. Such texts are either parallel texts produced simultaneously in several languages, or texts that are first produced in one language (most frequently English) and later translated “covertly” into different languages, i.e., to maintain the original text function. To achieve this functional equivalence between original and translation texts, a “cultural filter” (House 1977, 1997) is used to accommodate for differences in communicative genre conventions in source and target communities. The concept of a cultural filter can be given substance through empirical language-pair-specific contrastive pragmatic research pointing to differences in textual norms along different dimensions such as, in the case of German and English, directness vs. indirectness, orientation towards content vs. orientation towards addressees, explicitness vs. implicitness (cf. House 1996).

Given the increasing dominance of English as a global *lingua franca*, the project hypothesis is that in translations from English into other major European languages, such as German, French and Spanish, a cultural filter is no longer applied with the effect that cultural specificity in German, French or Spanish communicative conventions gives way to anglophone textual norms. The focus of the contrastive translation analyses is whether and how texts display differences in interpersonal or informative communicative orientation, in preferences for implicitness or explicitness and directness or indirectness in the description of events and states of affair, in information organisation and information density, in subject-referenced or object-immanent descriptions, and in degrees of spokenness and writtenness in texts.

Analysing source and target text on the lexical, syntactic and textual level allows one to assess the differences between the two texts and to establish whether, through the application of a cultural filter, the function of the original text is maintained in the translation by filtering out the source text conventions and replacing them through target text conventions.

3. Data

To validate the hypothesis, a corpus of covert translations and parallel texts has been set up comprising software manuals, popular scientific texts and business

texts. The data for the present analysis is taken from our business text corpus which is designed as a dynamic, implicitly diachronic corpus consisting of

- a primary corpus containing English original texts and German translations
- a parallel corpus with monolingual English and monolingual German texts for analysing monolingual text conventions and genre-specific norms
- a validation corpus with translations from German into English, English into French and English into Spanish as well as background information and in-depth interviews with translators and employees of Corporate Communication departments.

The business text corpus includes characteristic genres of business communication, such as product presentations, letters to shareholders, mission texts, vision texts, creeds and company philosophies.

The texts to be discussed in this paper are taken both from the primary and the validation corpus. The first text is an English corporate philosophy and its translation into German and the second text is a German corporate philosophy and its English translation.

3.1 Corporate philosophies – form and function

Corporate philosophies provide the basis for corporate culture in as much as they communicate to employees and to the general public at large, where the company is going and where it should be in future. Corporate philosophies lay the foundation for co-operation and synergy amongst employees and give long term objectives of corporate activities by triggering a gravitational effect which pulls the whole company (Simon 1999). Simon (1999) classifies corporate philosophies as follows: They can promote technologies; they can centre on new markets and the utilisation of distribution channels; they can be concerned with regional expansion, entry into new market segments, corporate mergers and the quest for market leadership, or they can aim to secure leadership in quality, service or cost. They can also focus on outdistancing, or catching up with a competitor and finally, they can be concerned with the well-being and the development of the staff. Not only can the variety of communicative purposes of corporate philosophies vary depending on the company and its corporate culture, but also on the company's country of origin.

3.2 Corporate philosophies – a contrastive view

Corporate philosophies are a well-established genre within corporate communication in the American and British company culture, but as yet, they are a relatively unknown genre in German business communication.

The reasons for this is to be found in the different roles of US-American, British and German corporate cultures. Firstly, there is a greater need to address not only current employees but also potential employees within the American labour market, in which inter-firm mobility is more marked than in Germany. Secondly, the nature of financial markets has been seen as a force for short-termism in US-American firms. Thirdly, the US-American economy is marked more by increasing competition, rapidly changing markets and the absence of a tradition of long-term close relationships between economic actors (e.g. suppliers and their customers) of the sort familiar in German business systems. This makes it more important for US-American companies to encapsulate their business philosophies in a way that makes them attractive to potential customers, whereas German companies traditionally do not communicate as much with company-external readers (cf. Ferner & Varul 2001: 6–10).

This tendency in German companies has changed in the wake of globalisation when the need to communicate company values to readers of different linguistic backgrounds has led to a rise in translations of genres such as visions. The translation of such genres presents a major challenge as a top manager of a multi-national company in Hamburg explained:

Our company is in the middle of a cultural change process. We believe that issues related to a cultural change process can only be tackled if everyone in the company gets involved in them. So it is important to generate a debate about our strategy, our creed, our values, and to formulate a corporate vision to communicate to everyone involved as to where the journey is going to. But texts communicating values, visions and creeds are still not widely known and accepted in Germany whereas they are quite well established in France and in England and especially the USA. Translating texts especially such as these present a huge problem, in a company like ours. Values must be communicated with a lot of emotions, they must be easy to remember and they must show how everything in a company is tied up with values. (Tonstead 2000)

Because US-American and British companies have recognised that corporate philosophies must be succinctly written and built on central ideas which are easy to remember (e.g. Häusel 1991:28), US-American and British corporate philosophies are characteristically written in a form of a religious text, invariably as a creed.

3.3 Corporate philosophies as creed

Creeds originate from religious contexts, but they are also formulated in constitutional contexts, and increasingly within Anglo-American corporate communication (cf. Böttger & Bührig 2004). Creeds give insight into the company's decisions and action principles and lay down as their core values a set of corporate responsibilities both inside and outside the company. In expressing a creed, you lay something open by committing yourself to what you stand for and what you abide by (Mensching 2000). By extension, this committal is very clearly and tacitly a denial of other creeds.

I will now turn to the analysis of the corporate philosophies.

4. Analysis

The discussion of the two corporate philosophies, namely the English original and its German translation and the German original and its English translation will contrast the translations under the register dimension *Mode* with particular focus on how connectivity is achieved by linguistic means.

4.1 Translation from English into German

Let us first consider a corporate philosophy from a British-Dutch multinational company.³

What is striking about this text on a macro-structural level is that the text has parallel beginnings in the first three paragraphs with the possessive pronoun “our” (I,1 “Our purpose in Unaport is...”, II,1 “Our deep roots are...”, III,1 “Our long term success requires...”). Together with the performative *verbum sentiendi* “we believe” in IV,1 the macro-structural parallelism lends a creed-like form to the text thereby activating the reader's genre knowledge.

The cohesiveness of the text is intensified by its theme-rheme structure, the presence of lexical repetition, (I,1 “everyday – everywhere”), and alliterations (I,1 “to anticipate the aspirations”, “consumers and customers”, “creatively and competitively”), and the presence of grammatical parallelism (e.g. the to-infinitive constructions “to meet”, “to anticipate”, “to respond” in I,1), parallelism of postnominal modification (e.g. III,1 “commitment to exceptional standards, to working together, and to a willingness to embrace”), and the paratactical cohesive conjunction “and”. In the final paragraph the deictic “this” refocuses the reader's attention on what has been said before to indi-

Text 1. Corporate philosophy

	Unaport's Corporate Purpose	Unaports Unternehmensphilosophie
I,1	Our purpose in Unaport is to meet the everyday needs of the people everywhere – to anticipate the aspirations of our consumers and customers and to respond creatively and competitively with branded products and services which raise the quality of life.	Wir als Unaport konzentrieren unsere Anstrengungen weltweit darauf, den täglichen Bedarf der Menschen zu befriedigen. Hierbei ist es wichtig, die künftigen Wünsche unserer Verbraucher und Kunden zu erkennen, um kreativ mit wettbewerbsfähigen Marken- und Servicekonzepten ihre Lebensqualität zu verbessern.
II,1	Our deep roots in local cultures and markets around the world are our unparalleled inheritance and the foundation for our future growth.	Wir sind in allen Teilen der Welt mit den jeweiligen Kulturen und Märkten tief verwurzelt. Dies ist ein großes Kapital, auf dem unser künftiges Wachstum fußt.
II,2	We will bring our wealth of knowledge and international expertise to the service of local consumers – a truly multi-local multinational.	Unser Wissen und unsere internationale Expertise kommen allen Kunden an allen Orten dieser Welt zugute. Damit sind wir ein multinationales Unternehmen mit multi-lokaler Ausrichtung.
III,1	Our long term success requires a total commitment to exceptional standards of performance and productivity, to working together effectively and to a willingness to embrace new ideas and learn continuously.	Unser langfristiger Erfolg ist nur möglich, wenn wir uns außergewöhnliche Standards hinsichtlich Leistung und Produktivität setzen, und wenn wir effizient und mit aller Bereitschaft zusammenarbeiten, neue Ideen durchzusetzen und immer wieder neu hinzuzulernen.
IV,1	We believe that to succeed requires the highest standards of corporate behaviour towards our employees, consumers and the societies and world in which we live.	Wir sind davon überzeugt, daß wir als Unternehmen nur dann erfolgreich sind, wenn wir uns gegenüber unseren Mitarbeitern, Verbrauchern, unserem Gemeinwesen und der Welt, in der wir leben, vorbildlich verhalten.
V,1	This is Unaport's road to sustainable, profitable growth for our business and long term value creation for our shareholders and employees.	Unaports Weg führt über nachhaltiges, profitables Wachstum zur langfristigen Stärkung unseres Unternehmens und seiner Substanz. Dies tun wir für unsere Kapitalgeber und unsere Mitarbeiter.

cate that this knowledge is to be incorporated by the reader into the processing of the new knowledge (V,1 “This is Unaport’s road to sustainable, profitable growth”).

By contrast, the German translation realises the parallelism neither on the lexical, nor on the grammatical nor on the macro-structural level as does the original, and therefore does not call to the reader’s mind the underlying credo structure and genre knowledge as does the original. This German translation does not only not build on the macrostructure of the credo, but it also does not translate the performative *verbum sentiendi* “we believe” into its German equivalent. Instead of this, it realises a matrix construction in IV,1 “wir sind davon überzeugt” (“we are convinced”) which does not evoke in the reader an equivalent genre knowledge. In both III,1 and IV,1 a “nur dann ... wenn” (“only if ... then”) construction is realised:

- III,1 Unser langfristiger Erfolg ist *nur* möglich, *wenn* wir uns außergewöhnliche Standards hinsichtlich Leistung und Produktivität setzen, und *wenn* wir effizient und mit aller Bereitschaft zusammenarbeiten, neue Ideen durchzusetzen und immer wieder neu hinzuzulernen. (*‘Our long term success is possible only if we set ourselves exceptional standards of performance and productivity, and if we work together effectively and to a willingness to embrace new ideas and learn continuously.’*)
- IV,1 Wir sind davon überzeugt, daß wir als Unternehmen *nur dann* erfolgreich sind, *wenn* wir uns gegenüber unseren Mitarbeitern, Verbrauchern, unserem Gemeinwesen und der Welt, in der wir leben, vorbildlich verhalten. (*‘We are convinced that we as a company will only then be successful if we behave like a role model to our employees, consumers and our community and the world we live in.’*)

The qualifying particle “nur” in combination with the deictic “dann” indicates to the reader that the “imagination space” (cf. Rehbein 1984) lined out is only accessible as long as the prescribed progressing sequence of steps towards a potential action as indicated by “wenn” is taken. The conjunction “wenn” functions as a shift in the reader’s attention to a new imagination space. The German translation verbalises indirect warnings twice whereas the English original, through the repeated use of the prepositions “towards” and “to”, gives expression to the orientation towards prospective actions as core elements of the corporate philosophy. Whereas the English original realises a true philosophy in as much as future actions and aims are outlined on the basis of a creed structure, the German translation neither re-enacts the genre specific creed structure nor does it linguistically realise future-oriented actions. On the con-

trary, two warnings are issued in which the speaker expresses his assessment of a risky situation which can only be mastered if the action plan verbalised is followed through unconditionally (“nur dann ... wenn” / “only if ... then”). The German translation, therefore, alters the character of the corporate philosophy in the source text.

4.2 Translation from German into English

The second text is a German corporate philosophy which has been translated into English. The company is a family run shoe business founded 90 years ago. Literal translation of the German will be supplied in brackets in the analysis below.

The opening sentence of the German original defines the central tenets:

- I,1 DUHAGEN ist ein Familienunternehmen, das an *traditionelle, christliche Werte glaubt und sie zeitgemäß umsetzt*. (DUHAGEN is a family-run business which strongly *believes in traditional Christian values, and implements them in an up-to-date context*.)

The ensuing proposition is introduced by a discourse marker prioritising the value mentioned:

- I,2 *Vor allem* der Dienst am Kunden wird bei DUHAGEN groß geschrieben. (*above all the service to the customer is writ large*).

To give evidence to this, I,3 identifies the action undertaken by the company (“Wir geben allen Kunden eine DUHAGEN-Garantie” (*We give a DUHAGEN guarantee to all customers*)), which is then substantiated by listing four noun phrases with qualifying adjectives expressing values (“Hohe Qualität, günstige Preise, modisches Angebot, freundlicher Service” (*High quality, competitive prices, fashionable range, friendly service*)).

A second affirmation of the central tenet is verbalised in II,1 (“Die Unternehmensziele spiegeln sich aber auch in dem menschlichen Umgang mit unseren Mitarbeitern wider”), the conjunction “aber auch” (‘but also’) marking the previous proposition as the most important, but not the only one, and elucidating it in an enumeration of nouns:

- II,1 zahlreiche Sozialleistungen, wie Schulungen, Gesundheitswochen, eine Betriebsrente und vieles mehr (*social benefits, including health awareness programmes, further training a company pension and more*).

Text 2. Corporate philosophy

	Philosophie	Philosophy
I,1	DUHAGEN ist ein Familienunternehmen, das an traditionelle, christliche Werte glaubt und sie zeitgemäß umsetzt.	DUHAGEN is a family-run business with a strong focus on traditional Christian values, implemented in a modern, up-to-date context.
I,2	Vor allem der Dienst am Kunden wird bei DUHAGEN großgeschrieben.	Central to the DUHAGEN philosophy is service to the customer.
I,3	Wir geben allen Kunden die DUHAGEN-Garantie: – Hohe Qualität – Günstige Preise – Modisches Angebot – Freundlicher Service	All DUHAGEN customers benefit from the DUHAGEN-Guarantee: – High quality – Competitive prices – Fashionable range – Warm, friendly service
II,1	Die Unternehmensziele spiegeln sich aber auch in dem menschlichen Umgang mit unseren Mitarbeitern wider, die zahlreiche Sozialleistungen wie Schulungen, Gesundheitswochen, eine Betriebsrente und vieles mehr genießen können.	Our philosophy is also reflected in our personnel policies. DUHAGEN employees, for example, enjoy a range of social benefits, including health awareness programmes, further training and a company pension.
II,2	DUHAGEN redet nicht nur von sozialem Engagement, sondern führt es auch aus:	In its social commitment DUHAGEN lives by the motto: “actions speak louder than words.”
II,3	So unterstützen wir zum Beispiel seit über 20 Jahren notleidende Menschen in Indien, fördern den Aufbau von Gesundheitsdiensten in Tansania und helfen Essener Obdachlosen.	Thus for over 20 years the company has funded aid to the needy in India, but is also involved in healthcare in Tanzania and – closer to home – in help for the homeless in Essen.
II,4	Dieser persönliche Einsatz wirkt auch in das Unternehmen hinein.	Such personal involvement affects people company-wide.
II,5	Er ist eine Identifikationsmöglichkeit für die Mitarbeiter, “ein geistiger Besitz, der verbindend wirkt.”	Providing employees with an idea to identify with, and with “a binding and positive spiritual value”.

A further affirmation is connected with the proposition in II,2 by a double conjunction ‘nicht nur ... sondern... auch’ stressing the inclusive nature of this proposition (II,2 “DUHAGEN redet nicht nur von sozialem Engagement, sondern führt es auch aus” (*DUHAGEN does not only talk about its social commitment but also puts it into practice*)). The affirmation is then explained in II,3:

II,3 So unterstützen wir zum Beispiel seit über 20 Jahren notleidende Menschen in Indien, fördern den Aufbau von Gesundheitsdiensten in Tansania

und helfen Essener Obdachlosen. (*Thus for over 20 years the company has funded aid to the needy in India, promote the development of healthcare in Tanzania and help the homeless in Essen.*)

The deictic pronoun “dieser” in II,4 refocuses the reader’s attention on the knowledge previously presented, in such a way that the reader can revert to it and integrate it into the processing of the newly introduced knowledge (“Dieser persönliche Einsatz wirkt auch in das Unternehmen hinein” (*Such personal commitment goes as far as affecting the company*)). The structure of the German original can be described as concentrating on certain values which are then elucidated in the following propositions.

Let us now consider the English translation. By contrast to the German original, the translation into English places greater emphasis on the role of the philosophy as the corporate core value by introducing the concept of philosophy through noun phrases (“philosophy” in I,2 and II,1 and “motto” in II,2). To facilitate understanding, I have supplied a literal translation of the German original in brackets.

- I,2 Central to the DUHAGEN philosophy is service to the customer. (*Above all, the service to the customer is writ large*)
- II,1 Our philosophy is reflected in (*The company aims are reflected in*)
- II,2 In its social commitment DUHAGEN lives by the motto: “actions speak louder than words.” (*DUHAGEN does not only talk about its social commitment but also acts upon it.*)

In the final proposition of II,5 – “Providing employees with an idea to identify with, and with ‘a binding and positive spiritual value’” – the English translation explicitly names the constitutive content of the philosophy, namely “values”, whereas the German original refers to it more vaguely as a ‘spiritual possession which can be binding’. The weight of the company creed is thereby given more emphasis in the English translation than in the German original.

5. Conclusion

Within global business communication, certain genres play different roles in different countries due to different business environments and their different business traditions. Corporate philosophies are genres with a complex set of communicative purposes in Anglo American business communication. By contrast, they have not yet been widely established in Germany, and their com-

municative purpose has therefore not yet been recognised in Germany. Recent project findings show that the creed structure originally taken from a religious context is characteristic for corporate philosophies. To assess whether the original text function is being maintained in the original, part of House's systemic-functional assessment model has been used. The translation analysis of an originally English corporate philosophy into German has shown that neither the underlying creed structure nor the central function of the corporate philosophy, namely to communicate future-oriented values, was reproduced in the German translation. Rather than verbalising future-oriented actions as does the English original, the German translation repeatedly verbalises indirect warnings which function to express the author's assessment of how to avert damage incurred in future action. Thereby, the genre of the original was altered in the German translation.

The structure of the German original corporate philosophy is derived from an initial verbalisation of the central importance of religious values, which are then explicitated in the text, yet without enacting creed structures on a macro-structural or linguistic-textual level. In the English translation, the communicative purpose of the corporate philosophy is given more emphasis by naming it more directly in noun phrases. The German original does not fulfil the communicative purpose attributed to an Anglo-American corporate philosophy text.

The analysis has shown that translation of a text belonging to a genre which is not known in the target language community leads to genre-mixing, in as much as the text conventions underlying the source text genre are not fully reproduced in the target text. And, as I have tried to show in this paper it is this shift which generates genre-mixing as an act of introducing Anglophone generic traditions into a linguistic cultural community via translation.

Notes

1. I wish to thank two anonymous reviewers for their helpful comments and suggestions.
2. The project directed by Juliane House as Principal Investigator was set up in 1999 as part of the Research Centre on Multilingualism at the University of Hamburg, funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG).
3. For reasons of confidentiality, the names of the companies whose texts are being used have been changed.

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PART II

Code-switching

Strategic code-switching in New Zealand workplaces

Scaffolding, solidarity and identity construction

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1. Introduction¹

Example 1²

- (1) Mike: you know my mate John eh
- (2) Kingi: yeah
- (3) Mike: yeah 'cause like when we were flatting up in Auckland he used to notice
- (4) that when I used to go out to my uncle's here recorded that like I used to
- (5) switch accents?
- (6) Kingi: yeah yeah yeah
- (7) Mike: and I never really noticed that until he said so eh
- (8) Kingi: yeah
- (9) Mike: yeah
- (10) Kingi: well that's true I mean I used to notice it of my old man no no he never
- (11) ever switched he always had his ratshit accent anyway
- (12) Mike: [laughs] yeah no he didn't like you were saying that when I'm at you
- (13) know when I was at varsity I talked different to when I went
- (14) out to Pahia

In this excerpt, Mike is describing the way he uses standard New Zealand English (henceforth NZE) at university and with his student flatmates, but unconsciously shifts to a distinctively Maori variety of NZE when he is back with his family in his provincial home town. We can infer that this colloquial variety is perceived as being less prestigious than standard NZE from Kingi's reference to his father's *ratshit accent* which *he never ever switched*. However,

young professional Maori people like Mike and Kingi who have become proficient users of standard NZE, also have links with a wider Maori community to whom being (and sounding) middle class is often seen as synonymous with an adoption of Pakeha values.³ They therefore retain both the ability and the desire to code-switch by shifting back and forth along a continuum between Maori and Pakeha English.⁴

Code-switching has been the focus of extensive sociolinguistic study for many decades and from many different perspectives (e.g. Weinreich 1953; Gumperz 1964, 1982; Poplack 1988; Milroy & Muysken 1995; Myers-Scotton 1993, 1998; Muysken 2000; Auer 1998). Researchers have examined linguistic or structural constraints on switching, for example, and the cognitive implications of code-switching, as well as exploring the wide range of social and discourse functions that code-switching may serve in different social contexts, including very specific interactional contexts in which switches may serve an emergent, dynamic discourse management function (Bailey 2000). This paper focuses on the social and discursive aspects of code-switching, exploring some of the functions of switches in the discourse of different ethnic groups in New Zealand, and discussing, in particular, the range of meanings which code switches may express in the New Zealand workplace.

2. Functions of code-switching

Research on the functions of code-switching typically includes switching between different languages as well as between different styles or varieties of one language (see Myers-Scotton 1998). At one end of the spectrum, the significance of specific choices and switches between a number of different languages in the “same” social situation has been the focus of detailed study (e.g. Myers-Scotton 1993; Li 1994; Milroy & Li 1995), while at the other researchers have narrowed their scope to very precise features of one particular language (e.g. Blom & Gumperz 1972; Coupland 1985). The stylistic significance of pronoun choice, for instance, has been a focus of study both in literary texts (e.g. Brown & Gilman 1989), and in face-to-face interaction (e.g. Coveney 2003; Ostermann 2003). Research on style-switching for special effects has ranged from its exploitation in the performances of drag queens (Barrett 1998; Besnier 2003), to the choice of effective ways of conveying a message on the factory floor (e.g. Bernsten 1998; Daly et al. 2004). In this paper, we draw on both ends of this spectrum to illustrate some of the complex functions that code-switching serves in New Zealand workplaces. We discuss switching between

<i>Transactional</i>	
Referential/informative	e.g. conveying information accurately
Discourse management	e.g. clarification/repair strategy
Heuristic	e.g. scaffolding to assist language learning or problem-solving
<i>Social/affective</i>	
Personal	e.g. constructing social identity or status
Interpersonal/relational	e.g. establishing solidarity; mitigating FTAs
Intergroup	e.g. highlighting or downplaying ethnolinguistic boundaries

Figure 1. Some functions of code-switching

Samoan and English on the one hand, and between different varieties of NZE on the other. The examples investigate the hypothesis that though the manifestations of code-switching are very diverse, the kinds of functions served by switches can be usefully analysed within a socio-pragmatic framework.

The functions of code-switching which emerged from our workplace data can be broadly analysed into the two over-arching categories of transactional functions versus social or affective functions, which have proved so valuable in a wide range of sociolinguistic research (see Holmes 2001). Figure 1 illustrates the sub-categories which emerged in our analysis, however in this paper we focus mainly on the social and affective functions of code-switching.

Transactional code-switching relates to the referential functions of language, and is used as a strategy to ensure information is conveyed clearly and unambiguously. Also included in this category are switches intended to assist the addressee to acquire the primary code used in the situation or to manage interactional processes such as turn taking or providing feedback. Thus in Example 2 below, Ginette, the Samoan coordinator of a production team in a soap factory, is talking to a group of packers in English to tell them they should stop ‘bagging off’ and start preparing boxes for a new batch of powder. A little later, she repeats the message in Samoan, specifically for the benefit of Murray, a temporary worker with limited proficiency in English, when she notices that he has not yet started using the boxes as instructed.

Example 2

- (1) Ginette: okay + there’s still three bags + (bins of bags I’ve told ’em) I don’t
- (2) want them + um he’s going to send good powder over here for the
- (3) boxes we need to get the boxes going + this is our target ++ our target
- (4) for today (18) got to /get the boxes moving\
- (5) Sam: /open it\ [laughs] (open it) [laughs] (12)
- (6)

- (7) Ginette: excellent that's good
(8) Sam: (so I've just gotta get some boxes)
(9) Ginette: yep +++ hello
(10) (Da)vid: where's the vacuum cleaner that you hook onto there do you know
or +++
(12) Ginette: (nah) +++ [calls]: David + where's the big vacuum gone: (7)
(13) Simon: [calls back]: did you take it home + (): (4)
(14) Ginette: David'll know (4)
(15) Murray [in Samoan]: aumai ae ta'atia na mea i totonu ae ave'ese le taga ae
(16) fa'agaioi pusa: ['bring it and leave those in there, remove the bag and
(17) start using the boxes']

The purpose of transactional code-switching is to achieve particular practical outcomes, hence the emphasis on conveying information or instructions accurately. By contrast, social or affective code-switching relates primarily to the relational or interpersonal functions of language. This category includes switches which contribute to the individual's construction of their social, ethnic, professional or gender identity in a particular context, as well as switches which are other-oriented and which emphasise what participants have in common, including such dimensions as work relationships and ethnic group membership (e.g. Cheshire & Gardner-Chloros 1998; Myers-Scotton 1983, 1993; Stubbe 1998). The distinction between the two categories, of course, is not absolute. Indeed, it is not always easy to draw clearly, since switches often serve both transactional and social functions simultaneously. Nevertheless, the two categories are theoretically useful as a way of describing the range of functions served by switches between language and styles in interaction. These points will be elaborated further in the analysis of examples below. First, however, we provide a very brief sketch of the New Zealand linguistic context within which our data is located.

3. The use of Maori, English and Samoan in New Zealand

The data we discuss below was contributed by New Zealanders from three different ethnic groups: Pakeha, Maori and Samoan New Zealanders. Pakeha are New Zealanders of European (mainly British) origin, the group who colonised New Zealand in the 19th century, and who now constitute the largest proportion of the New Zealand population; Maori are the indigenous population of New Zealand and constitute 14.7% of the population; Samoan New Zealanders

are relatively recent Polynesian immigrants from the Pacific, and constitute 3.2% of the population.⁵

English is spoken by 98% of the New Zealand population, and 83% of New Zealanders are monolingual in English (New Zealand Census 2001). Maori is an official language of New Zealand and the most widely spoken language in New Zealand after English. However, although 42% of the adult Maori population can speak and understand the Maori language to some degree, it is no longer widely spoken in a full range of social contexts. Only 9% of Maori adults in the 2001 Survey on the Health of the Maori Language (NZ Department of Statistics 2002) reported that they could speak Maori 'well' or 'very well', and the most common settings are traditional Maori contexts such as the marae,⁶ religious activities and education. Thus, despite efforts to maintain and revitalise Maori through a range of initiatives (see Benton 1996; Spolsky 1996, 2003), English is now the first language of most Maori people, and the language used in most domains in New Zealand society.

As relatively recent immigrants, the Samoan community in New Zealand is currently maintaining Samoan quite effectively, and Samoan is used in a wide range of contexts by Samoan New Zealanders, including in their interactions at work (Taumoevalu 2003). Of a total population of just under 115,000 Samoans resident in New Zealand, 81,000 or 70% speak Samoan, while 11,000 speak little or no English (New Zealand Census 2001). In this context, use of the Samoan language can serve as a distinctive identity marker for Samoan New Zealanders. English is the dominant language of almost all Maori people, although most have at least some familiarity with the Maori language. Thus it is not surprising that distinctive varieties of Maori English have developed, varieties which serve to express and reflect Maori ethnicity as well as positive attitudes towards Maori culture and values. Many of the linguistic features of varieties of Maori English, as well as specifically Maori ways of using English, owe their distinctiveness, in part at least, to the influence of the Maori language, and of Maori ways of interacting in Maori cultural contexts.

3.1 Varieties of Maori English

For many years the issue of what constitutes Maori English (henceforth ME) has been a matter of debate among linguists (e.g. Benton 1966, 1985, 1991a; McCallum 1978; Richards 1970). Some are even sceptical that it exists as a variety distinct from "broad" NZE. Certainly, all varieties of ME share the majority of their linguistic features (especially lexical and syntactic, but also phonological) with varieties of Pakeha English (PE). In other words, there are

many features which all varieties of ME and PE share, but where the frequency of forms in each variety differs. More recently, however, a degree of agreement seems to have emerged that at least two varieties of Maori English can be distinguished (Bauer 1994; Holmes 1997; King 1993; Richards 1970): firstly a variety distinguished mainly by pronunciation and used by educated middle class Maori New Zealanders, usually in more formal contexts, which we call “standard Maori English” (Holmes 1997); and secondly a variety used in a wider range of contexts by the much larger group of Maori people from lower socio-economic backgrounds, which we refer to as “vernacular Maori English” (Holmes 1997). These labels are useful for reference but should be regarded as covering a range of varieties, or treated as points on a continuum rather than as identifying just two clearly distinguishable varieties. Moreover, the features which Maori people draw on also include varieties of Pakeha English, thus providing a rich range of socio-pragmatic resources available for style switching in different social contexts.

3.2 Structural features of Maori English

A number of phonological, grammatical and lexical features of ME have been identified, though their exact place along the standard-vernacular continuum is not always clear. We provide here just a few examples.

Phonological features include the tendency for the distinction between voiced and voiceless consonants, such as /z/ and /s/, to disappear (Holmes 1996), and the use of an unaspirated /t/ in initial position in words like *time* (Holmes 1995a). Fronting of back vowels (Hall 1976; King 1993), and a closer pronunciation of the short front vowel [ɪ] in words like *kit* and *pick* (Bell 1997) have also been identified as features of ME. Moreover, a distinctive syllable-timed rhythm typically distinguishes ME from the more stress-timed PE (Holmes & Ainsworth 1996; Warren 1998). The Maori language provides a possible source for all these features (see Holmes 1997; Holmes, Stubbe, & Marra 2003).

Most of the grammatical features which have been suggested as features of ME are more typical of vernacular varieties of English throughout the world: e.g. higher frequencies of non-standard verb forms in ME than PE (McCallum 1978; Jacob 1991), supporting the point that ME is distinguished from PE on a continuum rather than by any dramatically different linguistic characteristics.

In terms of lexis, NZE includes many Maori words (Kennedy & Yamazaki 1998; Macalister 2000, 2003), but ME includes even larger proportions of Maori vocabulary, especially in “Maori” contexts, as Benton (1991a) notes,

or in order to signal a supportive stance towards Maori language, culture and values (King 1995). In addition, words from African American Vernacular English, such as the address term *bro*, currently tend to occur more often in ME than PE (King 1999).⁷

Although there are relatively few structural features which distinguish varieties of ME from other varieties of NZE, we suggest that these features tend to be particularly salient. The occurrence of just a few instances of such features may be sufficient to characterise a speaker as using some variety of ME. The same is true of pragmatic features of ME.

3.3 Pragmatic features of Maori English

Research on pragmatic features, such as the high rising terminal contour (HRT), and the pragmatic tag *eh*,⁸ provides further evidence of this pattern of features which are heard more frequently in the speech of Maori, and which have thus become associated with Maori English.

Young Maori use significantly more HRTs than Pakeha (Allan 1990; Britain 1992). While the HRT is not a feature of the traditional Maori language, Britain proposes that it has a special appeal to Maori people because it serves an important affective interpersonal function, indicating a wish for cooperation and agreement (see also Holmes 1995b; Stubbe 1998), an attitude consistent with the emphasis in Polynesian culture on the creation of involvement in informal discourse. This observation is consistent with the analyses of interactions between young Maori in the workplace (see below), where HRTs are one of a variety of devices which seem to be used to signal ethnic solidarity.

A similar pattern has been established for the pragmatic tag *eh*, heard in phrases such as *great game eh*, *time to leave eh*. Maori people (and especially males) use *eh* significantly more often than Pakeha (Meyerhoff 1994; Stubbe & Holmes 1995; Stubbe 1999). Hence it is not surprising that *eh* is strongly associated with ME by many New Zealanders.

3.4 Code-switching in Samoan

Modern Samoan has two distinctive styles, known as the *textitt*-style and the *k*-style (labels referring to the use of /t/ vs. /k/ in the same words in different styles). These are primarily characterised by the alternation of certain phonological features, along with some morphological and prosodic differences (Mayer 2001). The two styles are in a diglossic relationship to one another, with the *t*-style used to mark respect and formality in contexts such as

preaching, prayer and radio broadcasts, and in conjunction with use of “chiefly language”,⁹ while the colloquial *k*-style is used in more intimate and/or informal contexts such as the home, when joking, and in casual conversation. The *t*-style is the one usually taught to foreigners, but the majority of younger New Zealand-born Samoans do not have full mastery of this style or of chiefly language, with the result that they have a tendency to hang back from talk with older interlocutors in contexts where use of these more formal styles is expected (Hunkin 2003). In the traditional Samoan context, switching between the two styles can also function metaphorically as a device for creating or reframing the speech context and the perceived roles of the participants (Mayer 2001). In the New Zealand context, particularly in the workplace where proficiency in English is a prerequisite for advancement, it may be the case that switching between English and the colloquial *k*-style of Samoan serves a similar purpose, a point we will explore further in the next section. We turn now to a discussion of the ways in which various linguistic and pragmatic resources are used by the three different ethnic groups to construct both identity and social relationships in the New Zealand workplace.

4. Social and affective functions of code-switching in NZ workplaces

4.1 Constructing social identity

Code-switching is a very useful socio-pragmatic strategy for constructing one's social identity, and especially for conveying some of the subtleties of the interaction between professional and ethnic identity. The Wellington Language in the Workplace Project provides a database of interactions from a wide variety of different workplaces, including interactions in policy and advisory units of government departments, and from factories which employ many workers from non-English speaking backgrounds (see Holmes & Stubbe 2003 for a full description of this project and the database upon which this paper is based). Our analyses indicate that in all these work environments, both Maori and Samoan New Zealanders use language to signal and enact their ethnic identities, as well as to construct and reinforce good relationships with members of their own ethnic group in the workplace. In fact, as demonstrated in the illustrative examples in this paper, when people from Maori or Samoan backgrounds interact with each other at work, their shared ethnicity and minority status is likely to be a salient feature, and they make frequent use of the

full range of socio- pragmatic resources available to them to co-construct that identity.¹⁰

The examples which follow provides a clear illustration of some of the ways in which Maori people use the structural and pragmatic features of Maori English described above as resources to construct their ethnic identity in the course of their everyday workplace interaction. While it is clearly the case that Maori people draw on these resources to a greater extent in Maori contexts and at Maori speech events, it is also true that whenever Maori people interact there is the potential to refer to shared ethnicity and to perform one's Maori identity to a greater or lesser extent.

Example 3.1, an excerpt from a much longer interaction, illustrates this point very clearly since it focuses quite explicitly on the issue of ethnic differences. Aidan and Vince are advisory staff from a national government agency, who are evaluating proposals submitted by service providers. The two men both self-identify as Maori and are second language speakers of Maori, they are of similar age and educational background, and they have similar roles and status within the organisation. They know each other very well, and interact regularly outside the work context. The discourse provides clear evidence, both linguistic and contextual, that this is an interaction between Maori interlocutors who choose to foreground their shared ethnic identity and friendship within the work context.

Example 3.1¹¹

- (1) Aidan: the other thing about these guys is that they + write + they're
- (2) [in Maori]: tuuturu Maaori: ['knowledgeable in things Maori'] but
- (3) they're always trying to- /still prepared\ to be Pakeha=
- (4) Vince: /be Pakeha\
- (5) Aidan: =/so when they\ put their stuff in like this they=
- (6) Vince: /and I hate it\
- (7) Aidan: =put they try and put it in what we want to read /you know\
- (8) Vince: /yeah and I \reckon it's just bullshit but you know then again /I I can
- (9) can understand why\
- (10) Aidan: /but you can understand why\
- (11) Vince: 'cause I've /done\ it myself
- (12) Aidan: /yeah\ ++ yeah
- (13) Vince: you know but also-
- (14) Aidan: we do it /all the time\
- (15) Vince: /I was wondering\ whether they try to mask what they can't

- (16) Vince: [laughs] do er Pakeha fashion? you know like mask it by using all
 (17) this upbeat language because they haven't actually worked out how
 (18) they're going to do it or the strategies they've got in place or the
 (19) methods and all that sort of stuff?

Example 3.1 highlights the tensions the men feel between their roles as representatives of a government agency and their own identification with Maori ways of doing things, as well as the problems inherent in balancing these with Pakeha norms and expectations. They articulate this quite explicitly at several points in their discussion. The perceived conflict between their professional and Maori identities provides another reason for adopting a markedly Maori and informal style in this work interaction – it functions implicitly as a counter to their official role as gatekeepers for government funding. It is a way of “colonising” the workplace and making it a more comfortable place for them as members of the minority ethnic group. Moreover, because the men are involved in a task which revolves around specifically Maori concerns, their shared Maori identity is bound to be very salient, and by signalling it both explicitly and implicitly through their discourse, they temporarily create a uniquely Maori space for themselves within a wider Pakeha working environment (cf. King 1999). In Example 3.2, later in the same interaction, the two men are attempting to reach a consensus on what recommendation to make to the rest of the team regarding a particular proposal.

Example 3.2

- (1) Vince: um all this stuff is in Maori bro
 (2) Aidan: oh yeah I did read it I did read it
 (3) Vince: [laughs] I'm gonna take /photo\copies of that
 (4) Aidan: /yeah\
 (5) Vince: well do they ask for these back do they /ask for these\ back or can we
 (6) keep them
 (7) Aidan: /no\ you can keep them but that's what good about some of these
 (8) things is the forms that come (with them)
 (9) Vince: [laughs]: yeah: /[laughs\
 (10) Aidan: /you can (rip) them out eh\ like for the capability stuff and
 (11) + recording
 (12) Vince: you're a prof bro
 (13) Aidan: yeah
 (14) Vince: yeah + evidence of application assessment yeah oh I have no problem
 (15) with assessment evaluation [voc] it says test projects oral presentation

- (16) seminars + [inhales] um + er + lot of self assessment stuff in there +
 (17) performance test (re) examination and stuff they even do that I don't
 (18) know how they do it + be pretty amazing to actually visit there eh and
 (19) see how they do stuff eh

Even though this is a task-oriented workplace interaction, it remains informal and relaxed. Aidan and Vince make active use of a wide range of discourse strategies designed to maximise the level of solidarity between them. This high solidarity, informal style is consistent with Maori conversational norms, and thus helps to reinforce the construction of this as an interaction between Maori friends and colleagues within a predominantly Pakeha organisation. The style shift is signalled by a frequent use of colloquial expressions and swear words, regular joking and laughter, the use of informal discourse markers such as *you know* and *like*, and the frequent use of hedges, tags and vague references like 'stuff' rather than precise words or jargon. These all have the effect of reducing formality and ameliorating the 'technical' atmosphere, which is particularly associated with the Pakeha world for many Maori. In addition, there are clear indicators that these two men are performing their Maori identity, as signalled by the frequent use of the pragmatic tag *eh* and the address term *bro*, the use of syllable-timed speech, and other phonological features of Maori English described above as signals of Maori ethnicity. Vince in particular produces a significant number of HRTs. Aidan also suggests, somewhat tongue-in-cheek, that he is sufficiently fluent in Maori to be able to read formal documents written in that language, in response to Vince's observation that the proposal they are looking at is written in Maori.

4.2 Establishing/maintaining solidarity

There are numerous examples from our factory data where code-switching serves to establish solidarity or minimise face threats between Samoan team members. In all these examples, the speakers use the informal *k*-style of Samoan. The English used is also often very informal, but tends to be less informal when it is juxtaposed with Samoan – it may therefore be functioning like a de facto *t*-style.

Example 4 serves as a specific instance. Ginette is telling Lesia about how she reprimanded two of the packers (both Pakeha) for leaving the packing line without telling Lesia, who is the shift coordinator, and spending too long at 'smoko' (a short institutional work break).

Example 4

- (1) Ginette: [Samoan]: alu sam e aumai ona se'evai ae alu David i o e va'ai Peter
 (2) ou latu loa ou ote iai: ['Sam went to get his shoes while David went
 (3) to see Peter so I told them off']
 (4) Lesia: [Samoan]: va'ai ia ai: ['to see who?']
 (5) Ginette: Peter (4)
 (6) [scolds in Samoan]: f-atu tou faifaiaga mai i le simoko: ['I said to
 (7) him, you guys are slow coming back from your smoko']
 (8) [English]: what about us:
 (9) [Samoan]: a le simoko tagata lae o lae o lae faimai o o: ['those guys
 (10) still haven't had their smoko']
 (11) [English]: it's not good enough:
 (12) [Samoan]: a e mana'o e te alu o mai se mea le fia alu se mea: ['if you
 (13) want to go and get something or go somewhere']
 (14) [English]: let Lesia know so he knows where you are: (5)
 (15) [Samoan]: lo ua ou fai ia – francie ++ ou fai ia francie e au mai ni
 (16) ana: ['I have told Francie, I told Francie to let us have two of her']
 (17) [English]: temps: [Samoan]: se lua e fesoasoani i tua i pusa e toe
 (18) fa'a'avanoa mai ni tagata e mafai na run i pe'a – : ['to help out in
 (19) back with the boxes so the others may be available if we need to run
 (20) this side if-']

Notice although she tells the story mainly in Samoan, there are regular brief switches back into English – emphatic comments – (*what about us? it's not good enough; let lesia know so he knows where you are*). She then goes on (still mainly in Samoan) to report that she has told Francie (the rework coordinator) to let the packing line have two of her temporary workers. (She subsequently switches back to English when addressing two Pakeha team members.)

In this case, the code switching is clearly functioning as a positive politeness strategy, creating a feeling of solidarity between Ginette and Lesia. Lesia and Ginette are both fluent in English, but Ginette has chosen to switch to Samoan – this helps reinforce the main point of the story, which highlights the fact that Ginette has backed up Lesia's authority to the recalcitrant team members – they are on the same side. Interestingly, the points at which she switches back to English are framed as direct self-quotes – direct complaints and a direct instruction – whereas the sections in Samoan are reported speech cum narrative, thus implicitly setting up a 'them against us' dynamic – using the obvious evocation of shared Samoan identity via the switch into Samoan as a means

of constructing solidarity and a shared perspective on how the packing team should be managed.

Example 5 illustrates how a switch into Samoan, while still functioning as a solidarity device, can at the same time function as a positive politeness strategy, mitigating the force of a negatively affective speech act.

Example 5

- (1) Ginette: how did it get so low (5) how did it get so low (4) what no don't
- (2) know or no not watching or no got no idea
- (3) Lesia: not watching
- (4) Ginette: not watching [sighs]: oh:
- (5) ?M: /no idea\
- (6) Ginette: /why me\ lord why me
- (7) Lesia: no idea not watching from where you are (29)
- (8) Ginette: [Samoan]: (lae koloki): ['(its clocked)'] + but mate check that
- (9) might be the + [Samoan]: le iloa po'o
- (10) [English]: scoop: lae ua toe fa'aoga: ['maybe the scoops have been
- (11) used again']

Ginette's switch to Samoan (lines 8–10) mitigates the face threat of her rather trenchant public criticism of Lesia for not noticing the powder level was getting too low (lines 1–4), while perhaps also softening the force of her reminder to check the scoops (lines 9–10). This interpretation of how the switch into Samoan is functioning here is supported by her use of *mate* and *that might be* (line 9). It is also interesting and significant that the earlier direct criticism and exasperated comment *why me lord why me* (line 6) are in English. At this point (lines 1–6), where Ginette is emphasising her status over Lesia, her choice of English, the official language in the factory, can be seen as a distancing strategy. The later switch into Samoan could therefore also be functioning to reduce any distancing caused by the earlier interchange.

4.3 Negotiating ethnic boundaries

As mentioned above, Pakeha New Zealanders constitute the largest ethnic group in New Zealand. Our final example illustrates the fact that socio-pragmatic adaptations in the workplace are often a two-way process: Pakeha too may code-switch or style-switch for relational reasons. Indeed some Pakeha in our workplace data set demonstrated great skill in making use of features of Maori English and Maori ways of speaking to indicate solidarity with Maori

addressees in particular contexts. When policy involving Maori concerns was at issue, for instance, or when a majority of those involved in a discussion were Maori, there was often evidence of Pakeha accommodation to more Maori ways of interacting.

Examples 6.1 and 6.2 from our workplace database illustrate both these processes at work.¹¹ They are taken from the final phase of a weekly meeting between Jan, a senior manager, who is Pakeha, and Heke, one of her team leaders, who is Maori. The organisation for which they work is a government agency with responsibility for Maori concerns, but it is nevertheless a mainstream government institution in a Pakeha-dominated society. The rest of the meeting has focused on a number of misunderstandings and differing work expectations, and in this final section these issues are brought to a head. In Example 6.1, Heke indicates his compliance with what he sees as the expectations of a manager in a government institution, offering at some length to put more pressure on his team to improve their performance.

Example 6.1

- (1) Heke: oh I think they're just taking a holiday from the stress really
- (2) Jan: yeah
- (3) Heke: but I'm keeping the pressure on [laughs] + actually I- I wanted to- get
- (4) your advice about that I want to do a bit of wee sort of ra ra speech
- (5) at the beginning of like of planning day tomorrow we ARE stretched
- (6) people ARE starting to feel the pressure + but it's it's just the kind of
- (7) thing you know it's- if if we want to be in the business you're gonna
- (8) have to live with it you know that kind of thing but I want to say that in
- (9) such a- I'm starting to really become quite the manager now [laughs]
- (10) um um + and I don't- er I just I do want to say that- I want to say you
- (11) know look um you know if we- if we're gonna be good policy advisers
- (12) and we're wanting to be recognized alongside all the other central ones
- (13) then unfortunately this is the nature of it and you're gonna have to
- (14) work nights and compromise your [laughs]: weekends: and things
- (15) like that ...

Heke positions himself as a hardworking subordinate who is trying sincerely to meet Jan's needs and respects her greater experience. At the same time he claims solidarity as a capable new manager who is prepared to be tough with his own team when necessary: *I'm starting to really become quite the manager now*. In this interaction with a Pakeha superior, then, Heke signals his orientation to the objectives of the Pakeha government institution within which they work.

At the same time, there are indications in this excerpt of Heke's Maori identity, both in the phonological features of his speech and the use of a number of HRTs. Moreover, his laughter, not just in this excerpt but throughout the whole interaction, often takes the form of a rather high pitched, marked, distinctively (to New Zealand ears) 'Maori laughter'. It sounds embarrassed to Pakeha ears, and we suspect that in this context it is in fact a sign of embarrassment, as well as Heke's own response to his own semi-facetious humorous comments, which are part of his attempt to keep the interaction informal and relaxed. In the following excerpt, we see how Jan eventually breaks into Heke's monologue, to suggest a less 'full-on' approach.

Example 6.2

- (1) Jan: although I mean I can appreciate the that sort of message but on the
 (2) other hand um + don't sort of + sort of say that as something that
 (3) sh- that should be the norm /like\ that's
 (4) Heke: /mm\
 (5) Jan: really you know when things /are really\
 (6) Heke: /from time to time\
 (7) Jan: from time to time that it's not a good way of them expecting to
 (8) organise their work all the time
 (9) Heke: ae ['yes'] yeah
 (10) Jan: that they need you know it's the old work smarter sort of stuff
 (11) Heke: yeah
 (12) Jan: and we need to- to sort of be aware of we being a (friend-) family
 (13) friendly workplace

There is abundant evidence here that Jan is trying to get on the same wavelength as Heke and to indicate a sympathetic approach, both in the use of discourse particles, which heavily mitigate her propositions and in her use of features of Maori English, which signal convergence with Heke's speech. Her rejoinder *don't say that as something that should be the norm* is very heavily mitigated, and her speech is peppered with hedges like *sort of*, *like*, *sort of stuff*, and the addressee-oriented device *you know*, mirroring Heke's style in the previous turn. She adopts a conciliatory tone, which is reinforced by using a higher pitch, often associated with a 'feminine' ameliorative positive politeness style, and by lexical echoing, which signals her acceptance of Heke's proffered phrase *from time to time*.

Jan's speech rhythms, especially when she is being conciliatory, become more syllable-timed. This appears to be accommodation to what she thinks

of as a 'Maori style', rather than to Heke in particular, who in this interaction at least does not noticeably use such rhythms, and as such functions to further reduce the social distance between them. This interpretation is supported by Heke's use of the Maori *ae* in response to Jan's carefully worded suggestion. Jan's reference to the need for the organisation to provide a *family-friendly workplace* can also be read as an appeal to the Maori value system, which accords the *whanau*, or extended family, high priority, as well as reinforcing the importance of this issue more generally. Interacting with a Maori subordinate in a Maori government agency, Jan thus uses a variety of discourse strategies to signal her sensitivity to Maori cultural norms.

5. Conclusion

There is very little previous research on the social meanings and significance of code-switching behaviour in New Zealand workplaces; consequently this paper has been predominantly exploratory and illustrative in its approach. The socio-pragmatic meanings of code-switching which we have suggested clearly merit exploration in greater depth and in a wider range of workplace contexts.

Code-switching is a rich resource for constructing and enacting complex social and ethnic identities as well as maintaining and developing good social relationships at work. We have described in this paper some examples of the ways in which New Zealanders from different ethnic backgrounds draw on the range of rich linguistic resources in their verbal repertoires to achieve these personal and interpersonal goals at work. For Samoan New Zealanders, these resources include both inter-sentential and intra-sentential switching between Samoan and English; for Maori and even for some Pakeha New Zealanders, they include certain phonological, grammatical, lexical and pragmatic features which are associated more strongly with the speech of Maori New Zealanders, and whose origins can often be traced to the influence of the Maori language. These features constitute a set of interactional resources which can be drawn on strategically both to signal ethnic identity and to indicate solidarity and empathy with others, while also displaying a positive orientation to the values associated with the ethnic language and culture.

Professional Maori people such as those recorded as part of our workplace corpus, generally have a range of both Maori and Pakeha styles in their linguistic repertoires, and therefore have a number of choices open to them when deciding how they wish to present themselves in terms of ethnic identity. Some Pakeha, like Jan in the final interaction analysed above, also have access to parts

of the Maori English style continuum, which they can use strategically in their interactions with Maori people. Pakeha with a positive orientation to Maori culture and aspirations may make use of such features to indicate their solidarity in appropriate contexts. Samoan New Zealanders like Ginette and Lesia can make similar strategic choices about if and when to switch between languages to emphasise their shared ethnic identity and to negotiate the complexities of relative status and solidarity.

Previous research has indicated that Maori discourse features in NZE are much more likely to be used in contexts where all the participants are Maori, rather than where the majority are Pakeha (see Benton 1991b; Holmes 1997; Stubbe 1999). And, obviously, at least two speakers of Samoan are required in a workplace to make communication in their native language a possibility. (In practice, of course, the critical mass required to achieve this is usually somewhat larger.) However, style and code-switching, along with using culturally characteristic ways of interacting amongst themselves is one way Maori and Samoan New Zealanders can make working within a mainstream or Pakeha institutional setting more comfortable for themselves. For Maori, the use of an identifiably Maori speech style in workplace interactions can be a powerful strategy for “colonising” the workplace, by creating a metaphorical Maori space within Pakeha institutions where Maori linguistic and cultural values are valued and supported. Having (and sometimes using) the option of switching between Samoan and English in the workplace fulfils a similar function for Samoan workers. Drawing creatively on such linguistic resources in workplace interactions is one means of reinforcing the ethnic identity of minority groups within a Pakeha system, thereby making work a less alienating experience.

Notes

1. This paper draws on earlier work published in Holmes (1997), Stubbe (1998), Stubbe and Holmes (2000) and Holmes, Stubbe and Marra (2003). We would like to express our appreciation to all those who allowed their interactions to be recorded and analysed as part of the Wellington Corpus of Spoken New Zealand English and Language in the Workplace (LWP) databases, and to those who assisted with transcription. We also appreciate the useful suggestions from the anonymous reviewers. The Language in the Workplace Project was funded by a grant from the New Zealand Foundation for Research, Science and Technology from 1996–2003.

2. All names used in examples are pseudonyms. We have done minor editing of original transcripts in places for ease of reading; e.g. vocalisations and overlapping speech are not in-

licated where they are not relevant to the point being made. See Appendix for transcription conventions.

3. Pakeha are New Zealanders of European (mainly British) origin.
4. See Stubbe and Holmes (2000) for a more detailed discussion of this example.
5. These figures are taken from the 2001 New Zealand Census.
6. The word *marae* is used here to describe the complex of buildings and grounds associated with and including a traditional Maori meeting house.
7. This observation has also been made of other Polynesian groups in New Zealand.
8. In NZE, *eh* forms the nucleus of a tone unit, and typically occurs with falling intonation, features which seem to distinguish it from *eh* in other English dialects.
9. “Chiefly language” is characterised by particular vocabulary items, and by the use of titles and honorifics (Milner 1961).
10. Approximately one third of all the interactions collected in the soap factory included some Samoan. The extent of this ranged, however, from just a few words to a complete exchange in Samoan.
11. This example and the interaction from which it is drawn are discussed more fully in Stubbe and Holmes (2000).
12. This example and analysis originally appeared in Stubbe and Holmes (2000).

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Appendix: Transcription conventions

YES	Capitals indicate emphatic stress
[laughs] ::	Paralinguistic features/glosses in square brackets, colons indicate start and finish
+	Pause of up to one second
(3)	Pause of specified number of seconds
... /.....\ ...	Simultaneous speech
... /.....\ ...	
(hello)	Transcriber's best guess at an unclear utterance
?	Rising or question intonation
–	Incomplete or cut-off utterance
.....	Section of transcript omitted
... =	Speaker's turn continues
= ...	
[voc]	Untranscribable noise
?M	Unidentified male

Code-switching and world-switching in foreign language classroom discourse

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This paper focuses on the foreign language classroom. Switching between the language of the institution in which learning takes place and the language to be learnt, whether initiated by learner or teacher, may have many different causes, which are distinguished. The paper then focuses on various cases in which such code-switching signals a ‘world-switch’, i.e. a shift in framing from one type of discourse to another. Attempting to match code-switching and world-switching is however complicated by pedagogically-motivated teaching strategies, which seek to maintain the use of the target language at all times, and thus avoid code-switching as a world-switch mechanism. One consequence of this strategy is the phenomenon of world-superimposition – the case in which various pedagogic and communicative functions are carried out in target language utterances simultaneously. The question is then raised as to the acquisitional effectiveness of these different classroom managerial strategies. Some relevant classroom observational data, together with learner interview data is cited, before the conclusion is voiced that different kinds of code-switching and world-switching are communicatively and pedagogically licensed and appropriate in the foreign language classroom.

1. Introduction

1.1 Terminological issues

This paper is concerned with foreign language classroom discourse. The sense in which the focus of the collection of papers in this volume – ‘multilingual communication’ – can be said to conventionally occur in this setting is a limited one. The social constellation in the foreign language classroom involves a number of persons who may be attending a school, university or other institution, and are present in order to acquire some mastery of a language which is

unfamiliar to them, a language furthermore which is not a national language or indeed a widely used language in the cultural setting in which the classes are held. Additionally, at least one other person is present, being assigned the social role of teacher or instructor, and carrying a social mandate to assist the learning group in its learning goals. This teacher may or may not have a highly competent mastery of the language to be taught and learnt (the *target* language). In this paper, I shall only discuss classroom constellations in which there is some other language shared by all participants, which they would usually use for communication with each other outside of the foreign classroom setting. Let us refer to this language as the *common* language. It may be a or the national language in the cultural context in which the foreign language class is situated, it may be the language of instruction for other subjects inside the institution where the foreign language classes are held, and may moreover be the L1 of some or all of the learners, and also of the teacher.

The existence of a common language in this sense means then that communication in the foreign language classroom is ‘multilingual’ solely by virtue of the fact that the institutional setting is constituted for the teaching and learning of a foreign language. The social setting predisposes the participants to converse using the *common* language, while the institutional setting predisposes them to use the *target* language – under the constraints imposed by the fact that this target language is by definition not adequately mastered by a majority of the participants. Given however that the institution is also part of the social context, clearly both languages are a priori likely to be activated, and it is in this sense that ‘multilingual communication’ is likely to occur.

The sense in which a change-over from common to target language or from target to common language in the foreign language classroom can be designated ‘code-switching’ is also in need of specification. In fact, researchers into foreign language classroom learning and/or acquisition seldom if ever refer to shifts between target and common languages as code-switching at all.¹ And with good reason. The case of the foreign language classroom is clearly distinctive. Thus Vivien Cook offers a simple but useful definition of code-switching: “going from one language to the other in midspeech when both speakers know the same languages” (Cook 1991:63). This definition is roughly matched by that of Milroy and Muysken: “the alternative use by bilinguals of two or more languages in the same conversation” (Milroy & Muysken 1995:7). Both definitions are disputed in the technical literature on code-switching. For example the authors cited differ as to whether turn-sequential or turn-internal code-change defines code-switching. But the point here is that in the foreign language classroom, the critical issues are begged: do participating speakers in fact

“know the same languages”, for example? Are all parties “bilinguals” in the relevant sense? What do the terms “in mid-speech” or “in the same conversation” mean in the context of classroom teacher-learner interaction? Cook appears to recognise a difference between classroom and other contexts: he claims for example that resorting to L1 as a communicative strategy is to be called “language switching” as opposed to “code-switching” (Cook 1991: 68). He gives the example “That’s a nice tirtil”, and the text then claims that this is not code-switching “because the listener does not know the L1” (Cook 1991: 68). Accommodation is therefore for Cook language-switching, and not code-switching. However on the same page the example “Do you want to have some ah Zinsen” is cited as illustrating another type of communicative strategy, but is now cited as an example of *code-switching*. So, according to Cook, if I don’t know a term and switch, it’s the *code* I’m switching, but if you believe I don’t know that term, and *you* switch, it’s the *language* you are switching, not the code. This seems confusing, but maybe on this view learners are likely to switch codes, and teachers are more likely to switch languages. For my purposes in this paper, the point at issue is that the use of two (or more) languages in the foreign language classroom is a special case of ‘code-switching’ – whether one wishes therefore to reject the term *code-switching* in favour of an alternative such as *language-switching* is a matter of terminological preference, theoretical stance, or academic perversity. I shall (with some perversity reluctance) use the term code-switching to designate any use of more than one language in a discourse segment or sequence of discourse segments by one or more classroom participants, either turn-internally or turn-sequentially.

1.2 Communication and acquisition in the classroom

Communication and acquisition are related in the foreign language classroom in at least two ways. We can firstly view communication as a form of social behaviour towards which acquisitional processes are targeted. In other words, one acquires a target language, other things being equal, in order to be able to communicate in it. This much seems clear. On the other hand, theory-bound notions such as *pushed output*, or *meaningful input*, or *interactionally negotiated communication*, not to mention established pedagogic procedures such as *rehearsal* or *practice* suggest that communication is not merely the end of acquisition, but also the means. On this line of argument, then, we communicate in order to acquire. If we juxtapose these two perspectives, we can see why the view has sometimes been propagated that language acquisition and language use (i.e. communication) are essentially two labels for the same thing,

in that communicative contacts drive acquisitional processes, which in turn enable communicative contact. In other words:

The essential claim is that people of all ages learn languages best, inside or outside a classroom, not by treating the languages as an object of study, but by experiencing them as a medium of communication.

(Long & Robinson 1998: 18)

Such a theoretical view, as Long and Robinson point out, is as old as our records of language pedagogy itself. It has continued to be put forward since the late seventies, in theoretical guises of different degrees of sophistication, in part due to the development of Second Language Acquisition Studies, the dominance in many academic circles of Chomsky's nativist view of language acquisition (and its extension to second language acquisition), and the influence of Krashen's views, in particular his notion that "meaningful input" drives acquisition (cf. e.g. Krashen 1982, 1985).

The special nature of the foreign language classroom setting is however not adequately reflected by equating communication and acquisition. Long and Robinson's claim re the best way of learning "inside or outside of the classroom" takes no account of the radical differences between learning a foreign language in language classrooms and learning a second language outside of the classroom. Crucially, "experiencing the target language as a medium of communication" has somehow to be *contrived* in the former case, as there is no rationale for communicating in L2 whatsoever, other than the fact that the context is set up in order that persons learn so to do, as argued above.

We can of course accept that language acquisition requires at the very least contact with the target language, and the possibility of using it. If then the classroom is geared toward furthering acquisition, these necessary conditions have to hold. So it seems indisputable that some contact with, practice in, and use of the target language has to take place in classroom settings. It seems equally clear that some 'teaching' or 'instruction' of some kind also has to take place, otherwise no lessons occur and the foreign language classroom itself is not functionally constituted. The main goal of classroom teaching cannot be to create or simulate a communicative environment in which teaching does not take place. We may assume therefore that both 'teaching' or 'instruction', and 'communication' or 'language practice' are constituent for the foreign language classroom, though what these concepts might mean is at the moment quite open.

A link with code-switching may now be proposed: the 'communication' will necessarily involve the use of the target language, the instruction or teach-

ing may however be carried out using the common language.² Switching occurs therefore when communicative use and pedagogical presentation alternate. This model is familiar in various guises in foreign language instruction. For example, inside so-called grammar-translation methodology, printed materials provided input and opportunities for output in the form of exercises, translational and other tasks. The teacher's role inside this paradigm is essentially to 'explain' the language required for the given texts and learning tasks, insofar as the book does not also offer instruction, and further to evaluate learner output, i.e. give feedback on the learners' performance of the different tasks demanded by the text used. Such Feedback is given in a common language. Inside this teaching paradigm, it was the written language that was targetted, of course. Inside the audio-visual tradition, however, spoken language skills were targetted, such that the job of providing language samples for contact purposes could not be relegated to a textbook. Instead, written textbooks composed inside this paradigm were often accompanied by recorded materials, which were to be played to the learners, providing input, listening practice, material for oral comprehension, for oral practice, and so on. An implicit assumption behind this methodological approach was in fact that the non-native teacher might speak a less than adequate variety of the target language, and thus serve as an imperfect learning model. This implies then a clear distinction between language contact/language use (provided, for example, by recorded materials and/or the language-lab), and language teaching. Such an approach was in particular circumstances rationalised even further by having language lessons broadcast on radio or television at set times, such that these broadcasts could be incorporated into the school timetable, while the teacher was given supplementary materials, premised on the language materials broadcast centrally. The ultimate logic of this approach is in fact that the use of the target language by the teacher is to be avoided. His or her job is not to communicate in L2, but to 'teach' in L1. In practice, then, this 'transmission' model³ was often implemented as an indirect form of teacher training, as the teachers were also expected to learn from the centrally transmitted lessons.

We may suggest then from such teaching methods that if code-switching takes place in the foreign language classroom, it will be because some or all aspects of the *instruction* are carried out in the common language, or because activities occur which are extrinsic to foreign language acquisition, but require or at least allow the use of the common language. The point at issue in this paper, then, following the argumentation so far, is that if code-switching occurs in special ways in the foreign language classroom setting, it is because 'teaching' or 'instruction' or aspects thereof are carried out using a common language.

If the ‘teaching’ is achieved via the use of the target language, however, then – presumably – any code-switching that occurs in the foreign language classroom will not be essentially different from instances of code-switching attested outside of the language classroom. This conclusion seems logical enough, and is in essence correct, as will be shown in more differentiated detail in what follows.

1.3 Code-switching and world-switching

The notions of ‘world-switching’ and ‘co-existing discourse worlds’ were originally introduced in Edmondson (1981a) in an attempt to capture descriptively shifts in framing which occur in everyday discourse. Thus an utterance such as “Let us pray”, said in appropriate circumstances, signals a world-switch, as talk preceding such an utterance is differently targetted and framed from talk following. Discourse Worlds may also co-exist, as when an utterance is simultaneously addressed to different persons, having different communicative functions for these different addressees, as when for example a doctor via one utterance *reassures* a child patient, *informs* the child’s parents, and *instructs* the attendant nurse. These notions have further been given a psycholinguistic or cognitive interpretation, roughly as in frame-theory (see e.g. Edmondson 1990, 1991). For example, our perception of word-play, jokes, irony, and double-edged compliments (“You look marvellous in all that make-up”) is based on the cognitive juxtaposition of radically different world-views, triggered by one and the same utterance. For earlier analyses of world-switching in the foreign language classroom, and evidence that confusion can be generated thereby, see Edmondson (1981b, 1985).

The concepts of world-switching and world- superimposition have therefore both discursal and psycholinguistic interpretations. When we seek to come to terms with language in use, both perspectives are necessarily activated, as language is both an individual and a social good, such that it is individual speakers who mean, but what they put on record has social consequences. It is further clear that these dual perspectives link with the two central features of the foreign language classroom proposed above: communication is a social happening, and acquisition is a complex series of psycholinguistic events. In what follows, the functional perspectives taken on code-switching will embrace therefore both the psychological, speaker-oriented perspective, and the social, hearer-oriented functional perspective.

2. Code-switching in the foreign language classroom

In this section of the paper, different kinds of code-switching will be distinguished and analysed, covering the variables proposed in the preceding argumentation. The section is divided into three parts. In 2.1 various kinds of foreign language classroom code-switching will be distinguished, which signal shifts between the ‘teaching’ and ‘communicative’ activities which identify this setting. In 2.2 some further types of code-switching will be briefly mentioned and exemplified, which are *psychologically* motivated, specifically the case in which some code other than the target language (most commonly the language with which the speaker most closely identifies) is wittingly or unwittingly activated in the stream of target language talk. In 2.3 the focus will be placed on two *pedagogic* functions central to foreign language teaching, namely ‘providing explanations’ and ‘giving feedback’.⁴ Code-switching is one means of marking the onset of these pedagogic functions, such that preceding or following some ‘practice’ or ‘communication’ in which L2 is used, explanations and corrections may be given by the teacher using the common language. However, teachers may and do carry out these pedagogic functions using the target code, such that code-switching does not occur, but world-switching does.⁵

2.1 Transparent cases of world-switching

The activities we have so far simply called ‘teaching’ and ‘communication’ (i.e. target language practice) are necessarily ‘framed’, in the sense that they have to be announced, organised, possibly interrupted, and certainly terminated. In other words, various classroom management activities are carried out inside the classroom setting, which may serve (amongst other things) to set the framework for teaching and learning activities. Such management concerns may also entail breaking frame during target language discourse, for example when learners misbehave or misunderstand. Relevant functions occurring in the foreign language classroom include:

- marking the beginning and end of the ‘lesson’
- exercising ‘discipline’
- announcing a plan or procedure for the lesson in hand
- giving instructions regarding activities to be carried out subsequently (e.g. homework)
- being deliberately ‘friendly’, i.e. showing interest in individual members of the class outside of their degree of success in learning the target language.⁶

All these functions involve world-switching. Such features of teacher talk are of course not specific to the foreign language classroom, nor necessarily restricted to classrooms. What is specific to the foreign language classroom is that in carrying out such activities, the foreign language teacher may switch codes in switching worlds.

Macaro (2001) cites some clear examples, taken from French lessons conducted by student teachers in a UK context. In the following three cases, the teacher switches codes inside one turn:⁷

- (1) *Teacher*: Nick! Chewing gum in the bin.. ok on va faire!
- (2) *Teacher*: Jo, qu'est-ce qu'elle a dit, Jo? Qu'est-ce qu'elle a dit. Pardon? Okay stop playing with the dice!
- (3) *Teacher*: Regardez les deux feuilles.. vous devez donner tous les renseignements.. toute l'information .. vous avez compris?.. You've got to give all the information to your partner that's on the sheet .. ok.. and talk only in French.. Bon, allez, commencez..”

In (1) and (2) the teacher (a male in both cases) marks his world-switching between instructional and institutional roles⁸ via code-switching. In (3), the teacher feels it is necessary to resort to English in order to tell the class to speak only French during a group task, which from one world view may seem paradoxical, but from another discourse world perspective is perfectly logical. This teacher appears to be convinced that his own use of French is beneficial from an acquisition perspective, but that from a managerial perspective, understanding is imperative., and therefore the use of the common language is warranted (see discussion in Mararo 2001). However, the teacher then switches back to French (*Bon, allez, commencez*), although the function of this sequence is also clearly managerial. This switch may be motivated by the subconscious wish to reduce the apparent paradox, and to anticipate the appropriate language switch (and world-switch) announced in the utterance. Or again, if the instructions are repeated in English solely to ensure comprehension of what had been said in French, then the discourse marker ‘ok’ signals that this explanatory episode is terminated, allowing a reversal to the pedagogically preferred code. Further instances of such switching in Teacher Talk are recorded in the two Episodes produced under Data Set 1 below (cf. line 13 of Episode 1, and lines 7–9 in Episode 2).

Just as teachers may shift worlds, moving in and out of their different roles in the classroom, so do learners shift between their learning roles, their institutional or social roles (as students, or school pupils), and their personal

roles (for example, as close friends). Such role-switches by learners will usually link with world-switching, and may well involve code-switching. However, whereas the teacher-initiated switches referred to above mostly occur ‘on-record’, pupil/learner switches more frequently occur ‘off-record’ because of the social status of learners relative to teachers in classroom settings. Thus, Asides may be voiced by pupils, non-licensed Prompts may be issued to assist other learners, expressions of anger or irritation may be articulated, directed at some other learner, or indeed at the teacher. Although such utterances normally occur ‘off-record’ – i.e. they do not contribute explicitly to that social event called ‘the lesson’ – such utterances may be multi-functional. Thus a learner may purposefully prompt some other learner in a voice that can be overheard, thereby informing the teacher that he or she knows the required answer – so a Hint is directed at the learner prompted, while an Answer is offered ‘off-record’ to the teacher. A clear case of superimposed discourse worlds. Similarly, a complaint about the incomprehensibility of a teacher explanation may be delivered to a neighbour with a markedly loud *sotto voce* articulation.

To exemplify such switches, and other features of classroom talk that will be referred to later, consider the two episodes taken from Data Set 1:

DATA SET 1

English lesson in a German secondary school, circa grade 5. The precise provenance of the data is not known to me.⁹

Episode 1

- 3 L: (...) Gelnas, how old are you?
 4 S: Nine.
 5 L: Jacqueline, how are you?
 6 S: Fine, thank you
 7 L: Anna-Sophia, have you got a brother?
 8 S: No.
 9 L: Milena, how old are you?
 10 S: I'm fine thank you *ach so^^* I'm nine
 11 L: Nine.
 Saphira, g' morning
 12 Ss: morning.
 13 L: Jessica. Morning *^ seid doch leise* (said in an exasperated whisper)
 14 S: Morning.

Episode 2

- 1 L: Lena – Good morning.
2 P1: Good morning.
3 L: What would you like?
4 P1: Plum.
5 L: Here you are^ Good-bye.
6 P1: Good-bye
7 L: *Wer will denn mal meine Fragen stellen? Wer will den mal verkaufen?*
8 Ps: *Ich!/Ich will. ...*
9a L: *Saphira, Du darfst mal verkaufen.*
9b Who wants to buy a pear or something? ^ ^ ^ ^Cherine. O.K.
10 P2: Good morning.
11 P3: Good morning.
12 P2: What would you like for buy?

The teacher intervention in line 13 of Episode 1 (*seid doch leise*) matches (1) and (2) above in its functionality. Of particular interest here is the code-switch in turn 9 in Episode 2. The teacher has already changed over from role-play Salesperson to classroom Manageress in line 7 by switching from English to German, and continues as Manageress, allocating roles in both 9a and 9b. The switch back to English in 9b is therefore not motivated by a World-Switch. As I have no further data on these episodes, I can only speculate as to the grounds for this switch. Speculation 1: The teacher prefers when possible to Manage in L2, but switched to German in 7, in order to signal an abrupt world-switch. The first interactional sequence closes with the utterance 9a. Hereafter the teacher feels free to switch to English. It is also possible for example that the earlier nomination of the learner who assumed Lena's role in lines 1 to 6 was also conducted in English, whereas allocating the Salesperson role is a new managerial development. Speculation 2: the class reacts very noisily to the request for nominations in 7, as may be indicated in line 8: this teacher has learnt that code-switching to English can in itself serve disciplinary purposes, and this is why code-switching is carried out. This speculation may be supported by the observation that the strategy appears to work: there is no record of verbal self-nominations between the two segments of 9b in the transcript – we may assume therefore that voices were lowered, and hands were raised.

2.2 Speaker-motivated code-switching

Line 10 of Episode 1 is an instance of spontaneous learner-initiated turn-internal code-switching. The student/learner reacts to the teachers' input "How old are you" as though it were "How are you" – both elicitation patterns have been used in the preceding paired exchanges. The inserted Gambit *Ach so* evidences self-monitoring, and leads to a self-correction, i.e. the withdrawal of *I'm fine thank you* from the interactional field-of-play, and its substitution by the utterance *I'm nine*. The code-switching is motivated by the automatised availability of a linguistic expression in L1 German, and the non-availability of some matching automatised expression in L2. The switch is therefore speaker-oriented, and not socially or communicatively purposed.

This type of psycholinguistically motivated code-switching occurs then when the use of L1 (or some other highly familiar code) compensates for a lack of knowledge, skill or automaticity in the use of L2. 'Borrowing', or 'transfer' in one sense at least,¹⁰ might be deemed appropriate terms. In the *Ach so* example above, it is plausible to suggest that the switch was totally unconscious, but speaker-motivated code-switching of this type may also be conscious, and indeed communicatively strategic, i.e. the speaker in utterance planning comes across a discrepancy between communicative intent and linguistic resources, and switches codes as a communicative strategy (cf. the brief discussion of Cook's distinction between code-switching and language-switching above). In such cases, moreover, the code-switching, which clearly has a speaker-oriented psycholinguistic function, may well at the same time have or assume an interactional function. For example the switch may count interactionally as an appeal for help, such that the teacher or some other learner supplies the appropriate L2 term.

Teachers may in principle also experience difficulty in calling up a particular L2 expression, and resort to similar code-switching. Different of course is the case in which a teacher inserts a common language term or phrase into an instructional sequence in the target language (cf. "in such a case, we would in German talk of *begrenzte Zugang*, limited access, I think"¹¹), or the reverse case: the teacher inserts a target language expression inside a pedagogic exposition in the common code ("Soweit zur Thema on top of Sugartop Mountain").¹¹ In such instances the inserted material in another code is mentioned, and not used, and such cases will not be discussed further.

Data Set 2 below evidences different kinds of code-switching, including the speaker-motivated kind under discussion here. The three episodes are enactments of a scenario in which one embedded discourse world is being played

out by pairs of learners, while the teacher is accessible as a source of information, confirmation, or intervention. Learner or teacher may therefore initiate a world-shift, which may or may not involve code-switching. Thus in Episode 1, line 3, simple body address on the part of Red suffices to elicit advice from the teacher. Were Red's appeal fully formulated it might have taken a form such as "SHOTTEN ist ein bisschen komisch, oder? Was sagt man da?" (cf. Long's request for assistance in line 5 of Episode 3). Note that the teacher's first corrective Offer in line 4 is less than helpful, and is subsequently replaced. The use of *schwer* in line 7, together with a rising intonation and teacher-oriented body address makes it clear that this code-switch is speaker-motivated – at the same time the utterance has precisely the same function as the simple body-address in line 3, i.e. it is an appeal for help – it just so happens that *schwer* is a German term and *shotten* is (potentially at least) an English one. In this sense the fact that a form of code-switching is involved in the one instance, but not in the other is functionally incidental. Further ramifications of this interactional scenario are evidenced in Episode 2. Why does Pi insert the term *jetzt* in line 2? As the teacher later (line 5) gives an English equivalent which is immediately taken over, we may perhaps assume that this code-switch is speaker-motivated, i.e. grounded in features of the speaker's interlanguage. What is more interesting is that the transferred term *jetzt* appears to trigger the realisation that a switch to the present tense is required, and that this seems to be the learner's central concern, rather than finding an English substitute for the expression *jetzt*. This analysis is consistent with the fact that Pi's interlocutor in the role-play ignores the teacher-intervention in line 5, and responds to the question posed in line 4, i.e. Fi uses the present tense with *jetzt* as opposed to *now* in line 7.

DATA SET 2

Class 6, German Gymnasium, Role plays (interviews) based on the textbook Green Line 2, Unit 5D, have been rehearsed and are being enacted in front of the class. The teacher stands to the side of the players:¹²

Episode 1

- 1 Red: hello Christine
- 2 Blue: hello
- 3 Red: erm ^ you have shotten two goals (turns round to T)
- 4 T: (sotto voce) shoot
- 5 Red: (continues to look at T, apparently confused) ^^
- 6 T: shoot ^ shot shot

- 7 Red: (Turns to Blue) shot two goals^ was that very (turns to T) *schwer*?
 8 T: (sotto voce) difficult
 9 Red: difficult?
 10 Blue: No^ because Christine passed the ball to me and then I ^^^

Episode 2

- 1 Pi: Was the game^ difficult? (...further question/answer sequences...)
 2 Pi: how did you feel *jetzt*
 3 Fi: good
 4 Pi: (Establishes eye-contact with T) how DO you feel *je[tzt*
 5 T: now]
 6 Pi: now?
 7 Fi: I feel very good *jetzt*

Episode 3

- 1 Long: why did you pass
 2 T: (Interruption, non-interpretable)
 3 Long: pass ^ *habe ich gesagt*^ why did you pass the ^
 4 Blond: because she was near^ near the score
 (.....)
 5 Long: why have you scored a goal.. *erm was heißt*^ *warum hast du es ALLEIN getan*?
 6 T: on your own^ all on your own ...
 (.....)
 7 L: so here she just SCORED^like they say in the text^and sometimes you say SHOOT
 8 Long: and why did you ^ shot^shoot
 9 T: score
 10 Long: *Na*^ *was denn jetzt*? Why didn't you shoot all on your own?
 11 Blond: I can't shoot all on my own because St Anne's player was in front of me....

The code-switch in line 3 of Episode 3 of Data Set 2 is of the type referred to in 2.1 above, but in this instance the world-switch is learner-initiated! The learner offers a meta-comment in German on an explicit or implicit offer of assistance from the teacher. Long is equally 'cheeky' in line 10 (*Na, was denn jetzt?*).

2.3 Pedagogically-motivated code-switching and/or world-switching

The three episodes grouped together as Data Set 2 show how different discourse worlds inside the foreign language classroom can become confusingly superimposed. Moreover this confusion contributes in this data to some uncertainty as to which tense forms of English are appropriate at which times. We note for example that the use of the present perfect tense in line 3 of Episode 1 is only indirectly addressed by the teacher, such that the continuation in line 7 might be understood either as a shortened version of *You have shot two goals*, or of *You shot two goals*. Furthermore, we have already taken account of the fact that a shift from the past tense to the present tense is managed in Episode 2, and indeed implicitly sanctioned by the teacher. In Episode 3 then we find all three tense forms (*Why did you pass.. have you scored... I can't shoot*) co-occurring in bewildering disarray. It is plausible to suggest that world-switching and code-switching (or the absence thereof) are contributing to the accumulative grammatical incoherence of this total sequence.¹³

The teacher's role in the three episodes in Data Set 2 is a dual one. On the one hand she is a Facilitator, and offers linguistic assistance when this is requested (cf. lines 5 and 6 in Episode 3). On the other hand, the teacher is also a Controller or Monitor, and provides implicit or explicit correction and admonishment (cf. line 9 in the same Episode). These two roles are closely related from the teacher's perspective, as a major pedagogic goal in both cases is to enable a 'performance' that provides a model for the rest of the class. This is why any advice or correction offered by the teacher is immediately repeated by the learner concerned, i.e. officially taken over, and sanctioned as part of the ongoing role-play. In theory, the player concerned might react by saying, for example "Ach so, ja, ich verstehe", and then continue with the role-play without incorporating the proposed material. This does not however happen here (but see turns 22–26 in Data Set 3, Episode 1 below). However, there is a critical difference between Facilitating and Controlling. In the former case, the repair sequence is initiated by the learner, in the latter case it is initiated by the teacher. This has consequences regarding the comprehensibility of the teacher material provided. It is by definition the case that the learner who asked for assistance knows what he or she is asking for – there is not much opportunity for misunderstanding or confusion, if, that is, the teacher supplies the required linguistic material. Thus, in line 4 of Data Set 2, Episode 1, the teacher does not simply fulfil a facilitating role, providing linguistic material that can be taken over directly, she assumes additionally an *instructional* role, supplying the infinitive form, and seeking thereby to elicit a self-correction. This leads to confusion, which

is immediately removed when in line 7 the teacher abandons this instructional role, and simply facilitates by supplying the required form. Note further that when learners expressly request assistance, they use the common language – this makes sense, if only because the ability to ask for the required item in the target language would appear to imply knowing that item. On the other hand, there is rich scope for misunderstanding when the *teacher* initiates a repair sequence (acting as Monitor or Instructor), because other things being equal the learner concerned is unlikely to know precisely what was wrong, as otherwise he or she would presumably not have said it. So the teacher has to offer specific unambiguous corrective feedback, without completely disrupting the discourse world of the role-play. This is not always easy to achieve, which is why for example there is some misunderstanding, meta-comment or indeed criticism from learners following corrective teacher interventions (Episode 1, line 4, Episode 3, lines 3 and 10). We note too that the teacher uses the target language all through these episodes. The teacher, we might suggest, disguises and possibly obfuscates the world-switch occasioned by her interventions by *avoiding* code-switching, while the learner switches worlds efficiently by switching codes, and thereby, paradoxically enough, disturbs the flow of the role-play discourse less than does the teacher. This is not to imply that the teacher should consistently avoid using the target language: clearly target language forms requested by a learner or preferred by herself are going to be supplied in the target language! The point at issue is however how the teacher is to embed such non-elicited interventions in an utterance which clarifies the purpose the intervention serves, and, further, which code is more appropriate for such an utterance. There is then an argument to be made here that the *absence* of code-switching is contributing to the world-confusion occurring in the episodes in Data Set 2. It is, we might say, the *non-occurrence* of code-switching on the part of the teacher that is marked, that is ‘unnatural’ – such behaviour may be motivated by pedagogic ideology or acquisitional theory, but may also lead to communicative confusion.

Consider further the single Episode which constitutes Data Set 3:

DATA SET 3: Episode 1

*Class 10 in a German Gymnasium. Questions had been set on a distributed text for homework.*¹⁴

- 1 Pupil X: (Apparently reading out the question) .. what is it that economic progress going in that region at the beginning of the nineteenth century?

- 2 Teacher: You wanna take somebody?
3 Ps: (Offers, i.e. raised hands)
4 X: erm. Martin
5 Martin: (speaks very slowly) the strategic position is good \wedge (Raises gaze, smiles)
6 Teacher: [(Non-interpretable comment)
7 Class: (Laughter)
8 Martin: also {English pronunciation} \wedge there are the five Great Lakes \wedge surrounding the region
9 Teacher: the Lakes surround the region
10 Martin: OR \wedge this region is \wedge positioned by the five Great Lakes and the Mississippi is going round there
11 Teacher: is going? You mean erm it's actual action of the Mississippi?
12 Martin: No \wedge you understand \wedge No \wedge the Mississippi $\wedge \wedge \wedge$ (Circular hand movements, smiles, eye-contact with teacher)
13 Teacher: (quietly) tense
14 Martin: *Ach so* $\wedge \wedge$ THE ...
16 Teacher: a river is not GOING \wedge on \wedge what is the..
17 Two Ps: flow
18 Martin: flow \wedge the river flows
19 Teacher: or goes \wedge okay \wedge but not GOing
20 Martin: JA \wedge
21 Teacher: complete the sentence
22 Martin: *ich bin fertig* \wedge
23 Class: [(Laughter)
24 Martin: *jetzt weiss ich*] *nicht mehr* \wedge *was ich sagen..* the Mississippi $\wedge \wedge$ *scheisse* \wedge *ja* \wedge *tut mir leid..*

From an acquisitional perspective, the central issue in this episode is the non-acceptability of the use of the present continuous tense to describe a river's flow, i.e. Martin's observation in line 10 that "The Mississippi is going round there" is found to be non-standard. The argument can once more be developed here that the teacher's reluctance to switch worlds explicitly (and if appropriate to switch codes as well) contributes to some interactional confusion regarding the establishment of this linguistic insight.

We notice first of all that the question to be addressed by Martin, read out (or possibly improvised) by learner X in line 1 itself contains an -ING form that can most plausibly be reconstructed as belonging to a continuous tense inflection (i.e. "economic progress that was going on in that region.." is the most obvious grammaticalisation of this utterance). This expression is in-

directly sanctioned by teacher silence. Secondly, it is not clear whether line 9 constitutes an Uptake or a Recast, i.e. whether the teacher is simply acknowledging Martin's claim, or seeking to amend its form. As a Recast it does not work well linguistically, as it is not clear which elements of Martin's utterance are being recast. In fact, the only convincing interpretation – assuming one wishes to view the teacher intervention as a Recast – is that the teacher is reformulating *the whole utterance* – even though by referring to “the Lakes” instead of “the five Great Lakes” the textual implication is voiced that “the Lakes” are contextually identifiable, although this is not the case if Martin's whole utterance is being recast, so line 9 is *not* formulated as a Recast. Further, of course, the utterance does not work as a Recast interactionally, i.e. Martin ignores it, save that he offers an alternative or additional answer, possibly to show that he is capable of producing a Recast of his own. So it is not clear whether the teacher in line 9 is participating conversationally, via an acknowledgement, or whether she is breaking frame and switching worlds via a Recast. Note finally regarding line 9 that if the teacher *is* switching worlds here, the recast focuses grammatically on the existential syntactic structure (“There are the five Great..”), and not on the use of SURROUNDING as opposed to SURROUND, as the use of the -ING form here is not related to the use of the present continuous tense, as can be seen for example by the fact that stative verbs such as WEIGH, which cannot normally be used intransitively with a continuous inflection, can freely occur in structures such as “He stepped into the ring, weighing one hundred and fifty pounds”. Thirdly, the teacher's response in line 11 to Martin's new formulation seeks to combine two discourse functions in one single utterance. It is formulated as a request for clarification (“You mean erm it's..”), though all participants are probably aware that an indirect correction is also being performed. However, Martin plays the game in line 12, seeking to respond by explaining what he meant, as though no world-switch were involved, till the teacher is obliged to overtly switch worlds and roles in line 13. Even so, it is possible that the pedagogic point has not gotten across, because after the teacher begins to elaborate in line 16, other learners in the group offer Martin help, not by substituting a new tense (“goes” instead of “is going”), but by substituting a new verb (FLOW instead of GO). And indeed, of course, in the discourse world in which *content* and not *form* is being discussed, the contrastive intonation used in “the river is not GOING” in line 16 leads to the expectation of a *semantic* contrast. As in Data Set 2, the teacher does not switch codes throughout this episode. We note however that once Martin has recognised a switch into pedagogic discourse, he switches codes, first by using a German gambit (“ach so”), which contrasts nicely with his previous use of an English Gambit (“you under-

stand”) in line 12, and thereafter by speaking German, establishing thereby – also via what he says, of course – that the discourse world in which he was an actant up to line 10 (or possibly up to line 12) is no longer operative.

Data Set 3 thus reinforces the hypothesis put forward regarding Data Set 2: a world-superimposition strategy on the part of the teacher, involving non-overt world-shifting, and an absence of code-switching, may be pedagogically counter-productive, and interactionally disruptive. Conflating or superimposing ‘communicative’ and ‘teaching’ functions may lead to a dual malfunctioning – i.e. the communication is broken, and the ‘instruction’ (i.e. Correction, Recast or Feedback) is inefficiently and confusingly performed.

3. The learner’s perspective

Studies gathering data from different learning settings over a period of over 25 years have consistently shown that foreign language learners prefer and expect corrective treatment of their linguistic output, and that they further show a marked preference for clear, unambiguous and explicit correction (cf. e.g. Cathcart & Olsen 1976; Chenoweth et al. 1983; Kleppin & Königs 1991; Brandl 1995). This does not of course necessarily mean that such preferred teacher behaviours are the most conducive to acquisitional progress, nor does the preference for explicit, informative Feedback in itself imply that such Feedback should be couched in a language other than the target tongue. The evidence is however consistent with the position taken in this paper up to this point, namely that language-switching is communicatively, interactionally, pedagogically and acquisitionally justifiable for many specific functions in foreign language classroom contexts.

Further relevant information is supplied by the following selected excerpts from interviews with learners from the school in which the data in Extracts 2 and 3 above were collected. The consistent use of English in English lessons (apparently typical of the school concerned, as evidenced in the data cited above) was topicalised. In these interviews, two members of the research team conversed with different groups of two or more members of a particular class which the interviewers had attended as observers. One very general tendency emerged: the more advanced the standard of English, the greater the tolerance for the teacher’s monolingual pedagogy. This tendency was evident when comparing persons in different school years, and also when comparing pupils in the same year, and maybe indeed in the same class. In the latter case, the impres-

sion that one group of pupils was more ‘advanced’ than the other was based on observational impressions, and confirmation by the relevant teacher(s).

Here are some relevant excerpts from a group of three learners in a sixth year class (Group A):¹⁵

- P2: also ich hab eigentlich alles verstanden...
- P3: manchmal macht sie das so^ das ist ihre Art ^ sie erzählt irgendwas und was man eben versteht das versteht man..
- I2: und den Rest versteht man nicht oder?
- G: (Laughter)
- P2: ja dann fragen wir nach was heißt denn das oder das Wort ^ dann erklärt sie das..
- I1: auf deutsch
- P3: nee auf [Englisch]
- G: Englisch]
- I1: würde euch das helfen ^hilft euch die Muttersprache^ das Deutsche dabei oder fändet ihr es besser wenn das alles auf English bleibt?
- P3: auf Deutsch
- P2: sie redet ja sowieso die ganze Zeit auf Englisch
- I1: findet ihr das gut? man kann ja beides machen
- P2: ich finde das gut
- I1: findest du gut ^ warum?
- P3: da da lernt man dann zum Beispiel^ wenn man dann in England ist ^ dann spricht man ja auch nicht plötzlich auf Deutsch oder so.

In another small sixth-year group (Group B), of more moderate achievers, a collective opinion in favour of the use of German as the preferred code for grammatical and lexical clarification emerged:

- Px: ja also die Hauptsache ist eigentlich dass sie es auf Deutsch sagt ^dann kapiert man sowieso alles da gibt’s auch nichts mit aufschreiben oder so^ also das ist einfach^ da kapiert man einfach am meisten wenn sie es auf Deutsch alles sagt^ dann kann man es ja vielleicht auf Englisch wiederholen oder so.

This group also make the point that although in theory the pupils can always ask for a clarification of something they have not understood, in practice they do so relatively seldom, relative to the frequency of unclear cases. A Class 10 group (Group C) displays a tolerance of the teacher’s use of English, combined with a clear preference for receiving some explanations in German (“ja nur wenn irgendwas ganz kompliziert ist dann ist es besser wenn man das auf Deutsch ausdrückt”). This group tells how they as learners often resort to Ger-

man when asking questions (“ja da kommt sie \wedge kann nicht gegenan \wedge dass wir Deutsch reden”), and that the teacher accepts this necessity, though she always answers in English. Two further compromising standpoints are proposed by two further groups. The first one (Group F) simply claims a differentiation is necessary:

- Px: Es kommt darauf an \wedge es ist immer unterscheidlich \wedge Manchmal hilft es wenn sie etwas auf Englisch erklärt \wedge manchmal nicht \wedge und dann erst wenn sie es auf [Deutsch sagt
S2: ja ja] (bestätigend) würd ich auch sagen

Group G, on the other hand, develops collectively the following model:

1. The teacher narrates in English
2. Feedback evidencing non-comprehension
3. Teacher attempts explanation in English
4. Non-comprehension (Stages 3 and 4 may be repeated)
5. Teacher explains in German

This was more precisely formulated by one member of this group:

“Meistens erklärt sie es ja eigentlich dann erst auf Deutsch \wedge wenn wir es auf Englisch nicht verstanden haben”.

In interpreting this data, one needs to keep in mind the reservations re validity that apply for elicited interview data of any kind. Thus a tendency for pupils higher up the school to be more inclined to accept the English teaching philosophy apparently practised in the school might simply establish that they have become accustomed to this norm. In carrying out these interviews, we noticed further a protectionist stance being taken on occasion, i.e. a wish to support your teacher against interventionist outsiders, a reluctance, as it were, to enter into a conspiracy of critical disloyalty.¹⁶ The picture that emerges from this small data base is nonetheless a differentiated one, and gives some support to the view that for specific pedagogic functions, the switch to a common code is eminently justifiable, and arguably preferable.

4. Summary

This paper has examined some aspects of code-switching in the foreign language classroom, when a common code, i.e. a means of communication additional to the target tongue, is available. The base hypothesis was confirmed:

code-switching in this context is *sui generis*, and embraces many different forms and functions, in part because the target language functions both as the subject to be taught, and a means of communication inside the classroom setting. One relevant variable therefore concerning code-switching is which discourse world or worlds is or are operating at a specific point in time. Additionally, discursive, psycholinguistic and pedagogical motivations for code-switching have been differentiated and illustrated. Foreign language teachers in some educational cultures may seek to *avoid* code-switching, i.e. may seek not to use L1 in L2 lessons. Such a monolingual stance, it is argued, may lead to communicative and pedagogic disarray. If this is accepted, then, there are *a priori* grounds for arguing that switching to the common code is likely to increase comprehensibility, raise awareness, and may be less than disruptive of target language discourse. There is every ground for believing therefore that code-switching in the foreign language classroom is likely to continue to surface, on grounds of general discourse framing (cf. 2.1 above), individual psycholinguistic necessity (2.2) and indeed efficient and effective pedagogic practice (2.3). In the light of this complexity, it seems therefore desirable that teachers should not work with undifferentiated pedagogic principles, which may lead them to feel guilty or unprofessional, if they use a common language in order to communicate with learners, or, indeed, to teach them.

Notes

1. The notion of code-switching in the language classroom is identified in the American literature with 'bilingual classrooms'. Switching may then occur between the classroom use of English and using a vernacular language. The issue is in fact language maintenance, and not language acquisition. The ideologically-tainted view that the development of L2 (e.g. American English) should not be pursued to the detriment of L1 cultural identity is therefore a central research stance. This issue is clearly not specific to the foreign language classroom at all. A report on some early descriptive research is contained in Chaudron (1998: 121ff.). The issue continues to be relevant, of course, for example in Germany (see e.g. Barkowski 2003), though the term 'code-switching' plays no role in this discussion in Europe. Furthermore, discussion in the literature of the 'medium of instruction' (i.e. use of common or target language) does not focus on the foreign language classroom either, but rather on the use of a foreign language as the medium of instruction in teaching school subjects such as geography – i.e. with reference to models such as that implemented *inter alia* in immersion programmes in Canada (cf. e.g. Byram 2000: 401–406).
2. Thus Cook makes the rather unsupported claim that "Use of the L1 is an important indication of the extent to which the class is 'communicative'" (1991:67), meaning thereby

that the relation is an inverse one, i.e. degree of use of the L1 is in fact an indication of how 'uncommunicative' the class is.

3. Implemented for example in Samoa in the sixties and seventies. See for example various Reports on 'Sub-Regional Seminars on the Teaching of English' issued by the South Pacific Commission, Noumea, New Caledonia between 1962 und 1969.

4. Teacher feedback serves in the unmarked case to indicate the appropriateness or acceptability of some learner target language production, and is addressed simultaneously to the individual whose output is topicalised, and of course the rest of the attendant class – thus co-existent discourse worlds are at work here. What follows is concerned with *spoken* L2 productions only.

5. A detailed discussion of the theoretical and pedagogic/ideological bases of TLP – the Target-Language-Only-Principle – is beyond the scope of this paper. The issue links with the question as to the desirability of using native-speakers as target-language instructors, and the desirability of activating rather than suppressing skills and knowledge derived from other languages when learning a foreign language. On both issues see for example Widdowson (2003: Chapter 11). The position adopted in this paper is that theoretically-grounded teaching principles need at the very least to be tested in teaching practice, and measured against other desirable or non-desirable aspects of teacher-pupil interaction in the foreign language classroom.

6. See for example Macaro (2001: 541). Macaro cites a trainee teacher as saying that he is not prepared to maintain the use of French in his French classes, if this leads to a deterioration of his good working relationship with the learning group. In the terms of Edmondson (1998), this teacher's instructional, social and personal agendas are in conflict.

7. As this paper contains data from different sources, and includes published material, the transcriptional conventions used vary, and are in general very broad. Special conventions will be explained in situ. In (1) to (3) above, question-marks and exclamation signs suggest intonational contours, while commas and stops reflect pausology.

8. On this distinction between *enseignant* and *professeur*, see Edmondson (1998), Widdowson (1987).

9. These two episodes were kindly supplied by Joachim Appel, following his discussion of this data during a presentation at the 20th. Fremdsprachendidaktikerkongress in Frankfurt, in October 2002. Code-switches are marked in italic. Professor Appel's discussion was not concerned with code-switching issues. Arrow-heads signal noticeable pauses.

10. The term 'transfer' covers of course many different cognitive/psycholinguistic procedures – see e.g. Edmondson (2001).

11. Fabricated data.

12. Data collected by Juliane House and myself in the course of an exploratory project. 'T' is the teacher, other names are fictional, and intended to facilitate video identification. Bracketed dotted lines indicate omissions of at least one complete turn. Arrow-heads indicate noticeable pauses. Capitalisation shows heavy stress. Square brackets enclose overlapping segments of talk.

13. I do not wish to assume here that the apparent confusion of tenses necessarily has negative learning consequences. It may well be that this apparent inconsistency channels learners' attention, such that some subsequent target language input – inside or outside of the classroom – leads to considerable gains in acquisitional knowledge and in explicit understanding. I assume though that it is implausible to suggest that the teacher's behaviour is consciously geared towards such acquisitional possibilities in the episodes reproduced here.
14. The data source is the same as that for Data Set 2. This episode is discussed in general terms in Edmondson (2000).
15. I1, I2 are the interviewers, P1, P2 etc. are individual learners: 'G' ('Group') signals that more than one pupil responds at the same time.
16. In this case, a totally justified and praiseworthy stance, of course. I have elsewhere referred to a willingness on the part of language learners to accept and indeed see merit in any teaching procedures to which they are exposed as 'the Pangloss syndrome' (Edmondson forthcoming).

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The neurobiology of code-switching

Inter-sentential code-switching in an fMRI-study

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One of the most fascinating behaviours that can be observed in multilingual communication among specific groups of bilinguals all over the world is the phenomenon known as code-switching (CS). The various aspects of this multilingual practice have been continuously scrutinized from different perspectives (e.g. in the interactional or the generativist view) over several decades – its conversational, grammatical, socio-linguistic as well as didactic dimensions (some standard works should be mentioned: Auer 1998; Myers-Scotton 1992; Heller 1988 and on code-mixing Muysken 2000). Today, we are further able to investigate the neurobiology of code-switching. Very little is known about the representation of more than one language in the brain. In this article we won't consider the question whether different languages are represented in common or separate parts of the brain, but discuss if bilinguals have developed a specific system to control the languages they use side by side in communication.

The development of new imaging techniques such as magnetic resonance tomography, which provides an accurate representation of anatomical facts and physiological processes in a medical context, allows for a new and interdisciplinary approach to this research field.

However, these new imaging techniques are still limited in their ability to handle genuinely linguistic questions since they don't allow us yet to carry out as fine-tuned analyses as many linguists might wish. The techniques' anatomical accurateness is still on a macroscopic level (which is not sufficient for the determination of single networks); the time resolution is still low; the experimental setting in which the participating subjects are placed massively restrains

the capture of spontaneous every-day data, and does only partial justice to phenomena like code-switching.

Given these and further restrictions, it is necessary to realistically measure across disciplines which linguistic questions can be usefully treated with today's new imaging techniques.

This article will present a first approach on the phenomenon of code-switching from a neurolinguistic perspective. Our research group MerGe (Mehrsprachigkeit im Gehirn / Multilingualism in the brain, see Note 1) based at Saarland University aims to open up this field step by step. As we are breaking new ground, we start with the analysis of a subject's perception of CS during reading and confine our study to code-switching between sentences (inter-sentential CS). Further studies focused on intra-sentential CS (including code-mixing) and the production of CS are planned for the future.

Although we must take small steps, we proceed in view of a superordinate interest in code-switching as a conversational phenomenon, which can be encountered in most plurilingual communities and relies on culturally sensitive implications. Especially in border zones like the region Saarland-Lorraine, code-switching is a common communicative behaviour. The switches can occur in the discourse of one single person (1) or between the turns of different speakers (2), as the following examples illustrate:¹

Example (1)

- 085 A: (2.5) PAS trop trop vite (-) et le sprint, c'est
 086 qu'on a une toute petite distance (-) von hier bis
 087 zur mülltonne (-) par exemple. (- -) c'est c qu'on
 088 peut dire, von hier bis dahin. (- - -) et tu cours
 089 cette distance le plus vite possible=c'est ça un
 090 sprint (5.5) la championne (-) s'est allongée

The subjects participating in our experiment all live in the border zone Saarland-Lorraine and presumably encounter similar conversations in their everyday life. During a first explorative study, from which these examples are taken (see Note 1), we were able to account for a whole range of different types of grammatical and communicative phenomena of CS: in the above sequence, the speaker switches for example in lines 086–087 and again in line 088 from French to German for a prepositional phrase: *von hier bis zur Mülltonne* ('from here to the dustbin'); *von hier bis dahin* ('from here to there'). As to the discursive functions, one can say that the repeated German passage has an in-

tensifying and clarifying effect, its first occurrence is moreover clearly outlined as side sequence by the preceding and the succeeding micro-pauses.

The second example is taken from a more dialogical sequence. During the private lesson, B asks A to write a phrase on the blackboard (*tableau*):

Example (2)

- 133 B: *cadriée*. (2.5) *tu peux m'écrire au*; (-) *schreib mir*
 134 *mal den satz grad ans tableau*.=
 135 A: =*non!* *du schreibst mir ihn an tableau*.=
 136 B: =*nein!*=
 137 A: =*si!*
 138 B: (- - -) *dann such mir mal die rosa* [*von dir eben*
 139 A: [*ja ich such dir*
 140: *die rote*.=
 141 B: =*und guck mal hier den stift, der kein capule*
 142 *dingsbums hat*.
 143 A: *la feuille non-cadriée* (- - -) (...)

It is interesting to see how B switches from French to German in line 133 by interrupting her French utterance after a preposition and continuing the utterance in German after a micro-pause. However, it is the missing noun complement which appears in French afterwards (*tableau* 'black-board' in line 134): the switch is thus realized between preposition and noun, the neuter gender of the form *ans* 'on the' does neither correspond to the German word (*die Tafel* would be feminine) nor can it correspond to French which has no neuter forms. In her immediate reaction A continues in French, switches however after the resolute *non* 'no' to German, again except for the word *tableau*. The linguistic continuity in language choice for the key-word *tableau* seems communicatively cohesive. B, who quickly responds, too, chooses German for her negation; A however insists in French (*si* 'yes'). This rapid alternation underlines the stylistically contrastive function of the two languages' use. One should note that the switches occur at a high pace and independently from the speaker and the preceding language. Grammatically, the switches seem to be possible in very close connections, so that one might speak, in a more technical sense, of *code mixing*. The interlocutors are highly competent in both languages and know how to use them in a communicatively effective way, for example also in word search processes as in lines 141–142.

On an individual psycholinguistic level, CS raises fundamental linguistic questions: For example, how do contrasting grammatical rules of two lan-

guages interact while being processed by a bilingual person? Should we assume a shared common grammar for the involved languages or infer different shares for different languages and distinguish specific rules that only concern CS? These questions are still to a large extent unsolved problems that basic neurobiological research could contribute some answers to.

The article provides a brief history of neuro-linguistic research (knowledge of the linguistic aspects of CS is assumed for the purposes of this article) followed by a presentation of the research method and the experimental design and a discussion of first results.²

1. From Broca and Wernicke to the new imaging techniques: A brief research history

Nowadays, the assumption that specific brain areas are responsible “for language” is almost a part of general knowledge. The identification of these brain regions and the determination of their functions is indeed the first step in the study of language neurobiology. One can describe this cognitive interest as primarily localising (and trace it back to its origins in phrenology). In addition to the localisation of brain areas, modern researchers are interested in the interaction and interdependency of brain regions. In short, one tries to consider the “language system” as a network in which a certain constellation of areas accomplishes certain tasks in form of a cooperative system. Thus, “language” cannot be described as *one* system, but depending on the language task as a set of subsystems with each single subsystem considered as an interaction of specific brain regions.

The idea of different brain areas being responsible for different components of language processing goes back to the observations of Pierre Paul Broca and Carl Wernicke in the second half of the 19th century. Broca discovered lesions in the lower part of the prefrontal cortex of the left hemisphere in patients who had lost their ability to speak. This region is now called Broca’s area (Figure 1). A rapidly occurring damage of this region normally leads to a general loss of the speech production ability, the motor aphasia. At the same time, Wernicke described patients with lesions in the left hemisphere of the brain between the parietal and temporal cortex. These patients were unable to understand spoken language (sensory aphasia); the brain region was named Wernicke’s area (Figure 1). This classic neurological model of the principal language-processing brain regions originated exclusively from examinations of patients with brain lesions. However, the person’s defects (caused by injuries,

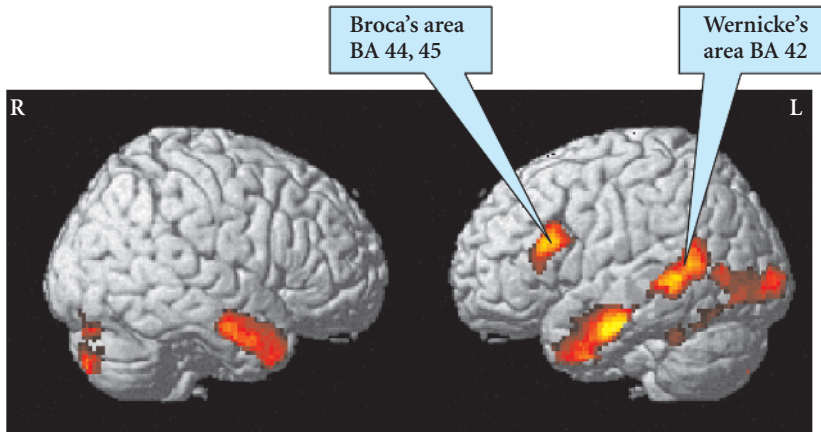


Figure 1. Activations in the classic language areas, measured with fMRI: 19 healthy right-handed subjects reading a continuous text in their first language ($p = 0,01$). Source: C. M. Krick, Department of Neuroradiology, University Hospital Homburg. A coloured version of this figure is available from <http://romanistik.phil.uni-sb.de/franceschini/neuro/>

accidents, etc.) showed a high degree of individual differences, which made generalisations difficult.

To date, one tries to segregate the anatomical constitution of brain regions and their functions in order to relate them to each other. The areas are determined according to cyto-architectural criteria (depending on the cells' constitution). Broca's area thus becomes decomposed into two differently constituted areas (BA 44 and 45).

The development of new imaging techniques has finally allowed for an analysis of the functional anatomy of speech processing in the brains of healthy (not brain-damaged) subjects under controlled conditions.³ In this article we have only provided a simplified presentation of one of these methods, functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI). The anatomical measurements during a MRI-session are compared to "functional" ones realized in the same session where the subjects have to accomplish a task. Neuronal activity is reflected by an increase of regional blood circulation in the brain. These changes can be recorded by MRI and are statistically processed in different steps before they can be visualised.

The application of MRI to the localisation of brain functions was first described by Belliveau et al. (1991). While these authors still used contrast agents, it soon became obvious that it is possible to display regional brain activations

by measuring the blood-oxygen level only (an overview is given e.g. in Papke et al. 1999).

MRI is used today as a non-invasive, high resolution and anatomically accurate technique, which allows us to observe “the brain at work”. When subjects are asked to accomplish a task, the MRI technique answers questions regarding the localisation of neuronal activations, but not questions concerning the temporal course of activations.

In less than a decade, an abundance of data has been gathered regarding the functional neuroanatomy of language comprehension and language production. It was shown that besides the classic perisylvic areas in the left hemisphere, additional brain regions are involved in language processing (see the overview given by Pulvermüller 1999). It has become increasingly clearer that language is achieved in a highly complex process, during which the brain activates a task-specific interaction of areas to extract information and form answers.⁴ These distinctions, which are pertinent on a neurobiological basis do not always seem to correspond to the assumptions of traditional language theories. Much fundamental research is still necessary in this domain. In general, the language function as one of the more recent achievements of the brain in the evolution of cognitive capacities seems to be characterised by a high degree of plasticity and – as it is the case for many functions still dependent on the neo-cortex – by individual differences.

2. Harry Potter in the magnetic resonance scanner

The above mentioned interdisciplinary research project “From physicians to interpreters” conducted by MerGe aims at determining the neurobiological correlates of code-switching with the help of the imaging technique fMRI. Language switching phenomena consistently raise questions on the brain’s ability to deal with two different grammars during fluent speech production. How can the brain rapidly switch from one language to another? Does this happen on the basis of one or both languages’ grammar or one that is partially shared? How can a single person hold two languages ready in a bilingual mode and in a monolingual mode inhibit one of these languages?

An interdisciplinary approach is necessary in this field and in view of the complexity of the phenomenon it is reasonable to proceed in steps. We decided to analyse inter-sentential code-switching in this project. The rapid switches characterising intra-sentential code-switching would have produced major technical problems because the MRI scanner does not yet have very good

time resolution. Additionally, obvious practical restrictions lessen the possibility of an ideal situation where two interacting code-switchers are measured simultaneously: the scanner is too noisy, two scanners of the same type are not available for use and the spatial conditions in one scanner are not comfortable enough for an informal conversation.

In our study “From physicians to interpreters”, we thus measure the perception of language switches but not their oral production. Participating subjects are asked to read a continuous text while lying in a MRI scanner. This text is a coherent story; after approximately three sentences (at the sentence borders) the textual language switches from the subjects’ first language (German) to one of their second languages.⁵ For a better understanding, we here include an excerpt of this text:

(...) At half past eight, Mr. Dursley picked up his briefcase, pecked Mrs. Dursley on the cheek and tried to kiss Dudley goodbye but missed, because Dudley was now having a tantrum and throwing his cereal at the walls. “Kleiner Schlingel” gluckste Mr. Dursley, während er nach draußen ging. Er setzte sich in den Wagen und fuhr rückwärts die Einfahrt zu Nummer 4 hinaus. An der Straßenecke fiel ihm zum ersten Mal etwas Merkwürdiges auf – eine Katze, die eine Straßenkarte studierte. For a second, Mr. Dursley didn’t realise what he had seen – then he jerked his head around to look again. There was a tabby cat standing on the corner of Privet Drive, but there wasn’t a map in sight. Woran er nur wieder gedacht hatte! Das musste eine Sinnestäuschung gewesen sein. Mr. Dursley blinzelte und starrte die Katze an. Die Katze starrte zurück. Während Mr. Dursley um die Ecke bog und die Straße entlangfuhr, beobachtete er die Katze im Rückspiegel. It was now reading the sign that said “Privet Drive” – no, looking at the sign; cats couldn’t read maps or signs. (...)

The story is an excerpt from the first volume of J. K. Rowling’s *Harry Potter*. This text was suitable for our purposes because it exists in many translations, is widely known and easy to read even for those with a low language competency level. Moreover, the text is exciting enough to assure the subjects’ attention over the experiment’s duration, which lasts approximately 50 minutes.

In our study, we took three precautions in order to compare the language competence variable in a controlled manner. Firstly, the subjects were chosen from three different competence groups, depending on whether they deal a little, often or professionally with language in every-day life. We call this competence “outer competence” because it describes the degree of expertise in which a subject is able to deal with language on a daily basis. The three groups were composed of the following:

- Group I: Medical students who have only minimal contact with the tested foreign language and whose relationship to this foreign language is instrumental in nature
- Group II: Language students, who regularly speak and deal with the foreign language
- Group III: Interpreters, who professionally switch languages

Secondly, we control for competence with the help of a standardised self-evaluation test, which is part of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages. This test measures “inner competence” which is independent from frequency of use and the outer expertise with which a person uses language. These two profiles are thirdly refined by language-biography-interviews to determine more exactly the age in which the subject acquired different languages (e.g. if a subject grew up in a bilingual family etc.). It has been proven that the time of acquisition onset is relevant to cerebral functioning of the language system and must therefore be controlled as well.

The combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches is meant to guarantee that individual differences are interpreted meaningfully; possible cultural differences are noticed and variables such as “age of acquisition” and “language competence” are considered in the analysis of language processing, factors that are too often missing in many non-interdisciplinary designed studies.⁶

3. Questions and initial results⁷

In the framework of the project “From physicians to interpreters”, the following questions are considered:

- Are there activations (apart from those already known to be caused by use of one or more languages) that only appear at the moment language switching occurs? First results indicate that one particular prefrontal area is activated for the switch’s recognition and control.
- Are there differences between the three groups which differ in language expertise that more or less point to an automated processing of the language switch? It can be hypothesised that a higher language expertise correlates with a specialisation in certain brain regions, which could result in stronger left-laterality as well as an increased activity in region BA 45.

In general, a task becomes more difficult with decreasing level of competence. This is visible in our data where one can observe more activity in the language-

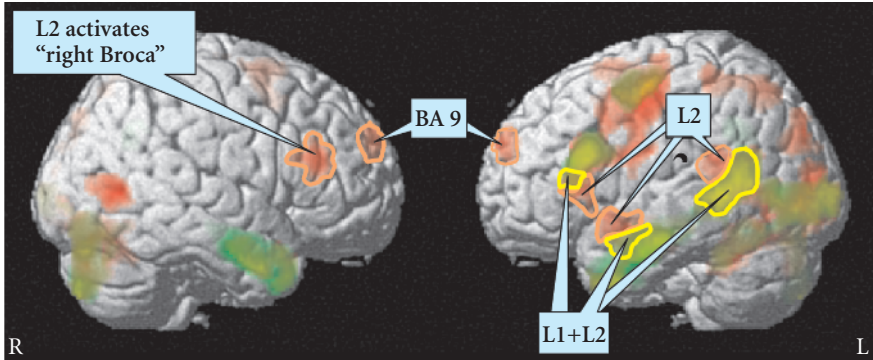


Figure 2. Language-dependent activations during reading in L1 (green) and L2 (red). Reading in L2 causes increased activations in Broca's and Wernicke's areas, in BA 9 and in a fronto-parietal region of the right hemisphere, "right Broca's area" ($n = 24$; $p = 0.01$). Areas which are activated by both languages are shown in yellow frames. Source: C. M. Krick, Department of Neuroradiology, University Hospital Homburg. A coloured version of this figure is available from <http://romanistik.phil.uni-sb.de/franceschini/neuro/>

relevant brain regions when subjects are reading in their second language (L2) instead of in their first and better managed L1 (Figure 2). The increased activation of Broca's and Wernicke's areas is especially remarkable. Also noteworthy is the fronto-parietal activation in the right hemisphere which is located analogically to Broca's area in the left hemisphere.

In a clinical context, it is often observed that patients who have lost the capability to speak their L1 because of a lesion in Broca's area are still able to communicate in a L2 or L3. These patients possibly activate the contra-lateral language region ("right" Broca's area) associated with L2 or L3, which use neuronal substrate that could be verified repeatedly in subjects that acquired their second and third languages later in life (the first widely held study should be mentioned: Kim et al. 1997).

Apart from this pioneering study on early or late acquired languages, further studies, also on third languages (see e.g. Wattendorf et al. 2001), have shown that later learned languages activate a neuronal network which differs from the one used by the first language.⁸ Activations in the right hemisphere have already been verified by Dehaene et al. (1997). However, in our study, we observed that activations in the right hemisphere, especially in areas BA 44 and 45 partially predominated in comparison to the language areas normally dominant in the left hemisphere. On average, the activations in the right hemisphere

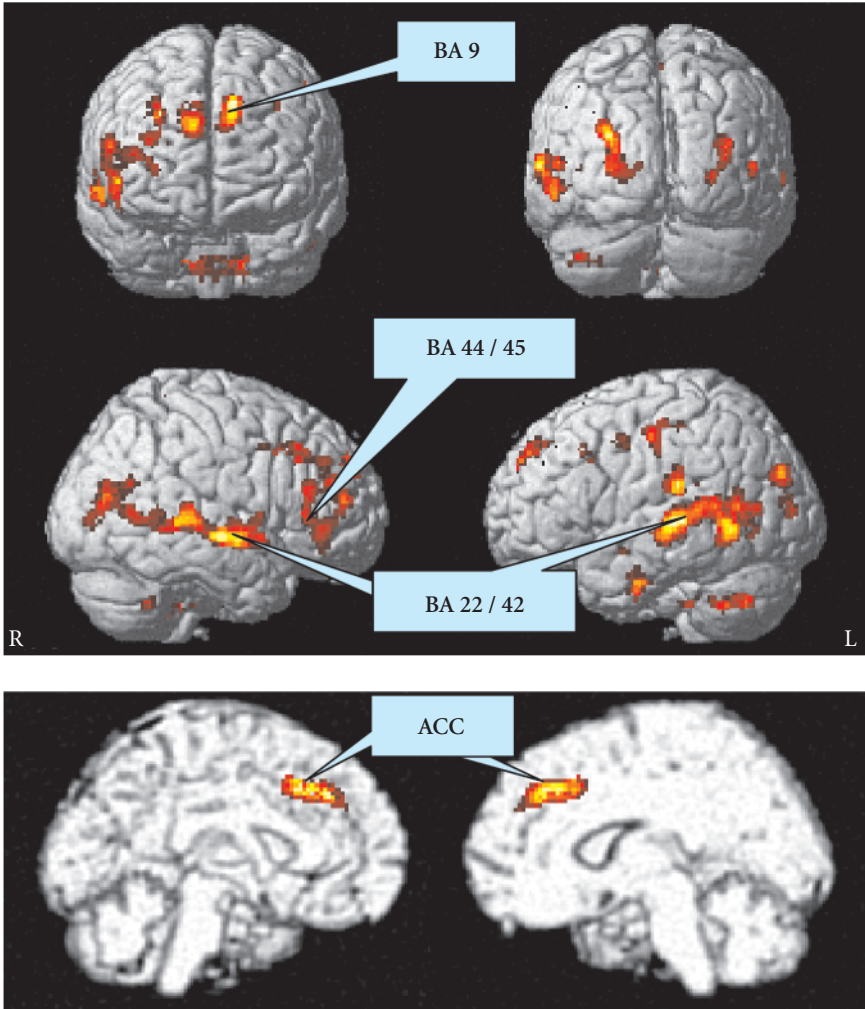


Figure 3. Correlation of neuronal activations caused by decreasing competence in L2 ($n = 24$; $p = 0.01$). Apart from an activation of BA 9, increased activation in the secondary auditory regions (BA 22 and 42), in the temporal lobes of both hemispheres and in the anterior cingulate gyrus (ACC) as well as activation of the fronto-parietal areas BA 44 and 45 in the right hemisphere (“right Broca’s area”) can be noticed. Source: C. M. Krick, Department of Neuroradiology, University Hospital Homburg. A coloured version of this figure is available from <http://romanistik.phil.uni-sb.de/franceschini/neuro/>

are significantly higher in subjects with an important competence discrepancy between L1 and L2 (Figure 3).

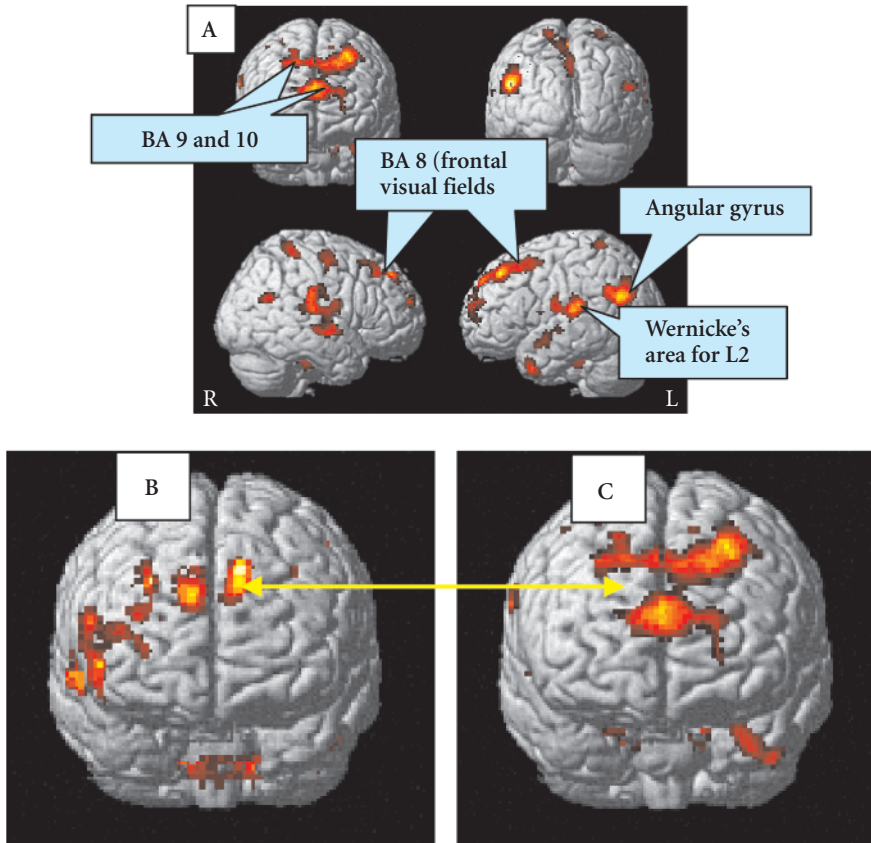


Figure 4. Perception of code-switching while reading (top row) activates the areas BA 9 and 10 and increases activation in regions responsible for reading (angular gyrus, frontal visual fields and Wernicke's area; $n = 24$; $p = 0.01$). Lowest row: Comparison of the activations in the prefrontal cortex caused by reading in an L2 with low competence (left) and code-switching in a coherent story (right). Source: C. M. Krick, *Neuroradiology*, University Hospital Homburg. A coloured version of this figure is available from <http://romanistik.phil.uni-sb.de/franceschini/neuro/>

4. When language switches in the brain: Is there a “distributing centre”?

While the subjects are reading the excerpt from Harry Potter, switching between their first and second languages, further activations in BA 9 and 10 appear at the moment of switching. These activations are not identical to the activations diagrammed below that are caused by reading in L2 with a low level

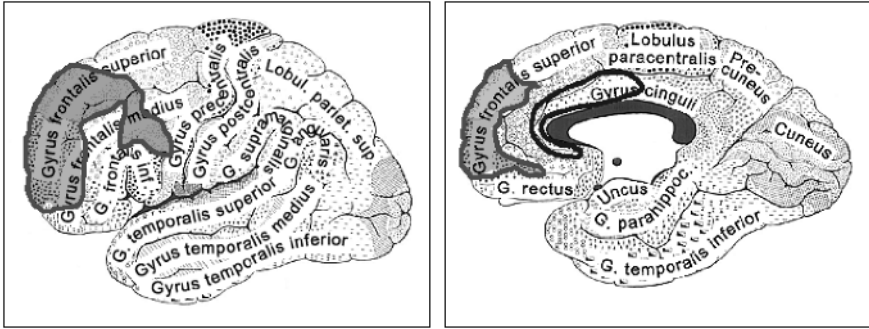


Figure 5. The left and right figures represent the lateral and medial views respectively of the brain hemisphere. BA 9 (gray) and BA 10 (green) are bordered in red, the anterior part of the cingulum is framed in blue. Source: R. Bock (2000). *Anatomie des Gehirns*; Interaktives Lernprogramm; Version 2.0. Urban & Fischer, adapted by C. M. Krick. A coloured version of this figure is available from <http://romanistik.phil.uni-sb.de/franceschini/neuro/>

of competency (Figure 4, last row). In experiments with applications of changes in other modalities (e.g. hearing), similar activations in the prefrontal cortex (PFC) were observed and interpreted as a reflection of a congruence analysis (Döller et al. 2003).

The prefrontal cortex (PFC) belongs to a system of brain regions that control attention to a task (Figure 5). Other parts of this system are found in the areas BA 9 and 10 as well as the anterior cingulum (ACC). While PFC is associated with the inner self-control regarding a task or the inner congruence analysis concerning a language, the activity in the ACC reflects the attention given to the task itself and its solution (Milham et al. 2003).

5. Conclusion

We have reason to believe that our study has identified a neuronal system that is activated by switching from one language to another. However, the system is not specialized in language switching, but has on one hand general functions related to the orientation of attention and on the other hand manages the comparison and control. While the first general function is probably connected to the reading task set in our experiment, the latter can be interpreted as a mechanism of control which constantly manages the coordination of the two languages and their grammars. It can be assumed that interpreters are es-

pecially trained in this respect. The current study will show to what extent the training of switching between languages finds expression in different neuronal activity. To reach this goal, we will carefully compare the (inner and outer) competence, analyze the age of language acquisition and we will also factor in gender differences.

Notes

1. The examples are taken from the recording of a private lesson in Saarbrücken, Saarland (January 11, 2003; recorded by Sarah Gisch, transcribed by Kerstin Ulmrich). The about 24 year-old teacher Petra (A) and her 11 year-old pupil Nina (B) are both bilingual in German and French (see Ulmrich 2004).
2. Another publication based on this project will appear in the yearbook *Sociolinguistica* dedicated to the subject “Code-switching” and edited by G. Lüdi and P. Nelde (Franceschini, Behrent, Krick, & Reith in press).
3. A clear presentation of these techniques’ potential and the early findings concerning language processing in the brain (written for amateurs) was featured in the monograph *Bilder des Geistes* by Posner and Raichle (1996).
4. As shown by direct stimulation to the cortex and through functional MRI, it depends partially on handedness which brain hemisphere is dominant in language processing: in almost half of left-handed subjects, mainly the right hemisphere areas are activated whereas in right-handed persons this condition rarely occurs.
5. In the first series of experiments the second language was English; in the second series we are interested in switches between German and French.
6. These general postulates are also taken into consideration by the research group “multilingualbrain” (see www.unibas.ch/multilingualbrain) in Basel which is directed by C. Nitsch and with whom the first author of this paper is involved. The close personal contacts and fruitful discussions with “multilingual brain” contribute to the research of the Saarland “MerGe” group. Until now, the Swiss group’s research projects have concentrated on questions concerning the processing of a third language and differences in language acquisition age.
7. We would like to highlight that the series of experiments are not completely finished at the time of this article’s publication. We here include data from a pre-study which was aimed at assessing the test-paradigm. On questions concerning the details of paradigm production and the interpretation of data, we profited from the expertise of Axel Mecklinger and his team (Saarland University), and from discussions conducted by the study group “Functional imaging” which meets regularly at the University Hospital in Homburg and is coordinated by C. M. Krick.
8. An overview of the research in the domain “neuroanatomy of plurilinguism” is presented in Franceschini, Zappatore and Nitsch (2003).

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PART III

Rapport and politeness

Rapport management problems in Chinese–British business interactions

A case study

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1. Introduction

Many studies (e.g. Marriott 1990; Yamada 1990; Lindsley & Braithwaite 1996; Bargiela-Chiappini & Harris 1997) have reported differences in communication patterns among international business people, and some of these studies have reported the misunderstandings that have occurred. This chapter focuses on the problems and difficulties that British and Chinese business people experienced in the management of their rapport during a ten-day Chinese business visit to a British company. “They were commanding, in control, contemptuous”, complained the Chinese about the British. “They had no ethics and no due respect for their hosts”, bemoaned the British about the Chinese. Both parties had strong emotional feelings, and were convinced that their reactions were justified. What happened, therefore, to cause such negative evaluations?

This chapter describes the incidents and issues that offended the participants, both in terms of what happened and how the individuals reacted. It then focuses on the explanations that the participants themselves gave as to why the problems occurred, and considers the extent to which the British and Chinese explanatory accounts were similar or different. The chapter demonstrates the rich insights into mismanaged rapport that can be obtained by combining discourse data with post-event interview data, and illustrates how participants use multiple perspectives to interpret problematic interactions, with varying degrees of congruence among the different accounts.

2. Rapport management and miscommunication

Numerous authors (e.g. Watzlawick et al. 1967; Brown & Yule 1983; Spencer-Oatey 2000) have argued that there are two fundamental functions of language: the transfer of propositional content or information, and the management of social relationships, or rapport management. Similarly, Bell (1991) proposes that there are two dimensions to miscommunication, a referential dimension and an affective dimension, and he defines them as follows:

Referential miscommunication occurs when the propositional content is misrepresented or misunderstood. Affective or relational miscommunication is where the relationship between speaker and hearer is disrupted.

(Bell 1991:260)

This chapter focuses on the latter.

Politeness theory has provided key insights into rapport management, and different theorists have focused on different aspects, including the motivating forces that underlie it, the linguistic strategies that can be used (in different languages) to manage it, and the contextual factors that influence people's assessments as to how it should be managed.

Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987) propose that the key motivating force for politeness is *face* (which they define as the 'public self-image that every member [of a society] wants to claim for himself', 1987:61), and that certain kinds of acts, such as requests, offers, compliments and disagreements intrinsically threaten people's face wants. Spencer-Oatey (2000, 2002) argues that people have two fundamental rapport sensitivities or concerns: respect for face, and respect for people's rights/fulfilment of obligations. Threats to either of these (which can often be interrelated) can lead to a negative affective reaction and to the disruption of rapport.

Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987) and Leech (1983) both propose that the power and distance relations of the interlocutors (as well as the degree of imposition of a given speech act) have an important impact on people's assessment of how rapport should be managed. Spencer-Oatey (2000) maintains that social/interactional roles and type of communicative activity are also crucial contextual variables, and Pan (2000) develops this in detail to argue for a situation-based approach to politeness. Using Chinese data from three different social settings (service encounters, professional meetings, and family gatherings), she illustrates how social role, social relationship and situational setting all interact in complex ways to influence the ways in which rapport is managed.

Coupland et al. (1991: 11ff.) argue that miscommunication (whether referential or affective) can be analysed at a series of different levels. These different analyses provide multiple perspectives on miscommunication, in that these non-mutually exclusive different levels enable the same communicative exchanges to be analysed and interpreted in different ways.

At Level 1, communication is treated as intrinsically imperfect, inherently ambiguous, and comprising incomplete messages. These communication imperfections are not construed as problems, however, and repair is not a relevant concern to the interlocutors.

At Level 2, communication is treated as having routine and minor performance problems, such as slips of the tongue, interrupted turns at talk, and minor misunderstandings. However, these imperfections are usually ignored or overlooked by the participants, because the aim of the interaction is not so much a perfect performance as an effective interchange (socially and in terms of information exchange).

At Level 3, communication problems are linked to specific individuals, and attributed to factors such as their poor communication skills, personality problems, bad temper or other inadequacies. The person's performance is seen as falling below an implicit standard, and thus requiring 'fixing' in some way, such as by skills training.

At Level 4, a communicative interaction is analysed from a strategic and/or goal management perspective, such as the achievement of task-related outcomes (*instrumental goals*), the presentation and maintenance of preferred personas and their modification (*identity goals*) and interpersonal relations (*relational goals*). Interlocutors typically continually monitor the extent to which salient goals are being achieved, and when there is some kind of failure to achieve them, this can be regarded as a form of miscommunication.

At Level 5, communication problems are linked to social identities and group memberships. In other words, they are explained in terms of group/cultural differences in beliefs and behavioural norms and conventions, and/or group/cultural differences in the construal of contextual factors such as the power and distance relations of the interlocutors.

At Level 6, a communicative interaction is analysed from an ideological perspective, exploring, for example, how the communication reinforces, constitutes or challenges a societal value system and its associated social identities. For instance, the analysis may focus on the ways in which a communicative exchange implicitly or explicitly disadvantages people or groups.

Coupland et al.'s (1991) framework provides a useful approach for exploring miscommunication from multiple perspectives, and this chapter applies it to the analysis of rapport management data.

3. Research procedure

The data described in this paper were collected in the summer of 1997, as part of a study of rapport management in Chinese-British business interactions that was conducted at the University of Luton from 1996 to 2000. The research design for that study was emergent rather than pre-specified.

3.1 The business background

The Chinese-British business interactions reported here took place in England at the headquarters of a British engineering company. This British company designs, manufactures and sells an engineering product that is used in industrial plants throughout the world. In every contract signed in China, they agree to host a delegation of up to six people who are involved in some way in the deal. The cost of the delegation visit is added to the contract price, and there is an unofficial understanding that any balance remaining at the end of the visit is given to the visitors as 'pocket money'.

The British company handles all the administration associated with the visit, and prepares a programme of events which includes a welcome meeting, training sessions, local business visits, sightseeing, shopping and social activities, and ends with a close-out meeting. The visit normally lasts about 10 days, and the official purpose is to inspect the products purchased, to receive technical training, and to have an enjoyable time sightseeing. In the case of this particular visit, however, the products had already been shipped and installed, so the visitors were unable to inspect the goods.

3.2 The data and data collection

Three types of data were collected for analysis during the 10-day visit: (1) video recordings of all the official meetings between the British and Chinese business people; (2) field notes of supplementary aspects of the visits; and (3) interview and playback comments made by the participants. The British and Chinese participants were interviewed separately.

Prior to the visitors' arrival, the British company prepared the following programme for them:

- Day 1: Arrival
- Day 2: a.m. Welcome Meeting & Tour of the Factory
p.m. Manufacturing Review followed by shopping
- Day 3: a.m. Engineering Review
p.m. Quality Review
- Days 4–9: Sightseeing
- Day 10: Close-out Meeting

However, the Chinese visitors cancelled all the training sessions before the start of the welcome meeting, and so the only formal meetings that took place were the Welcome Meeting, which took place on Day 2 and lasted just over 23 minutes, an 'Emergency' Meeting, which took place on Day 9 and lasted just over 37 minutes, and the Close-out Meeting, which took place on Day 10 and lasted just over 3 hours and 52 minutes.

Owing to the practical constraints of the participants' schedule, the interview and playback session with the Chinese had to be conducted at the end of Day 6, although field notes were collected throughout the visit. The interviews and playback sessions with the British participants were conducted shortly after the visitors had left.

In all aspects of the data collection, we endeavoured to maximize the validity and reliability of the data. Over the previous few years, we had developed very good relations with staff at the host company. And during the visit, Xing spent as much time as possible socially with the Chinese visitors (e.g. accompanying them on sightseeing trips) in order to develop a good rapport with them and build up their trust. We did this deliberately, so that both British and Chinese participants would have confidence in us, so that they would not feel too uneasy about the recording, and so that they would be honest and open with us in the interviews and playback sessions. We were very satisfied with the ways in which they seemed to 'conduct their business as normal' and with their cooperation during the follow-up sessions, but we recognise of course that our presence may still have affected the proceedings. (For more details on the research procedure, see Xing 2002.)

3.3 The participants

The Chinese delegation comprised six men (all names have been changed): Sun (the delegation leader), accompanied by Xu, Ma, Shen, Chen, and Lin. Four of

them were engineers by training and the other two were economists; nearly all of them were managers in Chinese companies that were associated in some way with the business deal.

The key British staff involved in the visit were Jack (chair of the welcome meeting), Sajid (in charge of the programme arrangements, and chair of the close-out meeting), Tim (sales manager for China, and chair of the emergency meeting), Lynn (administrator), and Steve (engineer).

The British company hired as interpreter a Chinese PhD student who was researching engineering at a local university. They had previously used very successfully someone in a similar role, but they had never met this particular person before. Xing was also present to operate the video camera.

4. Rapport sensitive incidents and issues

This section describes the key incidents and issues (both discourse internal and discourse external) that had the most significant impact on the participants' rapport, according to their subsequent comments.

4.1 Seating arrangements for the welcome meeting

The welcome meeting took place in the host company's conference room. This room was rather small in size, and had a large oblong table placed in the middle of the room. There were four chairs on either side, and a fifth at one end of the table (the end that was further away from the door). Four Chinese visitors sat on one side (facing the door) and two sat on the other side with the interpreter. One seat was left empty. The British chairman of the meeting sat at the end of the table, and the five other British staff present for the first part of the meeting were located away from the table, with most either standing or sitting behind the Chinese visitors (see Figure 1).

The room arrangements made it physically difficult for people to move around to shake hands and to present business cards, and both British and Chinese participants felt that the venue for the meeting was inappropriate. However, while the British chairman noted that it was 'bad organization' and 'genuine chaos', the Chinese attributed much greater significance to the seating arrangements. In the follow-up interview, the delegation leader commented as follows, with the other five members chorusing agreement:

Extract 1 (Interview)

Sun: ... it shouldn't have been that he was the chair and we were seated along the sides of the table. With equal status, they should sit along this side and we should sit along that side...

In other words, the Chinese felt that since the two teams were of equal status, they should have sat on opposite sides of the table, with the heads of each side sitting in the middle. They interpreted the different arrangements as conveying a significant 'status' message:

Extract 2 (Interview)

Sun: ... they were chairing, and we were audience, which naturally means that you do what you are told to... They were, right from the start, they were commanding, in control, contemptuous. In actual fact we should have been given equal status...

The British, on the other hand, clearly had no idea that this was the impression they had conveyed. In the playback session, the Chairman commented that he was surprised to find the room so crowded, and that he felt uncomfortable with the disorganisation. However, his main concern was the effect it had on the practicalities of communication.

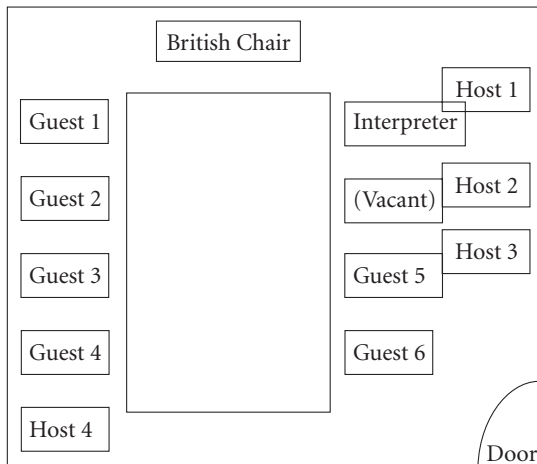


Figure 1. Seating arrangements at the meetings

4.2 The welcome speech

The welcome meeting had the following general structure:

- preliminaries (everyone shaking hands, and giving out business cards)
- welcome (British chairman)
- team introductions (British staff and Chinese visitors in turn)
- introduction to the company (British chairman)

In his welcome comments, Jack the British chairman drew attention to the importance of the Chinese contracts to his company, and expressed his company's hope that the good relationship between the two parties would continue in the future:

Extract 3 (Welcome meeting)

Jack: It is extremely important for us at (company) to make a special effort to welcome all of our Chinese friends and colleagues, as you and your company are very important to us. We we've over the last probably four or five years had quite quite a good relationship with with China, and have people from (company) and (place) and and the the various (industrial plants) in the various provinces of China, and we hope this will continue in the future.

Later on, he gave some background information on his company, and made the following comments:

Extract 4 (Welcome meeting)

Jack: So we are obviously very experienced eh in the design and the manufacture of these products. . . . A lot of our trade now obviously goes to China and to the other Eastern countries, because that is obviously where a lot of the world trade now is and will be in the future.

In the follow-up interview with the British chairman, he pointed out that his company wanted to make the visit memorable for the Chinese visitors, so that they would have a good impression of his company and remember them on their return.

The Chinese, on the other hand, felt that his comments on the Sino-British relationship had not been weighty enough. They had heard on the Chinese grapevine that the British company was in serious financial difficulties, and they believed it was the Chinese contracts that had saved them from bankruptcy. (This was denied by the British company.) So they felt that the

British hosts should have expressed their sincere gratitude to them for helping them so significantly.

Extract 5 (Interview)

Xu: It is understandable for them to praise their own products, but by doing so they in fact made a big mistake. Why? Because, you see, because for a company when they haven't got new orders for their products for several years it is a serious problem, to them, but they didn't talk about it. . . . he should have said that you have made great efforts regarding [the sale of] our products, right? And hope you continue. They should have said more in this respect.

Lin: He didn't mention our orders.

Xu: So in fact this is a very important matter. It is not just a matter of receiving us.

In addition, the Chinese felt that the main purpose of their visit – to check and accept the products – should have been referred to:

Extract 6 (Interview)

Xu: Now it seems that the main reason we are here is to check and accept [product name]. Even though the product has already been manufactured and is already in operation, this main theme is very clear.

Xing: Check and accept.

Xu: Yes, check and accept. They should have explained when [product name] was manufactured, when the manufacturing was completed, right? They should have told us something about it, right?

4.3 Team introductions and a return speech

Shortly after the British chairman had welcomed the visitors, he asked the British staff to introduce themselves. When they had done this, he invited each of the Chinese visitors to introduce themselves. This immediately caused confusion among the visitors. The delegation leader turned to consult the others, and one of them requested in Chinese that he do it on their behalf. It was almost a minute before the delegation leader responded to the chairman's request, and at this point he began reading out his speech. Immediately the interpreter interrupted him saying, in Chinese, that they should first introduce themselves. This resulted in further worried faces and discussion in Chinese, before the

visitors started introducing themselves individually. This can be seen from the following extract.

Extract 7 (Welcome Meeting, just after the British participants have finished introducing themselves. Int = Interpreter)

10.13.22

Jack: could could I now ask if if the members (.) could each introduce themselves so that we can learn (.) um (.) who they are and what their interests are.

Int: [interprets into Chinese]

Sun: [turns to colleagues and discusses with them and the interpreter in Chinese]

Sun: *we each introduce ourselves*

Shen: *it's best if you do it on our behalf*

10.14.06

Sun: [reading from a script] *first of all, to [X] Company=*

Int: *=no no. he said first introduce yourselves (.) I am [surname] from [name] Company*

Sun: *I am [surname] from Company [name]*

Int: [interprets into English]

Chen: *say what you do*

Sun: *I'm involved in design*

Xu: *give your full name (.) full name (.) full name (.) say you're a design engineer*

Sun: *design engineer*

Int: [interprets into English]

Ma: *I am the director of the [product] Department of Company [name]*

Int: [interprets into English] [Chinese delegation members continue to introduce themselves.]

In the follow-up interview and playback of the video recording with the Chinese visitors, they all argued that it was normal and polite for the head of the delegation to 'say a few words of appreciation', and then introduce himself and each member of the delegation. They were clearly offended that he had not been given this opportunity:

Extract 8 (Interview)

Sun: *According to our home customs and protocol, speech is delivered on the basis of reciprocity. He has made his speech and I am expected to say something. ... In fact I was reluctant to speak, and I had nothing to say. But I had to, to say a few words. Right for the occasion, right? But he had finished his speech, and he didn't give me the opportunity, and they each introduced themselves, wasn't this clearly implied that they do look down upon us Chinese.*

In the follow-up interview with the British chairman, he argued that current delegations are very different from earlier ones, and that neither the Chinese nor the British expect too much formality.

Extract 9 (Interview)

Jack: I think about three years ago ... they were very restrained, they were very courteous, they were very correct, and we went to a lot of trouble for example in their opening speeches and to try and follow a sort of protocol, which they seemed to respect. ... Now there is none or little protocol at all, and the groups that are coming over are really very casual. They are not really that bothered, they just want to come over and have a good time. ... We've become a lot more familiar with the Chinese and what their expectations are, and I think the Chinese have become a lot more familiar with us. So I think the formalities have been eroded.

4.4 Business relationships

When the visitors arrived, the Sales Manager for China (Tim) was away on an overseas trip. He was due to arrive back on the Thursday, and so the Chinese expected to meet him the next day (Friday). When there was no sign of him by lunchtime, they started asking for his telephone number, and this continued all over the weekend. In the follow-up interview on the Friday evening, they commented as follows:

Extract 10 (Interview)

Xu: *Tim hasn't shown up yet, right? He should have already come back yesterday. ...*

Shen: *He should have been back yesterday, yesterday. Today today he didn't show up. This morning he should have taken us out. We mentioned it to him [the interpreter]. . . .*

Lin: *Does Tim live in London?*

Xing: *I don't know where he lives.*

Chen: *In London. London is very close to here, isn't it? . . . Thirty-odd miles, in fact very close. Your old friends from China are here, and as a matter of fact your major market, right? So on this occasion can't you come and meet them?*

Shen: *And he knew that Mr. Xu, senior engineer, was coming.*

Tim, however, explained it as follows:

Extract 11 (Interview)

Xing: But you were not thinking of meeting them directly after you came back, I mean before this meeting [held on the Monday]?

Tim: I was aware they were going to be here, and it was important for me to meet them when I returned, yeah, but I think I got back on the Thursday night or the Friday morning. Um, and it was too difficult for me to meet them during the weekend, um, of course my wife had expected to see me, my son, I was tired, so I wanted to wait until Monday.

4.5 A dispute over money

On the last day of the delegation visit, a few hours before the Chinese were due to leave, the British gave each of the visitors an envelope containing 'pocket money' – the cash left over after the costs of the visit had been deducted from the figure in the contract allocated to the visit. The Chinese opened their envelopes, counted the money, and then claimed that the amount was too little.

Extract 12 (Close-out meeting)

Phil: I'd just like to say it's a great pleasure to have you come here. Thank you very much for coming. I'd just like to make a presentation to each of you for [company name].

Int: [interprets into Chinese]

Phil: [Phil stands up and presents an envelope to Sun. Sun stands up, takes it, and shakes hands with him. Phil hands one to Ma, who also stands up. They shake hands.]

Chen: *Take them all together.*

- Phil: [Phil gives an envelope to each of the others: Chen, Lin, Shen and Xu.]
[Visitors open their envelopes and count the money inside. Sun takes a pen and sheet of paper from Sajid, and prepares to sign the receipt]
- Sun: *How much?*
- Xu: [Counts the money carefully and openly]
- Xu: *570, 570, this doesn't seem enough.*
[Heated discussion in Chinese among the visitors. They agree to ask for a list of the costs.]
- Xu: *We must definitely have a list of the costs.*
- Int: *How much money did you give them altogether?*
- Xu: *US\$4000. US\$4000 per person.*
- Int: [interprets into English]
- Sajid: The contract, the contract doesn't say we have to give them money.
- Int: [interprets into English]
- Shen: *It does, it does.*
- Int: [interprets into English]
- ...
- Xu: *How much is the airfare? Ask them to show us the list of costs?*
- Int: [no interpretation]
- Sajid: to get a rough idea (???) we (???) that we have to pay you (???)
- Sun: *All we want is a list.*
- Int: [no interpretation]

Shortly after this, the contract was brought in for them all to study, and attempts were made to list the expenses. However, the argument over the money continued for another 2 hours and 26 minutes. During this time, they disagreed with each other over whether the sum identified in the contract applied to one delegation visit or to two, and hence how much was allocated for each person in this visit. In addition, the Chinese claimed that the formal dinners (at which British staff were present) should not have been counted as an expense, because that would mean that they were paying for the British to enjoy themselves. At times, emotions ran high.

Extract 13 (Close-out meeting)

- Shen: [speaking to the interpreter] *You just tell him. Is it so easy to bully us Chinese (.) so easy to make fools of us? This money is what we have been saving out of our mouth. We have had instant noodles every day just to save some money (.) and now they have grabbed it. How mean of them to do such a thing.*
- Int: (5) [interprets into English]

Eventually, Sajid agreed to give them a further £1326, and this was handed to them moments before they left for the airport.

It was clearly not practical to interview the Chinese after this meeting, so we cannot know how they interpreted and ‘explained’ this financial dispute. However, judging from off-record comments made during the final meeting, they seemed to believe that the British were deliberately trying to cheat them.

Extract 14 (Interview)

Chen: *Another point is, because we trusted them. When we came, we didn't ask how the costs were being paid. It seems to me this guy is pretending to be naïve.*

Xu: *No, no. They're very inflexible.*

In the follow-up interview with the British, they commented particularly on this lack of trust:

Extract 15 (Interview)

Sajid: He took the envelope and starting counting. I've never seen that. . . . and even at the end, I said to them there is the difference, he counted it, then he gave it to his friend to count.

Lynn: They are not usually as blatant as that.

Sajid: now that's a lot of saying we don't believe you've given us what you say you've given us.

4.6 Host and guest behaviour

The Chinese visitors were also dissatisfied with the way they were hosted. In the follow-up interview, one of them complained as follows:

Extract 16 (Interview)

Chen: *Putting it simply, firstly the food was too poor, secondly, the hotel, and I told him [the interpreter] this, was similar to the guest houses at the time of the Cultural Revolution.*

In fact, the British company originally arranged for the visitors to stay at an inexpensive hotel, which they had previously used with other Chinese delegations. They assumed that the visitors would prefer to stay in relatively cheap accommodation, so that they would have more pocket money at the end of the trip. However, the Chinese visitors immediately complained that the rooms

were small and the carpets old and worn-out. They claimed that when they were on business trips in China, they would stay in at least four-star hotels, and asked the host company there and then to arrange for them to stay in a different hotel. They were moved to a better quality family-run hotel the next morning.

The visitors were still dissatisfied with this hotel, and also disliked the food they were served. After a few days, they decided they would prefer to stay in London, where they thought the hotel, food, and sightseeing would be better. During several successive sightseeing trips, they asked company staff who were accompanying them about this, but did not get any definite response. This began to irritate them, and so on Day 9 they held an 'emergency' meeting with Tim, the Sales Manager for China. They checked out of their hotel that morning, and came to the meeting with all their luggage. However, when they found they would have to pay for the London hotel themselves, they changed their minds, and asked to return to the hotel they had just checked out of.

The British, in turn, were annoyed by this dissatisfaction with the hotels, and with the visitors' changes in mind. In addition, they were offended that the visitors cancelled all the official training sessions, showed little or no interest in the sightseeing trips arranged for them, and only seemed to want to go shopping. This can be seen from the following interview comments:

Extract 17 (Interview)

Sajid: ...off the record, they haven't any ethics, you know they had no due respect for their hosts, it was all sort of like we are more important than anything else. To me, if I went to someone's house, or to travel and someone laid out a programme for me, I wouldn't go against that to say no I'm not interested in your product and I just want to go out and do things like that. ... Their interests were totally different [from previous groups]

Steve: They simply had no interest whatever in our product which they bought.

Lynn: They were only on jollies. ... Hardly were they interested in the Tower of London, whereas most groups that came were interested in that.

Sajid: the Tower of London they couldn't wait to get out they had no interest in it

Lynn: They just wanted to shop. ... And then the hotel rooms, they seem to want to know how much we paid for their rooms, whereas we had never had that before. ...

Sajid: we were working basically to quote them average stay in a hotel and give them as much money as possible, these people portrayed the image that they were not concerned with money, but when it came down to the point they were very interested in money, because even though [we had explained] if you want to go and change hotels, the money you receive will be less, at the time they seemed to acknowledge it, but only when it came to the final discussion, they caused me havoc, for some 2 hours, in trying to get as much money as possible. So their statement about money being unimportant was simply not true.

Steve: OK, with previous groups if they were not happy with some aspect of the programme or preferred anything else, we discussed with them and sometimes changed it in small ways, but they'd never actually

Lynn: thrown the whole lot

Steve: demanded things, which this crowd did, they demanded this and demanded that.

5. Chinese and British explanatory accounts

Both the Chinese and British participants used several different perspectives to explain and comment on the problematic aspects of the visit. For example, they expressed dissatisfaction with the behaviour or competence of certain individuals (Level 3 in Coupland et al.'s 1991 framework), they referred to British-Chinese cultural differences (Level 5 in Coupland et al.'s 1991 framework), and they commented on the goals of the visit and the extent to which they were addressed or were met (Level 4 in Coupland et al.'s 1991 framework). In addition, the Chinese took an ideological position in evaluating what had happened (Level 6 in Coupland et al.'s 1991 framework).

5.1 Chinese explanatory accounts

During the follow-up interviews, the Chinese delegation members attributed some of the problems they encountered during their visit to the personal deficiencies of the individual participants, including themselves (Level 3 perspective).

The interpreter came in for particular criticism. They complained that his interpreting was too brief and that he interfered too much with the proceedings. They were also unsure whether he was getting their message across clearly,

either because of his language skills or else because he was afraid of being too clear in case he offended the British company who was employing him.

Extract 18 (Interview, discussing the interpreter's intervention in the team introductions and return speech)

- Ma: *At moments like this [interpreter] shouldn't have interrupted.*
 Lin: *That's right. ...*
 Ma: *In fact, let me say something not so pleasant, [interpreter] was just a translator, nothing more. ... He shouldn't have taken part in anything else. Whatever I said, he shouldn't have butted in, he should have just translated it, this was a formal occasion. ...*
 Lin: *That's right, that's right. The key is to function as an interpreter ...*
 Chen: *[interpreter's name]'s interpreting is too brief, and sometimes he puts his own opinions into his interpreting, that won't do. This is not the way of interpreting. (p. 462)*

Extract 19 (Interview)

- Chen: *Let me tell you, you know what I was telling you the other day? I just wanted them to understand the importance of our visit, right? And also what kind of cooperating partners they are dealing with. I asked [interpreter] to tell them, but [interpreter] didn't. ... We thought he was afraid because he was employed by them. In fact, he didn't explain his position clearly to us.*

In addition, the British programme manager also came in for personal criticism:

Extract 20 (Interview)

- Chen: *In fact I feel our request to change hotels, I feel this issue dragged on for too long. That Indian-Pakistani man, I think he must have been brain-damaged. Did he need to be reminded about it again and again? You should just go ahead and do it after we told you, right? If you feel it's not appropriate, then just discuss it with us again, right?*

On the other hand, in terms of the hospitality they received and the handling of the business relationships, the Chinese wondered whether British-Chinese cultural differences might have been one of the reasons why they were hosted as they were (Level 5 perspective). For example, two of the participants commented as follows:

Extract 21 (Interview)

Shen: *When we have contact with British people, we don't understand their customs and practices, in what kind of way they should receive guests. Take us Chinese for example, Chinese are very warm and hospitable in receiving guests. So, are the British the same in receiving guests? Because we don't understand their customs, we're not sure. . . . If we were receiving guests like they are, if it were me, we Chinese wouldn't receive guests in this way. . . . They don't seem to be very responsible in this respect, I don't know whether they think this work is too minor and not worth bothering about, or simply don't [unfinished]*

Extract 22 (Interview)

Ma: *But I have the feeling that the British, they don't seem to have the commitment to work that the Chinese or the Japanese do. You work during the eight hour working day; beyond the eight hours, you do no work; outside of work, you live your life and I live mine. In fact even the Japanese or the Americans value chatting with each other out of work hours, because that's how you develop warm feelings. People need personal warmth. No matter how much you advertise your product, no matter how good it is, if there are no warm feelings, I won't use your product and you can't do anything about it. The British don't see the importance of such things. For instance, in the evening, Tim's old friends have been here for so long, but he didn't show his face. Those signed contracts, he signed a whole pile of them over there.*

The Chinese clearly believed that the visit had provided the British with a good marketing opportunity, but that the British had failed to take advantage of it (Level 4 perspective):

Extract 23 (Interview)

Chen: *Strictly speaking, we are their long-term co-operating partner, and also their biggest factory (among their customers).*

Xu: *That's right. Because they want to promote their products in China, right? To do some business. Now then, we've come to England. What a great opportunity this is for them, isn't it.*

Lin: *We are here delivered to their door, delivered to their door.*

Chen: *That's right.*

Moreover, they obviously had clear impression management goals that influenced how they behaved. In the follow-up interview, for example, Chen commented that ‘we Chinese care about our image’. During the discussions/negotiations over the exact terms of the contract, he also commented to his colleagues as follows:

Extract 24 (Close-out meeting)

Chen: *One thing is that we should not make people say that we’re stingy, another is that we should not give the impression of being too weak, another is that we should have a friendly manner.*

This concern about image also had an ideological element to it (Level 6 perspective), as can be seen from the following comment from the delegation leader:

Extract 25 (Interview)

Sun: *We Chinese have a strong sense of self-esteem. In the past, because of the low standard of living and poor economic situation, we had no choice but to put up with humiliation. But now that the economic situation is improving, his sense of self-esteem is also rising, right? It won’t do to treat me unequally; in the future, the situation will be reversed and you’ll be looked down upon, right? ... We’re important very important customers in the Chinese market.*

5.2 British explanatory perspectives

Like the Chinese, the British were very dissatisfied with the interpreter (Level 3 perspective), and had similar types of complaints; for example, they commented as follows during the follow-up interview:

Extract 26 (Interview)

Sajid: yeah, there was a major communication problem, our interpreter was not very good.

Xing: you think so.

Sajid: no, I know so.

Xing: you know so

Sajid: our previous guy ??? interpreter was far superior to the individual, the time limit between interpreting and ??? message ??? a lot of times words said say by a Chinese person ??? interpretation seems too short. ...

Steve: (p. 447) come back to the interpreter, he ought to stand on both sides of the conversation, when, is he interpreting or is he discussing it? ... he is there to translate not just discuss with them.

Sajid: what made it worse to me that was clear body language, I looked at him at a point to say come on say something to me, ... but obviously that didn't seem to get across to him.

In addition, the British staff felt that certain individuals in the Chinese party were particularly difficult to deal with:

Extract 27 (Interview)

Lynn: it was the younger ones, and they unfortunately he was the one that spoke English so he was the one that

Sajid: caused us all the problems

In terms of British-Chinese cultural differences (Level 5 perspective), the chairman acknowledged that these might have influenced the groups' expectations, and caused them to perceive certain things to be rude.

Extract 28 (Interview)

Jack: One of the things I was quite conscious of is that the people we've received so far the Chinese people in particular have a quite defined way of doing things in terms of a protocol, which I don't think in probably UK or the West we can't have anywhere near now when we look more informal. And that's quite interesting because what would be interesting is to see their perceptions in terms of when they come over and when they go back, because they're obviously expecting things whether or not they are actually things *are* as they expect, because there are certain things that we consider what some of the delegation do to be quite rude because it's just different cultures, and the first couple of times we just have to get used to it, you just have to accommodate that different, so they're probably doing the same thing. It's interesting.

However, other British staff felt that the difficulties they experienced in hosting the visitors was not due to national cultural differences, but rather to the specific characteristics of this particular group (Level 3 explanatory perspective rather than a Level 5 one):

Extract 29 (Interview)

Xing: So how much of this do you think was due to cultural difference?

Sajid: well, I don't think this is cultural difference, because we've dealt with a number of groups before, therefore ??? you can't ??? culture ??? I think it's a total different group of people

Steve: it's of interest to know why this group had a different attitude to all the other groups

Lynn: I think

Steve: because I can't answer that

Extract 30 (Interview)

Jack: With the first few groups that came over, they wanted to learn an awful lot about the products, they wanted to learn about the country as well. They didn't want to stay in particularly ostentatious hotels and things like that. But this group was different. They didn't want to know about our products, didn't want to know about our company, and wanted to stay in big hotels, but then when they realised the cost sustained, ??? um yeah they have very different priorities, completely different.

Extract 31 (Interview)

Tim: They were less professional than some of the groups. We've had probably 12 different groups here, some of the groups are very very formal, and they take us very seriously. Yes of course they want to do sightseeing, and they want to enjoy themselves, but they expect to do that after they have completed their formal work. . . . I think the main reasons for the difference in their attitudes was the seniority of the people that came. These people weren't as senior as some of the other people we've had, and not as responsible probably.

The British participants' goals for the visit (Level 4 perspective) were that the visitors should have a good time, and return to China with a positive impression of the company and of Britain. The chairman suggested that since China is so far from Britain, there could be a tendency for the British staff to have overemphasised the importance of making them feel at home. And despite all the problems that occurred, all the British staff maintained that the visit had been successful, and that the Chinese visitors were very satisfied and appreciative by the time they left.

6. Discussion

Both the British and Chinese had very similar opinions re the role of the interpreter in the miscommunication (in other words, they both took a Level 3 perspective in relation to communication issues, and ‘blamed’ a particular individual), but in other respects their explanations were significantly different.

The Chinese perceived and commented on events very strongly in terms of (potential) British–Chinese differences (in other words, they took a firm Level 5 perspective). Although one of them acknowledged that they do not really understand British norms for receiving guests, they evaluated the British negatively in relation to almost all of the rapport sensitive incidents and issues that they experienced. They often seemed to assume that whatever happened was representative of British behaviour and values, and then compared it negatively to Chinese behaviour and values. Ma’s comments in relation to Tim’s failure to meet with them immediately after his return from an overseas trip are an example of this. Moreover, the visitors showed no sensitivity to possible specific factors that could have had an impact on what happened, such as the impracticality of other seating arrangements, and the likelihood that Tim was tired after a long overseas trip and would want to spend time with his family. In addition, they interpreted many unexpected occurrences as deliberate insults on the part of the British; for example, the seating arrangements and the lack of invitation to give a return speech were interpreted as a specific claim to superiority, and the confusion over the amount of pocket money ‘due’ to the Chinese was interpreted as a deliberate attempt by the British to cheat them.

It seems that one of the main reasons for this was a belief that the British in general look down on Chinese people, and a desire to fight against such prejudice and to prove their superiority as a nation. In other words, their reactions to and interpretations of events were very strongly influenced by ideological concerns (a Level 6 perspective). They also wanted to prove their importance to the British company of both their delegation, the Chinese companies they represent, and the Chinese market as a whole.

The British also acknowledged the existence of British–Chinese cultural differences (Level 5 perspective), and the chairman commented that there might have been aspects that the Chinese visitors were offended by but that the British hosts were unaware of. However, the overarching impression given by the British was that they had learned a lot about these differences over the years, had made a number of adjustments and now had a good understanding of them. So they claimed that the problems with this group were not because

of national cultural differences, but rather were specific to the characteristics of this particular group (in other words, they preferred a Level 3 interpretation).

The formality of the meetings was an interesting case in point. The British argued that the Chinese visitors had become increasingly less formal, and so they had dropped the formalities of a return speech. They assumed the Chinese preferred this informality (e.g. see Extract 9), presumably because they had not had any complaints about this before, and maybe because subconsciously they felt more comfortable with informal meetings themselves. In fact, though, in a previous delegation visit we analysed, the delegation leader had tried to make a return speech during the meeting, but the British did not notice any of his non-verbal signals that indicated he was trying to do this. In the end, the leader simply interrupted someone and gave his speech after the formal meeting had finished. (See Spencer-Oatey & Xing 2003 for further details.) However, the British barely noticed this, and it seemed to have no impact on their beliefs about Chinese desires for certain formalities in business meetings such as giving return speeches. The British, therefore, failed to notice some important cues and were insufficiently aware of differences in conventions between the two groups. They needed to pay closer attention to the potential for Level 5 differences.

However, in other respects this group *was* different to previous groups, and simplistic statements about Chinese ways and British ways of doing this were clearly inappropriate. For example, previous groups genuinely seemed to prefer to stay in cheaper accommodation so that they could have more pocket money at the end, and no objections had been made before to the seating arrangements (that were identical for most previous visits). So in this sense, the British were right in asking, in the follow-up interview, why this group was different from others.

An important factor in this is the status attributed to the Chinese by the British and the status claimed by the Chinese. The visitors regarded themselves as being extremely important to the British company, because they claimed they were sales managers who could influence whether the British company obtained future contracts in China, and because they assumed the British company were dependent on such contracts because of financial difficulties. The British staff, on the other hand, believed that most of the visitors were engineers – this was the information they had been sent by their agent in China, and they did not examine carefully the visitors' business cards to check whether that was correct. Moreover, the sales manager for China claimed that he negotiated in China with much more senior people in China than these visitors, and denied that the British company was in financial difficulties. As a result, he

commented 'their expectations from us were greater than our commitments to them'. Such differences in perspective highlight the impact of contextual variables, and illustrate the importance of taking them into account if misunderstandings are to be minimised.

7. Implications

This small-scale case study illustrates the complexity both of managing rapport effectively in intercultural interactions and of explaining any difficulties that occur. National conventions and values, especially those connected with specific communicative activities such as business meetings (e.g. the nature and relative importance of seating arrangements, and preferences for formality–informality), clearly played a role in this visit, but they interacted in complex ways with other factors such as participants' assessments of each other's relative status and importance, and individuals' personal qualities and skills. If advice, therefore, were to be given to the participants on how to handle British–Chinese interactions of this kind (as happens with intercultural training/briefing events), it would clearly be very important to take full account of these complexities. Coupland et al.'s (1991) analytic framework can act a useful aid for considering interactions from such different perspectives, especially if it is combined with vital contextual information.

Transcription conventions

(.)	Pauses of less than one second
	Pauses of the length indicated
=	Latching
+	Unfinished word
(??)	Unintelligible speech
<i>Word word</i>	Words originally spoken in Chinese and translated into English by the authors

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Introductions

Being polite in multilingual settings*

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In this paper, a framework will be sketched, by means of which linguistic structures of polite action can be approached. At the centre of the framework there are the concepts of ‘courteous goodwill’ (an English counterpart of the German concept “Entgegenkommen”), of ‘social mediation’ between speaker and hearer and of their respective ‘fields of control’. The theory is summarised in a scheme of politeness as a ‘discursive apparatus’ (1). The paper focuses on introductions which are used when people get to know each other; their architecture is condensed in a ‘pattern of polite action’ (2). It will be shown that there are stages of building up common knowledge (systems of presuppositions) as bases for mutual acquaintanceship which have to be overcome successively when people are introduced to each other and that, moreover, specific speech formulae with illocutionary force are bound to specific stages in this process (3). Introductions vary from Arabic, Norwegian and English to Chinese, and Turkish (4). In the empirical part of the study a transcribed fragment of an intercultural discourse at a dinner party is analyzed; one has the impression that the students from different countries and of different native languages, in using German as lingua franca, base their contributions on familiar patterns and procedures of communication in their mother tongues (5). It turns out that the first name usage in the German lingua franca reflects an action structure bound to verbal practices in Malagasy discourse (6). Looking at Clyne’s investigation of “inter-cultural communication at work” in some Australian companies and the English used one can observe that many people who communicate in a lingua franca such as Australian English or German in Germany have at their command the pattern knowledge in their native tongue and in part a similar pattern knowledge in the target language; for this translinguis-

tic process, which especially takes place in a stylistic domain of communication like politeness, the term ‘pragmatic transfer’ has been coined; within discourses of the homileic type, the suspension of the multilingual participants’ fields of control facilitates pragmatic transfer (7).

1. Polite action

It would appear that in many different societies politeness plays an essential role in building and preserving forms of mediation between the actors in that society. Politeness generates sublimated forms of communication, known as “manners”, in constellations where various actors come into contact with each other, where they need something from someone else without being willing, able or permitted to obtain it by force; where differences threaten to turn into open conflict or have already caused offence, where people demand of themselves or others great efforts to do something or to refrain from doing something. Such constellations necessitate “accommodation” which is, however, not an individual exchange, but a process whereby interaction is based on benchmarks or social measures¹ which relate to the entirety of social structures. These social measures change through history as a society evolves.²

The following paper works on the premise that it is the function of politeness to establish something approximating an “action system” between the partners of an interaction. It is not just a coincidence that politeness is a very important element in arbitration and dispute resolution programmes, for its fundamental function is to mediate; and politeness generally serves to create a *social bond* which brings people together in the interaction context and allows them to enter into a specific form of cooperation at the social level.³

The types of polite action that we have examined⁴ so far create or preserve *social* cooperation in a number of *standardized constellations*, which are based on conflicting needs of the actors and are linked to communicative action forms, to speech formulae or even form complete patterns of action. For example, *requests* are based on the non-violent demand (House 1989) for the release of an object, together with the recognition of the ‘control field’⁵ of the object’s owner (the hearer H) so that the hearer receives the ability to perform the required action according to the social measure of generosity (Fienemann 2002; Rehbein 2001).⁶ When *offering* something the speaker recognizes that the hearer needs an object in the speaker’s control field and announces his readiness to give the object; the social measure would be the hearer’s willingness to accept the offer. The act of *thanking* is the linguistic creation of a self-obligation

on the part of the receiver (: S) and a discharge from obligation (: social measure) of the giver (: H) (Fienemann 1999). By *apologizing* the person who has caused injury recognizes and restores the injured person's zone of integrity (: social measure) (Rehbein 1972). By *greeting* someone, a reciprocal act, the renewal (of an already existing) or the initiation of a contact relationship is offered respectively.

Verbal and non-verbal action forms, in and with which the actors – depending on their conflicting needs – accommodate each other in order to create, maintain or alter a social relationship, can be regarded as the results of socio-historical developments (s. Ehlich 1992); likewise, from a socio-historical perspective, these forms have become bound to corresponding socially standardized constellations.⁷ Seen from an action-theoretical perspective, in using *polite* forms of speaking and acting, a speaker S shows courteous goodwill whereby s/he enables the hearer H to act according to social measures,⁸ so that the – potentially – incompatible control fields of S and H are “neutralized” and their respective ‘action fields’ are calibrated.⁹ It is essential that S, by means of polite action, should refrain from subjecting H to the natural state of her/his (i.e. S's) needs and/or to her/his force and power and that S should put her/himself in charge of rights and duties first instead of acting as an unreflecting individual. Usually, S undergoes a process of reflexivity whereby s/he regards the constellation from the viewpoint of a third party, i.e. S takes over a “bystander-role” (Goffman).

The general way in which politeness affects communication may be demonstrated in the *structural scheme of polite action*:¹⁰

- i. S and H are in a *constellation* structured as follows:
 - (a) The actors S and H have conflicting needs, but any action F relating to their satisfaction will require them to rethink, make an effort, forgo something etc.;
 - (b) S and H have different control fields at their disposal;
 - (c) S has the option of insisting that H satisfy her/his need;
- ii. assessment of the constellation (i) by S;
- iii. S utters verbal-communicative means indicating the following:
 - (a) S undergoes a process of reflexivity (role of a “bystander”) concerning the action F in terms of its *dimensions*, i.e. its production and/or reception by H;¹¹
 - (b) S shows *courteous goodwill* to H (“Entgegenkommen”) (and does not abuse the verbal-communicative means for strategic reasons);

- iv. with the utterance of a verbal-communicative means in a language S is performing the *social apparatus*¹² of politeness with the following effects:
 - (a) the different (potentially incompatible) control fields of S and H are “neutralized”;
 - (b) their respective action fields are calibrated, so that they are structurally mediated;
 - (c) this *mediation*¹³ provides the basis for the foundation for cooperation (~ a social bond) between S and H on the social level;
- v. H is enabled to act according to a *social measure*.

Social cooperation which unfolds from the individual interaction may be seen, for example, in the overarching structures of a social space when forms such as the *polite personal deixis* develop, like the German *Sie* (Rehbein 1996). Here politeness was the catalyst for the linguistic historical field transposition of the operative, phoric *sie* to the paradeictic *Sie* and thus caused the expression to alter its linguistic field and shift its function to the social integration of the hearer’s role in the speech action. The directly focussed hearer deixis was replaced by a socially mediated paradeictic definition of the roles of H and S.

The use of a social measure in polite action is often evident in the speaker’s positive assessment of the person being addressed (or the absence of a negative opinion) or of his negative assessment (or absence of a positive opinion). This reference to a social measure which the partners in the interaction share, however, requires a non-native to have an intimate knowledge of the specific society or social group (cf. Sornig 1985). This is probably responsible for “indirectness” being frequently cited in the literature (in linguistics mostly in reference to Searle) as the characteristic feature of politeness, basically a term for a bourgeois veneer created by social structures.¹⁴

The underlying thesis of Brown and Levinson (1987²) is that the function of politeness is to temper face-threatening acts in order to save the speaker from the negative response of the hearer, which s/he would have to expect if s/he were to baldly attempt to get her/his own way, i.e. without employing any polite strategies. In the basic constellation of polite action, according to Brown and Levinson, the hearer is conceptualized as an individual interaction partner who threatens the speaker. The view taken by researchers continuing the work of Brown and Levinson has been that politeness is a ‘strategy’ to give the interaction partner a “face” (Goffman 1955) or avoid injury to face. *Negative* politeness strategies serve to defend the speaker’s own territory, *positive* strategies aim to preserve the positive face of the hearer, even to the extent of

flattery, so that s/he does not notice that the speaker is really pursuing her/his own, egoistic interests. To exaggerate a little: to Brown and Levinson polite action means to deceive the hearer so skilfully, that s/he does not notice the deception.¹⁵ The model of a competitive society which underlies the theory of Brown and Levinson is what leads to the notion that politeness is fundamentally a strategic instrument for the realization of one's own interests. Our view is that polite action gives the interaction partner (i.e. the hearer) a *social role*, which is more than simply individual behaviour, rather it is to be seen as a *position in the overall structures of society*. Indeed a social role – in its original Greek meaning of “mask, role, person” – can also be termed a “face”.

2. On the structure of introductions

When actors first come into contact with each other, especially at the start of a discourse, several different polite actions are possible. Some of these will be *inviting*, *greeting*, *enquiring*, *asking* (to come in, come closer, take one's coat off etc.), *offering* (a seat, something to eat etc.). Of interest are actions which set the presuppositions that are to form the basis for subsequent comprehensive cooperation, namely *introductions*.

The process of making introductions has a long history in European traditions. In feudal times the stranger was introduced to the ruler, but not the other way round. Only with the rise of bourgeois society does the concept of reciprocity appear, i.e. people are introduced or introduce themselves *to each other*. These days introductions would appear limited to ceremonial settings, as a kind of throwback to older times when a famous author, actor, Nobel Prize winner or politician is respectfully introduced to an audience. This has probably a lot to do with the fact that the introduction seems caught in the dichotomy between politeness and democratic principles of equality, so that the manner of performance wavers between stiffness and disregard. In reality though, introductions occur more frequently in our recordings of modern day communication than is usually assumed.

If one looks at the occasions in which strangers are introduced to each other, introductions in an egalitarian society often appear in an unexpected guise. In particular, they seem especially necessary in societies with a high proportion of immigrants, such as ours, where the foreign actors are not able to take recourse to their own, familiar stock of presuppositions,¹⁶ but have to create new ones through communication in order to make communication possible at all. The process of becoming acquainted is often very different in

the society from which the immigrant comes, and sometimes introductions are completely unknown.

In this paper, we are working on the assumption that introductions are not in the process of disappearing and that the procedure has created the basic structure for a *linguistic action pattern*. Accordingly, we shall attempt to define the basic positions in the pattern, but we must caution that, since the material being examined is in German, the positions will be those of a pattern tied to linguistic action in the German language. People whose native language is not German speak this foreign language more or less with the familiar patterns of their own. The basic positions defined will serve as a template to analyse the transcript excerpts. The analysis will show modifications in the surface realisation and even modifications in the basic structure of the pattern.

An introduction is *embedded* in the overall interactional process of becoming acquainted. Here we are often looking at a “mixture of patterns”, which also seems to be structured in a sequential manner. With special regard to *introductions*, the *greeting* is bound to an action system that already exists, *enquiring* presupposes one that has already been established, and which is to be expanded. Enquiring may be integrated into the introduction (China), it may stand in place of the introduction (*quid pro quo*; Arabian countries; Madagascar), it can be partly independent (European countries).

The introduction is counted as a *reciprocal action pattern* (Rehbein, Kameyama, & Maleck 1994). On the communicative surface it is often realized by means of linguistic formulae. The *reciprocal* usages are more frequent in English than in German, however.¹⁷ The separate positions of the pattern [1] to [8] are counted with Arabic numerals in square brackets.

[1] *Opening constellation*

When introductions are made, the following constellation may be assumed:

The introducing actor is X, the introduced actor Y, the actor to whom the introduction is made is Z. The purpose of the linguistic action of the introducing actor X is to effect a social mediation between Y and Z. When introducing oneself, the actor Y must fulfil this purpose himself – which can often be a difficult task in a non-institutional context. It should be pointed out that – at least in historical terms – X is a mediating person and not an object. – The following example will illustrate the opening constellation:

(E 1) Kemal says to Julia: “That is Peter.”

More generally: X says to Z: ‘Y’ (with appropriate gesture)

This may be represented in a diagram in Figure 1.

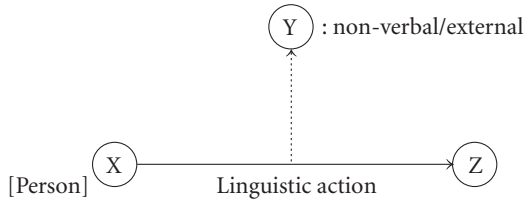


Figure 1. The basic constellation (speech situation) of introductions; X: introducer, Y: the introduced actor, Z: the actor to whom the introduction is made

What is important here is that Y is a real individual in social reality and thus possesses an external, non-verbal existence. X focuses Z's attention on him. – The actor Y is *unknown* to Z (whether Z is a stranger to Y or not is often irrelevant). Z could be an individual or a group. By contrast, Person X knows both people, Y and Z. To Z, however, Y is an unknown *individual* or a group of unknown individuals.

Taking a closer look, we see that the fundamental relationship between Z and Y is not reciprocal in the base instance, because Z often represents a “membership” or, to be more precise, *an action system* composed of a variety of common presuppositions to which Y would like to be “admitted” and of which X is also usually a member. Before admittance, the barrier of not being acquainted needs to be overcome *through polite action* directed at creating a common action system.

The constellation is also fundamental in character inasmuch as, during the progression of the pattern, the (unknown) person Y acquires the linguistic and social dimension of *speaker* and *hearer* in the communication of the concrete social group (as represented by Z) and thus completes the passage from a person who is talked about to a person to whom one speaks and who him/herself speaks (cf. the fundamental roles in the speech situation, Bühler 1934; Wunderlich 1971; Ehlich 1979). All deictic expressions used to focus upon the persons of the constellation at hand are termed ‘social deixis’.

For an empirical analysis one must distinguish between *planned* and *casual* meetings:¹⁸ planned meetings (as e.g. in example (E 1)) mostly stem from Z's invitation; the participants, especially Y and Z, have already been announced to each other in some form before the actual introduction; Z has a degree of prior knowledge about Y. If the meeting is casual, Y is more likely to have prior knowledge of Z.¹⁹

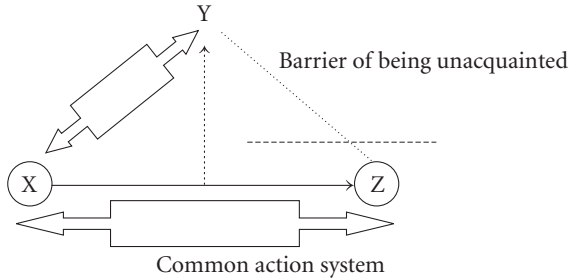


Figure 2. Presupposed common knowledge between X (mediator) and Z and between X and Y; barrier of being unacquainted between Y and Z

[2] *Perception field*

Y appears in Z's *perception field* and vice versa: this can be effected through eye contact, by telephone or through some other medium. The perception field is embedded in a socially structured overall situation.

[3] *Exploration of willingness*

A mutual barrier of being unacquainted stands between Y and Z: the initiative to overcome this barrier may be taken by

- a. X, who knows both ('May I introduce you (: Z) to Y or you (: Y) to Z?'), or
- b. Z, turning to X and asking ('Could you perhaps introduce me to Y?')
- c. Y himself ('Please permit me to introduce myself')

The *recipient* of the introduction is usually addressed by name ('Mrs. X, may I introduce you to my brother?').

Looking at [3](a) and [3](b), one can see that X plays the role of the intermediary (cf. Marriage bureau), whereby X vouches for Y in particular as someone worth becoming acquainted with (X acts as guarantor to Z).²⁰ If Y as a stranger approaches Z directly, the situation is often one of an institutional, pre-structured relationship such as in an interview (with planned structure) or in a non-institutional setting where there is a risk involved.²¹

At the linguistic level a modal performative formula is usually selected. This does not appear as a modal request for permission but instead as an exploration of whether Z is willing to be introduced, a cautious preparation towards anchoring Y in Z's action system and thus creates a *pre-phase* of social mediation. An exploration of Z's willingness is polite in that Z is given a chance to learn something about Y before the introduction, or more precisely, by sound-

ing out Z's willingness X recognizes that Z can refuse to become acquainted with Y.²²

[4] *Introduction of Y to Z* [: "giving Y an identity"]

The introduction takes places in several specific steps (cf. example (E 1)):

- [4](a) Y is *identified* verbally (through deixis and non-verbal gesture); if Y is introducing himself, he must indicate his own person: 'I am Y', 'my name is Y' etc.
- [4](b) Y is placed in a social context by being predicated; if this happens by *naming* (cf. Hoffmann 1999) Z acquires a "pigeonhole" for the individual; more precisely, to Z, Y has now become a person and not one of any number of individuals (in the sense of being an interactor) – a process which can be understood as a "socialization of Y in Z's action system". Titles and other forms of address can also be chosen.

In the predicate the individual is *singled out or given sharper profile* in the constellation – likewise a characteristic of politeness. Y, namely, receives a "social image" thereby and thus creates a *knowledge structure* for his interaction partner Z (such as a concept of Y, an assessment etc.; cf. Ehlich & Rehbein 1977; Rehbein 2003). Value judgements are often included here. However, the most important aspect of this is that the social past, i.e. the previous history of the individual as a social being, and evaluations of the person flow into these predicates (>that is Peter, the neighbour from upstairs< etc.); they exist as pre-suppositions in the name. To put it another way: the predicate serves to "locate" Y in the social knowledge space of Z.

Due to [2] and [3], Y also receives a specific place in Z's action system: this is – at least in German society – an important feedback about the person who was introduced (reflexive nature of introductions). – Steps (a) and (b) within position [4] of the introduction could be collectively described as "giving Y a social identity", whereby Y is detached in Z's perception from the anonymous pool of individuals who merely exist. *Symbol field expressions* of the "social categorisation" type are used for the predicates. In this way the (initially unknown) person Y gains a fundamental characteristic in Z's action system, attaining the social roles of speaker and hearer.

A distinction is to be made between introductions which the stranger himself initiates and those which are initiated by others; according to the constellation, one or the other of these will be the more polite variant.²³

[5] (*Alternative:*) *Z introduces himself to Y*

Z identifies himself to Y with definite predicates and thus calls on prior knowledge of Y. This is a very formal position, which is tied to discourse types within social hierarchies.

[6] (*Reciprocal*) *expressions of pleasure by Z and Y*

Formulae of appreciation such as ‘pleased to meet you!’, ‘angenehm!’, ‘sehr erfreut!’,²⁴ ‘encantado!’, ‘enchanté!’, ‘memnun oldum’, ‘hoş buld:k!’ and so on characterise in some languages the steps in which Z answers with a *reciprocating* procedure.²⁵ This in turn is polite in that Z, for his part, makes contact with Y and announces his recognition of Y’s position in his, Z’s, social knowledge space. The mode employed is often an *exclamation*, with which the speaker shares an evaluation with H (Rehbein 1999) (prompting field). The expressive procedure in particular is also seen in other languages; it signalizes to the other party “interest” in becoming better acquainted.

The use of expressive and expeditive expressions shows that the linguistic *realization of the illocution* is essential to this position [6] in the pattern: the mere utterance of a reciprocal formula is not in itself a polite reciprocal speech action with the effect described. It is important that Z expresses his pleasure at the meeting in credible fashion through his speech action. The barrier of not being acquainted will not be removed until this happens. The prosodic expressive procedure is used for an illocutionary act of this quality. The actual realization of the position “expression of pleasure” can also be a non-verbal one, a friendly smile or laugh directed at the person. – For this position, it would appear to be very important to distinguish between casual and planned meetings.

[7] *Outcome of the introduction*

An action system in the sense of social cooperation has been created between Y and Z.

[8] *Sequel to the introduction*

If the illocution is completed with a (*reciprocal*) *expression of pleasure*, the sequel to the introduction commences: Y is admitted to Z’s group and integrated into Z’s action system. This is where the social character of the action system itself comes into play, the outcome depending on whether it is a (transitory) meeting for a meal, a longer-term acquaintanceship, fitting into a corporate hierarchy etc. The mutual barrier of not being acquainted has been eliminated. With the integration into a common action system, however, the basis has been

laid for misunderstandings between Z and Y, since a common system of pre-suppositions permits tacit assumptions which, being in an unacknowledged opposition, can be overcome in the further course of communication. However, these matters have nothing to do with the introduction per se, even if they would not happen at all without the introduction.

The sequel often leads into a new pattern of human contact or sequential follow-ups occur. For example Z will often ask Y, who has been introduced, a number of questions about herself/himself. The purpose of such questions is to widen Z's knowledge of Y in order to create an action system wherein longer contact with Y is possible. The questions are asymmetrical between Z and X. But they do give X a kind of licence to ask Z the same sort of question. Here there are obviously different ranges as well as limits. Again, the *discourse type* will also play a role (see §7).

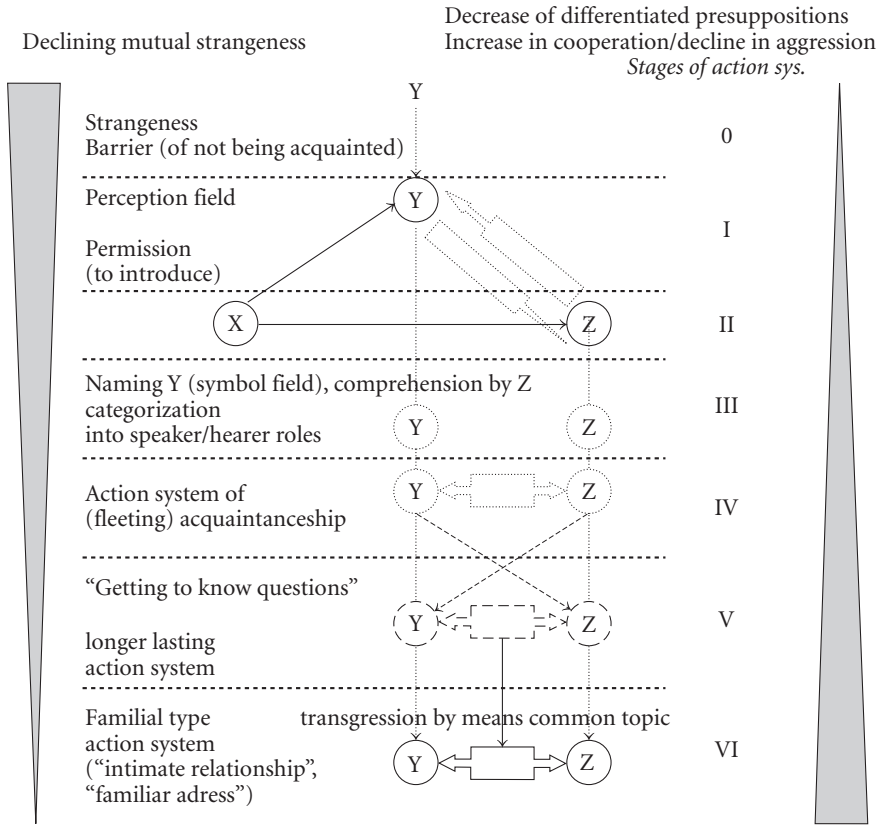
These issues are obviously very specific to different languages: while in German people tend to ask about places or other "less personal" characteristics of the person, in Chinese numerous and intimate questions express particular interest in the other person and are therefore especially polite (see below § 4.3).

3. The stages of the action systems when people become acquainted

There are about six stages (I-VI), through which Y and Z pass in the process of becoming acquainted. In this process Y is a person who is a stranger to a specific, concrete social structure but who is equipped with her/his "own" knowledge of another social structure. Z, for his part, represents the structural knowledge of the specific, concrete society which Y gets to know step by step as he becomes acquainted with Z (Figure 3 shows this schematically).

In detail: at first the stranger Y is unknown to the social actor Z (stage 0). Y and Z share no *common* knowledge in the sense of knowledge about each other. Because they are separated by the barrier of not being acquainted, Y is a "non-person" to Z. When Y enters the perception field of either X or Z or, conversely, when Z enters the perception field of X the *prerequisites* (from stage 0 to I) are in place for an introduction; at the same time Y's perception field changes into a *social* action space in reference to the system represented by Z.²⁶ By entering into the perception field Y crosses the barrier between stages 0 and I.

The next barrier between stages I and II is overcome when X or Y *asks* for permission to introduce/be introduced; there then follows the linguistic mediation act where X makes the introduction or Y introduces herself/himself.



Abbreviations: Y: stranger; Z: member of a given (communication) society; X: mediating person (or mediating 'object'); ----- (communicative) barriers between the stages of action systems

Figure 3. Stages of the "action systems" when people become acquainted

At stage III the individual actor Y is now perceived by Z who gives her/him a name/title²⁷ and assigns her/him to a category.²⁸ The barrier between II and III is the understanding of Y's name *in terms of what it expresses* about his/her social role. The foundations for the social functions of the *speaker* and *hearer* roles in the joint communication are laid at this point. In this connection Z activates his *prior knowledge of category* about Y's person.

Not until stage IV, when each knows the name or title of the other and the relationship becomes reciprocal, may one say that Y and Z are acquainted, even if only fleetingly. The procedures of polite introduction and expression of pleasure overcome the barrier to stage IV of common knowledge.²⁹ At stage V

a longer-term relationship of being acquainted is reached. In many languages the polite forms of the personal deixis are used by Y and Z. The interaction signal for this relationship is mutual greeting when the people meet again and show signals of recognition of the prior knowledge of category laid down in stage III.

At stage VI the actors attain a close (familial type) relationship. They may address each other by their first names and no longer use the polite forms of address. This happens only on the condition that the barriers of mistrust or unfamiliarity have been overcome and mutual expectations anchored. In European countries this stage is described as “private” or “intimate”.³⁰ By contrast there is an *integration zone* at all stages of the action system, representing the core of the individual’s “societal” socialisation.

The “path” from being a stranger (stage 0) through stages I–VI is somewhat akin to the genesis of a “social role” which is assumed by Y, initially a stranger, *within the social structure represented by Z*. The “social role” is to be seen as the *relationship of Y to Z and the reciprocal relationship of Z to Y*.^{31, 32} The term ‘action system’ was coined for this type of relationship (s. Ehlich & Rehbein 1972). An action system may be characterized by the common expectations the actors have of each other and the corresponding *mutual and common knowledge* in the form of *action presuppositions* (Rehbein 2002). Between the separate stages of common knowledge stand *barriers* which can be overcome or reinforced through specific forms of *interaction, namely through the linguistic modes of politeness*, depending on the *constellation*. Not until there is *reciprocal polite action* – realised in reciprocal speech *formulae* – will the knowledge at issue become truly *common* to both. The systems of presuppositions are likewise divided into stages. Once Y and Z have overcome the first barrier of not being acquainted, the social relationship between them is based on very few common presuppositions. When better acquainted their social relationship is based on a greater number of action systems (that are more long-term). They share more common presuppositions; but only when Y and Z have achieved a familial type relationship will they have so many common presuppositions that the personal deixis ‘du’ is perceived as a threat.

The function of the *introduction* is to cross the first four barriers. The last step in the – basically reciprocal – close social relationship moving toward stage VI cannot be carried out by the introduction itself. This change occurs between Y and Z after a common history of communication has been established and not straight away at the beginning. The “getting-to-know-people” questions often turn a fleeting acquaintanceship into a more long-term one, but these questions fulfil different functions in different societies.

Especially when people become acquainted, polite action is the medium which initially sets the social roles that the participants Y and Z play *for each other*. It creates a social relationship of co-operation based on common presuppositions and allows them to take up the speaker-hearer roles as *roles within a social structure*.

Let us trace back the class of introductions which belong to the category of reciprocal patterns of action (as analyzed in §2) and their underlying stages of presuppositions to the aspects of the general apparatus of politeness, as developed at the beginning of this paper (s. §1). The constellation (i) of the structural scheme of politeness (s. §1) is the state of strangeness, i.e. the state of being unacquainted, of at least two actors (Y and Z), and the need of at least one of them of getting acquainted with the other. The fields of control of Y and Z are not mediated into a common action space so that their encounters threaten to reach from avoidance up to aggression. The appearance of the actors in the perception space [2] prompts the mediator X (or one of the other actors) to change the constellation. The speech action of introducing then raises the stage of the action systems to bring about a higher category of sociability (“reflexivity” in (iiia) of the structural scheme of politeness); the step of courteous good will which has to be performed reciprocally by both actors is to be seen as the respective surmounting of a ‘barrier of acquaintanceship’; this is characterized by the usage of a social predicate verbalized in the pattern position [4] whereby the introduced person gets her/his respective social position for the respective hearer. In the next step the control fields of Y and Z are substituted by a common system of action whereby their action fields are calibrated (s. (iv) of the structural scheme of politeness). Now, both interactors can categorize the other person according to the common action system, and, as respective hearers of the introduction, are enabled to apply the social measure of acquaintanceship to the introduced person.

4. Aspects of becoming acquainted in other languages

4.1 Formulaic queries about the other’s health in Arabic

In his examination of polite forms using transcriptions of intercultural interaction between Germans and Arabs, Bouchara discovered in 2002 that in Arabic *it is not usual to introduce people by name*.³³ Not only does position [4] in the introduction pattern detailed above disappear, but Bouchara’s data and analysis seem to indicate that there is no introduction pattern in Arabic. Instead

the linguistic formula for “how are you?” is used in a redundant fashion, as revealed in this Arabic example which Bouchara presents as typical:

(E 2) (from: Bouchara 2002:61)

Moussa: Answering the question of whether he is well (“how are you?”)

Asking whether Rachid is well (“how are you?”)

Asking whether Rachid is well (“how are you?”)

Rachid: Asking whether Moussa is well (“how are you?”)

Moussa: Answering the question of whether he is well (“how are you?”)

Rachid: Asking whether Moussa is well (“how are you?”)

Moussa: Answering the question of whether he is well (“how are you?”)

Rachid: Asking whether Moussa is well (“how are you?”)

The speech formula “how are you?” is characterized like this:

- There is *no definite rule* about who asks “how are you?” *first*.
- The interlocutors use the formula in a *reciprocal* manner.
- The formula has a number of variations.
- The formula is used *recursively*, akin to a *battery*.
- Guest and host often swap roles.

The formulaic question “how are you?” [for example “ki:f xxx?”] with its variations is obviously the realization of a *small pattern*, which Bouchara has dubbed the “Arabian exchange of ‘how are you?’” (ibid.:71). In communicative respects, the pattern is characterized by *recursiveness* (not so much by reciprocity) and is most likely used to assure “symmetrical relations” and the mutual interest between communication partners as they start a conversation. This would seem – in the querying position – to fulfil the purpose for which the pattern of introduction has been developed in Europe.

Bouchara (2002: 88) explains the *absence of introductions* in agreement with Osterloh: “In small societies [...] people generally know each other, so that no introduction ritual is required and thus no linguistic tradition formed for it [...] In the urban society of modern Morocco this traditional, socio-cultural background still plays a dominant role [...] The old clan membership or where one comes from is still much more important [...] Membership in a clan is not revealed in introduction rituals but in more informal manner by third parties” (Osterloh 1986: 178).

In example (E 2) above the formulaic question “how are you?” is obviously transferred to the lingua franca communication in German. Bouchara confirms this from his data when he says: “it has been shown that Arabian participants do not transfer these formulae with their religious colouring into the

foreign language during encounters with Germans. However, idiomatic greetings from Moroccan Arabic are translated into German. This leads to the false interpretation of what are [in Arabic] polite intentions, since some of the most common greeting formulae in use in the Moroccan-Arabian culture are considered prying or even indiscreet by Germans, . . . which is absolutely contrary to what the speaker intends. These greeting formulae or formulaic questions, directly translated from Moroccan Arabic into German, strike Germans as an intrusion into their private lives. . . ” (83/84).

4.2 *Welcomes* in English

Edmondson and House (1981) examined “illocutions in different interactional slots,” looking at, amongst other things *congratulates*, *sympathises*, *remarks*, *discloses*, *tells*, *opines*, and *greet*s together with *how-are-you*s and the subject of particular interest here, *welcomes*. Convincing in theoretical terms is that they allocate the utterance of such speech formulae an *illocutionary force*.³⁴ The illocution of *welcomes* in English is explained as: “. . . including expressions of pleasure made on “neutral” territory when [familiar] acquaintances meet. Welcomes are satisfied by reciprocation; however, in the case of the more [formal] “welcome”, one reciprocates the initiating welcome in expressing pleasure not at the hearer’s being there, but at the speaker’s being there. This makes sense because in this case the hearer is where he is expected to be – he is on his own territory!” *Welcomes* in English are expressed after the “introduction”.³⁵ Corresponding to the starting constellation [1] for introductions there is no mutual communicative accessibility between the actors prior to the utterance of a *welcome*. In concrete terms this constitutes a *speaker* role for the person introduced and a *hearer* role for the initiator of the *welcome*.

Welcomes are made, according to Edmondson and House “after a formal introduction” using the following formulae: ‘nice to meet you!’, ‘pleasure to meet you!’, ‘Ah I’ve been looking forward to meeting you!’, ‘I was hoping we’d be introduced!’, ‘it’s a pleasure to meet you!’ (formal), ‘I’m honoured to make your acquaintance!’ etc.

As in German, welcomes are realized in English through the intonation of the formulae with clear *expressive procedures of the toning field*, however, in contrast with German, these are also exchanged between people who know each other. English welcome formulae are also characterized by a greater variation in the propositional expression of expectations placed on the other person (the introduction history is verbalized propositionally *in nuce*).

In contrast to German, English obviously has a greatly expanded position [6], the expression of pleasure, and also has, with the noun form ‘welcome’, an expression describing a speech action that has no equivalent in the German lexicon. While to our (German) way of thinking *welcomes* belong to the pattern of introduction, albeit with several options, it is possible that they form an independent sub-pattern in English, which is used in the context of introductions *and elsewhere*.³⁶

4.3 Getting-to-know-you questions in Chinese

Yong Liang (1996: 399) was the first to talk of “getting-to-know-you questions”. These are questions such as (a) “What is your name?” (b) “Where do you come from?” (c) “Are you married?” / “Do you have children?” (d) “How much do you earn a month?” which Chinese people ask when introduced to someone new.

In such cases it is not seldom to find German interlocutors reacting with confusion or even outrage, because these questions penetrate their “sacred” private sphere and show, in their eyes, a lack of respect for social distance. This situation, unusual for a German, is perfectly normal to Chinese people, indeed it is almost obligatory at the start of the first conversation. In China these questions are on no account seen as harmful to the social relationship or curiosity about “private matters”, but they are considered an expression of politeness because they are intended to signalize interest in the concerns of the other person. (ibid.: 399)³⁷

According to Zhang (2000) the Chinese concept of politeness is not bound up with distance, or the other’s personal space, freedom to move or decide. She sees this as a characteristic of the Western concept of politeness. On the contrary, the Chinese concept is concerned with reducing distance (ibid.: 61)

In order to act in socially “correct” and therefore “polite” ways it is necessary to learn the personal and social biography of the other person. These getting-to-know-you questions are an important prerequisite for polite dealings with each other, and to be understood as a means of “becoming acquainted”. This is because “nothing is more impolite than to treat one’s interlocutor without due regard for these social relationships and factors” (Liang 1998: 148). In this sense the information gained from the getting-to-know-you questions also serves as a comparative parameter with one’s self. By comparing “self” and “other” one may decide what and how something may be said or done and what is not appropriate, indeed whether one is interested in deepening the relationship with the other person” (ibid.: 67/68).

4.4 Becoming acquainted in Norwegian in relation to a topic

Svennevig (1999) used conversation analysis to take a look at how young male and female students from a variety of Scandinavian countries become acquainted at Norwegian universities. Introducing oneself in the sense described above is hardly to be found in the printed transcripts of the openings of conversations in the book.

Svennevig distils a linear interaction structure with the following steps: (1) a getting-to-know-you question from participant A with a presentation-eliciting question about community membership or biographical information is answered by another person B (2) with a minimal or expanded self-presentation, whereupon (3) A supplies a (laconic) acknowledgement token, a continuation elicitor (topicalizer or a focused, topical question) or, interestingly, a self-oriented comment (ibid.:100). An acquaintanceship relation develops when A and B find a common topic which satisfies the participants' need for knowledge related to an object or a topic. An acquaintanceship is not established until a specific, concrete topic is found. Procedures bound to linguistic formulae of introductions including formal getting-to-know-you questions therefore arouse no interest in the acquaintanceship or an expansion of social relationships.³⁸

One might think that the students would not enter a system of stages in becoming acquainted until the relationship moves into the stage of a longer term acquaintanceship (stages V and VI), simply leaving the previous stages of introduction out. Taking a closer look at the transcripts, however, it appears that, instead of a mediating *person X*, an *object*, which becomes a *common topic*, figures as the intermediary between Y and Z. If this is true, then the process of becoming acquainted between students in Norway starts in specific manner at stage II with the "conversational" introduction of an object that interests both. This circumstance may have something to do with the pupil-student-conversation *type of discourse*, in the context of which it is obviously not customary to introduce oneself, but it may also signal the tendency in Norwegian to *re-analyse* all formal interaction as topic prominent interaction.³⁹ Polite action would therefore be understood, according to Svennevig's data, as an interaction related to a topic, because that is the way in which a social relationship can arise between the actors in the sense of co-operation based on politeness.

4.5 Aspects of introductions in Turkish family communication

In the following, we will be looking at an introduction whilst a student (: Izel) and her sister (: Irem) are visiting a family in Turkey⁴⁰ to make recordings of a child's speech (: 9-year-old Seda). The situation is one that frequently occurs in socio-linguistic projects. Seda's mother introduces the two young women to her neighbour:

(E 3) (Ize: Izel, interviewer, Sed: Seda, 9;6, pupil in grade 5, Mut: Seda's mother, Bes: visitor, Irem: Izel's sister. While Izel and Irem are talking to Seda and her mother in the kitchen, the doorbell rings and the neighbour enters the interaction space carrying her 7–9-month-old baby called Volkan. In the background Seyda, Seda's three-year old sister, is screaming.)

- | | | | |
|---|---|--|---|
| 6 | Sed
TS-Sed | kadın. Tek başına oturuyo. İşte öyle olunca da... [Volkan]! Şey
<i>woman. She lives alone. As the situation was ...</i> | |
| | | | <i>[very kind to the child]</i> |
| 7 | Sed
Ize
Mut
TS-Mut
Bes
TS-Bes | öyle olunca da işte...

[Merhaba!]
[Hello!
(noise of keys)
<i>quietly</i> | Ihu'

• • Komşum! • • İzel
<i>My neighbour!</i>

((Problem with |
| | | | <i>quietly</i> |
| 8 | Sed
TS-Sed
Ize
TS-Ize
Mut
TS-Mut | Hanım, İrem Hanım! [Tanıştırıyım]!
<i>I would like to introduce ((you to her)).</i>
microphone)) | • • Bu da Saliha Hanım!
<i>And that is Mrs. Saliha!</i>

Mer-
<i>Hello!</i> |
| | | | <i>[for: tanıştırayım]</i> |
| 9 | Sed
TS-Sed
Ize
TS-Ize
Mut
TS-Mut | haba:!! • • Hoşbuldu:k!
<i>Welcome!</i>

Bu da benim biricik komşum!
<i>And that is my unique neighbour!</i> | Bak ben ona/ ben ona şarkı
<i>Look, I for her/ I have written a song for</i> |

Bestk/Sed/1264/SKO/021003#91355

Let us look at this example from a generalized view point. The neighbour is introduced with the word “Komşum” (my neighbour) (score area SC 7), without a name, and then put into focus with an evaluating description, “This is

my unique neighbour!” (“Bu da benim biricik komşum!”) (SC 9), in conjunction with the deixis for proximity “bu” (this) (SC 9) and the personal deixis “benim” (my) (SC 9). Taken in context with this positive assessment, the deixis does not appear purely as an “object deixis” but as especially respectful. One should stress that the person coming in is introduced with additional focussing (as in example E 4 below when “Peter” is introduced by the Turkish student: “There comes our . . . Pe:tér!” (s 260)).

The possessive “-m” in “benim” and in “komşum” (in SC 7) refers to a specific personal relationship between the speaker making the introduction and the person being introduced. Through this operative procedure the common action system shared by family and neighbourhood comes into play, which – this is the thesis – is determined by the structure ‘possessive + naming of neighbourhood/family structure’: here the person entering is allocated a place in the social structure of the family/neighbourhood.^{41, 42}

By contrast, the two women who are already in the interaction space of the kitchen but obviously come from a social structure outside of this space are introduced with the formula ‘first name + hanım’, which is a normal form of address for institutional situations, allowing them to overcome the barrier of strangeness and enter the stage of mutual acquaintanceship. The possessive suffix “-m” on “hanım” is significant because it politely anchors the two names in the action system of this family’s communication.

Once the visitor Izel has been greeted and introduced, she in turn makes her greeting (“Merhaba!”) and returns the welcome by expressing pleasure with “Hoşbuldu:k”: Lengthening vowels of the final syllables of both words is to be interpreted as an expressive procedure which explicitly shows interest.

In the discourse type “family communication” the linguistic formulae of the greeting “Merhaba!” and the expression of pleasure “Hoşbuldu:k” do not have to be reciprocal as the presupposition systems (assumed to be given) guarantee the reciprocity.⁴³ It would be wrong to speak of an “ellipse” in this instance.

“Tanıŝtrayım” (I would like to introduce (you to her)) is used by the hostess in SC 8 as a performative formula to announce the action of their being introduced to the visitors. From a functionalistic perspective, the meaning of the morphology of the performative is quite interesting: The reciprocal suffix “-ŝ-” and the causative suffix “-tır-” are agglutinated to the verbal stem “tanı(mak)”, which has the meaning of “to get to know s.o.”. The persons being addressed by the announcement of introduction are not verbalised by means of a pronoun or a deixis, but are presupposed in the perception field.

5. An introduction in a multilingual setting

We shall now take a closer look at the linguistic pattern of *introduction* and how it works in a multilingual setting. The following theses are being pursued:

- Both the positions in the speech pattern of polite action and the linguistic formulae on the surface of communication are produced in differing ways in different languages. In communication using a lingua franca such structures are *transferred*, *abandoned* or *synthesized* with other linguistic basics.
- To acquaint non-natives with one another in a social structure, different languages use introduction patterns so that politeness may overcome the successive barriers to common presuppositions and move towards an action system that both foreigners and native speakers can employ.
- Politeness in a lingua franca is not rigidly fixed to “absolute” linguistic forms, instead, polite forms vary in reference to the underlying structures of the constellation. The constellations are formalized according to the specifics of the languages in *discourse types* such as family and institutional communication, contact openings etc.⁴⁴

To discuss these theses, we shall look at data from two projects. The corpus of the ShiK project contains recordings of verbal communication from speakers of Malagasy and German from 4 recording *constellations*: telephoning in search of a flat, in search of a job, asking the way and communication with a local authority (s. Table 1). There are also audiovisual recordings of conversations (: ‘discourses’) in a variety of intercultural contact situations (11 conversations lasting from about 10 minutes to 2 hours for a total of 10:10:00 h). Also among the data are conversation circles at the university where people from Madagascar, Greece, Georgia, Kazakhstan, India, China, Estonia, Korea, Japan and Germany talk about academic topics and about everyday experiences. There are also conversations at mealtimes in which people from Turkey, Morocco, Estonia, Lebanon, Kazakhstan, China, Uruguay, Madagascar and Germany participate. In addition there are intercultural talks during breaks lasting a total of 4:29:30 between a German and a Madagascan. In addition, this work is based on more than 400 visits made by people equipped with recorders to collect linguistic data from families in Germany and in Turkey, which cannot be named in more detail here (cf. data from the SFB 538 project SKOBI).

From the data supplied by these projects, we have extracted transcripts of those sections which deal with the introduction of people into a social group. Using several transcripts selected for their exemplary character, we shall work out some structures, especially those of introductions; this will be discussed

Table 1. Recorded discourses in multilingual and monolingual settings (data base)

Recording constellations	No. of recordings	hours/m	Total
<i>in Germany</i>			343
Asking the way (contact)	155		
Looking for a flat (every day institution)	36		
Talking to local authorities	105		
Intercultural meetings	11	10:10:00	
Intercultural talks during breaks	36	4:29:30	
<i>In Madagascar (in Malagasy)</i>	117	16:75:51	117
<i>Speakers (m/f)</i>			97
<i>Audio recordings</i>			411
<i>Video recordings</i>			102

using the tools of qualitative analysis of the material, with particular regard to alterations in some discourse types and to the background of some languages. People with different native tongues are taking part in the following discourse, from which we shall analyse a section where people first meet: two people have Estonian, two Arabic as their native language, one is a native speaker of Turkish and one of German. The communication is conducted in German as a *lingua franca* communication.


Sitting around the kitchen table in a German hall of residence are Kemal,⁴⁵ a student of electronics from Morocco, Annika from Estonia who is reading German, Maike, her friend from Estonia, also studying German and on a visit from Estonia, Jessika, a Turkish student reading politics and economics; and Julia, a German academic who is recording the evening's intercultural encounter. They are expecting a politics and economics student from Lebanon who, despite his country of origin, has been nicknamed "Peter" by his fellow students.⁴⁶ Julia is the visitor, all the others know each other fairly well, including "Peter" who has not yet arrived. Annika, Kemal and Jessika speak excellent German, Maike and Peter speak German well. Annika has prepared the evening meal. We have picked the moment when Peter arrives for dinner and is introduced to Julia. The meeting between the visitor Julia who is already seated and the new arrival Peter (whom the others know) starts with a ring at the door, prompting Jessika to go and open it and "bring him into" the interaction space of the evening meal. Meanwhile a *homileic discourse*⁴⁷ is in progress around the table, marked by jokes, bantering and recounting to which the visitor Julia is making an animated contribution.

(E 4) 191099/shik/WG-Essen Frankreich//4m39/Fi
170204/180204//1:180


1
JUL ^{/251}
Un:d dann war ich irgendwann so nach vier Stunden oder so
An:d then after about four hours, like, I was also completely unnerved.
^{/252}
(slamming of doors)

2
JUL ^{/254}
war ich auch total genervt. Da hab ich (gedacht), ja irgendwie •
So I thought, now somehow
JES ^{/253} ^{/255} ^{/256}
[Setz dich hin! • Da. Benimm dich!]
Sit down! There! Behave yourself!
[coming from the hall, speaking to PET]

3
KEM ²⁵⁸
((----- laughing -----))
JUL •so:jetzt ^{*2} reichts irgendwie, ne. Jetzt möcht ich auch ^{/259}
that's enough somehow, right? Now it would be nice if I
^{/257}
MAI ((laughs))
MAI-NV |-----looking towards the hall-----|
JES ^{t1} ^{*2}



4
KEM ^{/261} ^{/262}
Ja, ja Ja
Okay, okay. Yes.
KEM-NV |looks.at JES a. PET|-----faces JUL-----|
KEM-NV |-----nodding-----|
JUL ^{*3} ^{*4}
gern mal wieder irgendwas: s sa:gen, oder • so
could also say something for once, like.
MAI-NV |----- looking at JES and PET-----|
JES ^{/260} ^{*5} ^{*6}
[Da kommt unser •• Pe: • tér.
^{3*} ^{4*} ^{6*} *There comes our •• Pe: • tér!*



[approaching the table]

5 KEM /15 /270
 Das ist
 That is

KEM-NV [*closes his eyes*] |-----smiles at PET-----
 /263 *8 /264 /265 /269

JUL A:h Hallo! Hallo! Hallo!
 Hello! Hello! Hello!

JUL-NV [---turning around to PET-----] |-----facing PET-----| [*turns around, puts the glass down*]-----
 /267*10 *11 *12*13

MAI Hallo!
 Hello!

MAI-NV [*crosses JE*] |-----facing PET-----|-----smiles at PET-----
 MAI-NV |-----nods to PET in greeting-----|
 *7 /265 *9 *14

JES Peter, das ist Julia.
 Peter, that is Julia.

JES-NV |-----goes to her place-----||*turns to JUL*| %: (*opens her*
 /268

PET Hallo!
 Hello!

*7 *8 *10 *11 *12 *13 14



6 KEM *16 /271 *17 *18 /272 *19
 der Peter! Komm Peter! Komm rein!
 (the) Peter! Come, Peter! Come in!

KEM-NV |-----||- turns to the right -| |-----turns to the left-| |-----
 /275 /276

JUL ((laughs)) Ja.
 Yes.

JUL-NV ----- *lifts the chair and turns to PET* -----| |-----
 JUL-NV

MAI Das ist der Peter!
 That is (the) Peter!

MAI-NV |-----| |*turns to KEM*| |*faces KEM*| |*glances at KEM*| |-----*looks at JUL*-----|
 MAI-NV |*nods ostentatiously*|
 JES-NV *mouth*) |-----|----- *stays at her place*-----
 JES-NV |-----*glances at PET*-----| |*looks down*|%: *puts her hand on her chest*
 /274

PET Hallo!
 Hello!


*18 *17 *18 *19 *20 *21



invitingly

7 KEM-NV ----- facing PET -----


	/278	/279	/281	*24	*25
JUL	Hallo!		Ja, ganz gut. • • Gut!		
	Hello!	% laughs	Yes, quite well.	Well!	
JUL-NV	facing PET	-----	lowers her ey. -	-----	looks at MAI-----
JUL-NV	-----	----- shaking PET's hand -----			
MAI	/277 *22				
	((laughs))				
MAI-NV	looks at PET	-----	looks at PET -----	risés h. h.!	lowers her head!
MAI-NV	extends her hand to PET				
JES-NV	-----	-----	%: sits down		looks at MAI
		/280 *23		/282	/283
PET			Wie gehts?	()	()
			<i>How are you?</i>		
PET-NV	holds out his hand to JUL			approaches MAI	shaking MAI's hand-
	*22	*23		*24	*25






[ostentatious salutation of Maiko]

8 KEM /284 *26*27 /287 *28*29 /289 *30

KEM	Ich bins!	((laughs))		Ja.
	<i>It's me!</i>			Yes.
KEM-NV	-----	-----	%: wendet Blick von PET ab	
KEM-NV	sh. PET's h.!!	-----	looks at JUL -----	----- looks at PET-----
	/286	/288		/290
JUL		((laughs))	Ihr kennt euch schon, ne?	Ja,
			<i>You all know each other, right?</i>	Yès,
JUL-NV	-----	-----	looks at KEM-----	
	/285			
MAI	Es geht!			
	<i>Not too bad!</i>			
MAI-NV	-- nods--			
JES-NV	-----	-----	looking down -----	%: looks up
PET-NV	shaking KEM's hand	-----	pulls chair away from the table-----	
PET-NV	%: extends his hand to KEM			
	*26	*28	*27	*29



- 9 KEM-NV -----||-----looks down -----|
- JUL klasse!
super!
- JUL-NV --| |-----looks at PET-----|
- MAI
- JES-NV |-----looks at PET u. MAI-----|
- PET
- PET-NV |-----takes a seat-----|
- /292 Genau.
Exactly.
- /295 Ja, ihr
Why don't
- /293 *33 /294
Hier sitzt Anika! Du musst da
Anika's sitting here! You must sit over
- /291 *31 *32
Einigermaßen, ** (klar).
More or less, ** (of course).
- *31 *32
- 
- 10 *34
- JUL könnt ja auch tauschen! Sonst kann sie ja auch... Oder is egal.
you change places? Otherwise she could... Or doesn't matter.
- MAI sitzen.
there
- JES-NV -----||-----looks down -----|
- PET-NV -----| |-----takes another chair --|
- *34 *35
- 
- 11 JUL ()
- PET So!
- PET So!
- /297 *36 /296 *37
Nimmst du jetzt gerade auf, (oder wie)?
Are you making a recording (or what)?
- *36 *37
- 

1.2

JUL	^{/299} *38 Ja. Yes.	^{/301} *40 Hier, • (nen bisschen) Ei. Here, • some egg!
JUL-NV	-----passes the bowl to PET-----	
MAI		^{/303} ^{/304} *41 *42 ((laughs)) Yes, (egg).
JES	^{/300} *39 Hier kommt dein Ei! Here comes your egg!	
PET		^{/302} Mein Ei. My egg!

*38 *39 *40

We shall not analyse the excerpt in linear fashion, but by its *stretches of discourse*⁴⁸ between the selected actors (e.g. s.257a–268; 278a–281a; etc.). The fact that the others have told Julia about Peter has a bearing on the analysis.

Introducing the new arrival and the visiting person to each other

When Peter enters the interaction space, i.e. the kitchen (s.257a), Jessika makes a kind of introduction through her exclamation⁴⁹ (s.260); thereupon the following discourse develops between Peter and Julia:

- (E 5) (s 257a) Peter: ((walks into the kitchen))
 (s 260) Jessika: There comes our ●●Pe: •tér!
 (s 263a) Julia: ((turns to look at Peter))
 (s 263) Âh
 (s 264) Hallo!
 (s 265) Jessika: Peter, that is Julia.
 (s 266) Julia: Hallo!
 (s 268) Peter: ((to Julia)) Hallo!

 (s 274) ((to all)) Hallo!

 (s 278a) Peter: ((shakes Julia by the hand))
 (s 278) Julia: ((to Peter)) Hallo!
 (s 279) ((laughs))
 (s 280) Peter: ((to Julia)) How are you?
 (s 281) Julia: Yes, quite well.
 (s 281a) ●●well!

 ((Peter greets the others and sits down))

- (s 297) Peter: So!

 (s 298) ((to Julia)) Are you making a recording, (or what)?
 (s 299) Julia: Yès

In *illocutionary* terms, the utterance (s260) is the *introduction* of the new arrival (in this case Peter) to a stranger (in this case Julia) in a group that is familiar to him; this set-up it is relevant to our study of politeness in many respects. Firstly, the Turkish speaker JES introduces the new arrival by his first name, which implies that Julia and Peter will be using the familiar “du”. In selecting the collective speaker deixis “our”, JES has chosen a partial formula based on the Turkish speaker deictic possessive ‘bizim x’ (our x) in order to express that the person being introduced is a member of the *group that is present* and also identifies him as someone who shares a number of common action presuppositions with the group of other people sitting at the table.⁵⁰ Characterizing the new arrival with the (exclusive) “our Peter” has the effect of making Julia, as the person to whom the introduction is made, seem an outsider and qualifies ‘Peter’ as a *functional element* of the group – a process which stands in contrast to the introduction of a *person* by naming his name. This slightly de-individualizing procedure used by the Turkish student is reinforced by the fact that she does not address Julia as the person on the receiving end of the introduction.

In (s260) the real person is focussed upon using the non-personal object deixis “there” (da), which divides the perception space into one away from the speaker (“there”) and one close to the speaker (“here”). With the more distant form of the deixis Jessica focuses on the person as if on an object.

Both procedures (“our”, “there”) create an illocution that shifts the introduction action (s260) slightly towards the impolite.

A third element may be seen: the *teichoscopic* description of Peter entering the kitchen with the deictic verb “come” makes his appearance in the interaction space seem as if he is being moved, rather than as an open, “self determined” movement.

Let us look at the prosody, which is most relevant for polite forms, attached to the *name*: “Pe: •tér”, where the first syllable is lengthened, and then, after a slight hiatus, the second syllable is noticeably higher – this is an *expressive procedure*,⁵¹ which, whether deliberate or not, shifts the illocution into irony.

Identification and characterization which focus on the new arrival with a predicate may well contain important elements of the polite pattern of *introduction*, however, their actual production also contains the marks of impoliteness because

- the person being focussed on is made an object
- a distant deixis is used to focus Julia on Peter
- the implication is that he is being moved, not moving himself
- the illocution creates irony in relation to the person entering.

The introduction of “Peter” is thus performed in contradictory fashion: To the guest, Julia, he is characterized in slightly disparaging manner; to the group, however, as trusted member (who is integrated without fuss through the “disparagement”).

Julia, turning to the newly arrived Peter, says “Äh” (s263), a German interjection, i.e. an *expeditive procedure*, together with an emphatic rising and falling *expressive procedure* which expresses that she has already heard of him.⁵² The informal “Äh” is more suited to this constellation than any linguistic formulae such as “pleased to meet you!” and signalizes a special interest in becoming acquainted. With her *expeditive procedure* (: interjection) and its added *expressive procedure*, Julia is at this point in the action sequence taking deeper recourse to her positive prior knowledge of Peter and thus *pleased* to create a common action system with him, at least for the duration of the dinner. This is what we call an *expression of pleasure* which seems very often to be reciprocated.

- (E 6) (s 265) Jessika: Peter, that is Julia.
 (s 266) Julia: Hallo!
 (s 268) Peter: ((to Julia)) Hallo!

A lot of halloing goes on during this greeting and in the transcript section as well. Not until after the interjection of the hearer – and following a discursive pause before assuming the speaker role – does Julia make her informal greeting with “Hallo!” (s264), which Peter then answers with a reciprocal “Hallo!” (s268) (Strictly speaking it is almost impossible to decide whether he is responding to Julia’s first “Hallo!” (s264) or her second “Hallo!” (s266).) At any rate Julia repeats her “Hallo!” (s266) once Jessika has introduced her to Peter with the words: “Peter, that is Julia” (s265). Obviously Jessika has again chosen a distant deixis when introducing Julia with “that”, which is also an object deixis, i.e. a procedure that creates distance, de-personalizes and is thus impolite. The introduction of the visitor Julia to Peter (s265) is made in correct, polite form; it, however, follows after her first “Hallo” (s265) and thus appears later in the sequence than it should.

Julia greets Peter twice over with “Hallo!” (s264, s265) when she is introduced by Jessika – a dissociated and highly redundant on-line procedure, which while generally providing evidence for a formulaic action which has

become independent, does, however, mask an important position. Peter does not – by contrast with Julia’s expression of pleasure, “Âh” – produce a ‘*reciprocal expression of pleasure*’ on his part when Jessika has made the introduction (s265). This means that Peter is obviously not reproducing the introduction pattern adequately, but answering with a *quid pro quo*, in the form of hallo (~greeting). If one realises that the absence of introduction actions is characteristic for Arabic,⁵³ one may advance the theory that here there is a target language synthesis between the absence of introductions and the acquisition of the word “hallo” which can serve as a multiple *quid pro quo* for introductions – a creative procedure. This fact may already serve to indicate a transfer from Arabic.

Greeting and inquiry, “How are you?”

The initiative is taken by Peter in the following stretch of discourse who, having briefly greeted his fellow residents, greets the visitor Julia by shaking her hand – a third greeting, but this time not a *quid pro quo* for an introduction but rather the implementation of the greeting:

- (E 7) (s 278a) Peter: ((shakes Julia by the hand))
 (s 278) Julia: ((to Peter)) Hallo!
 (s 279) ((laughs))
 (s 280) Peter: ((to Julia)) How are you?
 (s 281) Julia: Yes, quite well.
 (s 281a) ••Well!

Peter responds to Julia’s verbal answering greeting “Hallo!” (s278); *again an adjacency pair* (s280) with a *query* which seems rather out of place: “How are you?”⁵⁴ This creates a conflict of maxims for Julia >I don’t know him< versus >he knows me<, which she solves with a repair that corrects the first illocution: “Yes, quite well. ••Well!” The part of the utterance in need of repair, “quite well,” is an indefinite exothesis, whereas “well” is the suitable formulaic reply to the formulaic query “How are you?” Since Peter and Julia have only just been introduced to each other by Jessika, “how are you?” does not seem appropriate, given that it presupposes the renewal of an existing acquaintanceship. Introducing and asking “how are you” are mutually exclusive in German, but not in Arabic. Here the greeting between people, whether they know each other or not, is followed by the linguistic formula “how are you?”, which is meant to be used as a serial repetitive opening format for a conversation in reference to the person. When someone is introduced in Arabic there is no *hearer action*. Instead of an introduction of the unknown or new person, the constellation of

getting acquainted in Arabic is most likely to be worked through in linear form, whereby specific speech formulae like “how are you?” are used by both parties to affirm their respective speaker roles.⁵⁵

To summarize: for the visitor Julia the transition from “object” of the introduction to person and interaction partner barely takes place, above all because the reciprocal positions in the pattern of *introductions*, the expression of pleasure, are not produced in a way perceptible to her. Therefore, no cooperation in the sense of polite action between Julia and the new arrival is created in this stretch of discourse.

*Introduction as an ironic quotation, invitation as transfer
and activation of prior knowledge*

Let us now take a look at the stretch between Peter and the others

- (E 8) (s 270) Kemal: ((to Julia)) That is (the) Peter!
 (s 271) Come, Peter!
 (s 272) Come in!
 (s 273) Maike: That is (the) Peter!
 (s 274) Peter: ((to Julia?)) Hallo!
 (s 275) Julia: ((laughs))
 (s 276) Yès.
 (s 277) Maike: ((laughs))

 (s 281b) Maike: ((bows ostentatiously))
 (s 281c) Julia: ((laughs))
 (s 282) Peter: ()
 (s 281d) ((shakes Maike by the hand))
 (s 283) Peter!
 (s 285) Maike: Okay!
 (s 284) Kemal: It’s me!
 (s 286) Julia: ((laughs))
 (s 284a) Peter: ((shakes Kemal by the hand))
 (s 287) Kemal: ((laughs))
 (s 288) Julia: You all know each other, right?
 (s 289) Kemal: Yès.
 (s 290) Julia: Yès, super!
 (s 291) Peter: More or less, ●●(of course).
 (s 292) Julia: Exactly.

Kemal’s exclamation is directed at Julia: “That is (the) Peter!” (s270) and needs to be interpreted in terms of discourse analysis and knowledge analysis. Firstly,

together with “Come Peter, come in!” (s271/s272) it acts as the first element in a battery of speech actions (cf. Ehlich & Rehbein 1977a), which, with its linear succession, leaves no room for hearer action and thus is hardly suitable as the opening of an introduction pattern. For the section (s270)–(s277) one cannot therefore rule out a transfer of formalised expressions of invitation from Arabic, where guests are asked to come in and move closer with the use of imperatives. Kemal thus appears in the role of the host.⁵⁶ Returning to the transcript, the “the” (German “der”) placed before the name, “That is the Peter!” is to be seen as an *operative* procedure which Kemal uses to refer to Peter as a “subject in the common knowledge space” in the meaning of >that is the one [Peter], we’ve already said so much about<. In this way he activates Julia’s prior knowledge about Peter as the person being mentioned, as common knowledge, so that it is not necessary to make extended introductions to acquaint the two with each other.

Kemal’s “It’s me!” (s284) seems to be a joking comment on Peter’s excessive ritual of greeting, shaking hands etc. meaning ‘let’s cut the crap!’;⁵⁷ maybe Kemal includes Peter’s *attempts* with the German pattern of introduction which he himself is familiar with.

When Maike, the student from Estonia,⁵⁸ says “That is (the) Peter!” (s273) this is by contrast simply a dechained *pseudo sequence* of introduction inasmuch as this is repeated as a formal, stiff, acquired formula. This impression is reinforced by Maike’s ostentatious bow (s281b), which is a mixture of reciprocal expression of pleasure on an introduction and an archaic gesture of welcome (~submission) presented with an ironic laugh.⁵⁹ This is to be seen as an imitation of something that has been learnt as a foreign language, at the illocutionary level as irony.

In both cases, the ironic quotation of formulae – without implementing the underlying introduction pattern – seems to have been triggered by the unclear role of the speaker when Jessika makes her introduction with “There comes our Peter!” – an expanded secondary effect.

Offering

Let us now look at the fragments of another pattern of politeness: *offering*:

- (E 9) (s291a) Peter: ((sits down))
 (s 293) Maike: Annika’s sitting here!
 (s 294) You must sit over there!
 (s 295) Julia: Yes –, you could swap.
 (s 295a) Or else she could...

- (s 295b) Peter: ((sits somewhere else))
 (s 296) Julia: or, well never mind!
 (s 297) Peter: So!
 (s 297a) Julia: ()

 (s 297a) Jessika: ((passes a bowl in Peter's direction))
 (s 300) Here comes your egg!
 (s 300a) Julia: ((passes the bowl to Peter))
 (s 301) Here, •some egg!
 (s 302) Peter: My egg!
 (s 303) Maike: ((laughs))
 (s 304) Yès, egg.

Through her specific illocution, the Estonian student Maike turns an offer to the new arrival into a rejection (s293) and an instruction to sit elsewhere (s294) – an obviously impolite procedure which leaves the person thus addressed no choice and which Julia politely attempts to soften with her utterances in (s295/295a) and (s296). Here the polite action pattern of *offering* a chair to the new guest is turned into an *instruction* of where to sit.

Moreover, Peter is made a different offer, namely something to eat. Here no one is waiting to help until he helps himself; instead the Turkish student offers him the food with a gesture of giving and the words “here comes your egg!” – without however producing a polite expression by using the German formula ‘bitte!’ (please)⁶⁰ in this way indicating that the homileic situation of pleasantries allows for blunt orders.

6. Naming

Within introductions, there is a particular action position in which Y is *identified* (through deixis and non-verbal gesture) and placed in a social context by *naming* (position [4]). Forms and function of using names in a multilingual setting, however, seem to depend on the language background of the participants. In the following telephone conversation a Madagascan woman looking for a flat introduces herself for the first time at the very beginning of the conversation:

- (E 10) (s 1) RIT: Rittmann!
 (s 2) RAT: •Ja', guten Morgen, Herr Rittmann.
 •Yes, good morning, Mr. Rittmann.

- (s 3) Mein Name ist Ratefison.
My name is Ratefison.
- (s 4) Ich rufe wegen der Annonce aus dem Hamburger
Abendblättän.
*I am calling about the advertisement in the Hamburger Abend-
blatt.*
- (s 5) RIT: Já:
Yes:
- (s 6) RAT: Ich hätte gerne gefragt, ob die Wohnung oder das Zimmer
noch frei i'st.
I'd like to ask if the flat or the room is still vacant.
- (s 7) RIT: Jájà.
Yesyes.

The type of discourse known as *contact conversation* provides the framework for the (reciprocal) self-introduction on the telephone and the statement of what the caller wants. Here, the naming within the self-introduction (s 3) of the non-native RAT follows along the lines of German telephone openings – in a formal style.

Once contact has been initiated, the actors shift into the procedure of rental agreement with a different type of discourse. Both actors (the person looking for a flat in the role of Y, the landlord in the role of Z) are trying to employ linguistic action to attain a longer-term action system, in other words to overcome the barrier between stages III, IV and V. The Madagascan caller has problems regarding the extent and form of her self-presentation and thus with the social measure relating to how much of her *zone of integrity* to yield. In the following, we can observe – in different parts of the discourse – the effects of an *unsolicited self-presentation* of a non-native RAT.

(E 11)

- | | | | |
|-----|-----|---|-----------------------------|
| 32 | RIT | ((1,5s)) Nein nein, das ist doch auch [klar, daß] äh... Was sind Sie für Lands-
<i>No, no, that is of course [obvious, that] er... Where do you come from?</i> | |
| | RAT | Hñ hñ
<i>laughing</i> | |
| 33 | RIT | männin? | A::h, "Wir |
| | RAT | Äh ich bin aus Madagaskar. Also ich komme aus Madagaskar.
<i>Er I'm from Madagascar.</i> | |
| ... | | | |
| 36 | RIT | | Hñ, sehr
<i>Hm, very</i> |
| | RAT | ((schmatzt)) Ich schreibe meine Doktorarbeit an der Uni Hamburg. ((schmatzt))
<i>((smacks lips)) I am writing my doctoral thesis at Hamburg uni. ((smacks</i> | |

37	RIT	schön. <i>good.</i>		
	RAT	Ich heiße . . . Olga . . .	Ach so, ich hätte gern gefragt, wie lange ich • die Woh- lipps)) <i>My name is . . . Olga . . . Oh, yes, I'd like to ask, how long I can keep the flat, if...</i>	
38	RIT		[So/ so lang Sie wollen]. [As/ as long as you want].	((lacht)) ((laughs))
	RAT	nung behalten <u>kann</u> , wenn...	So lange ich will. Aha Und das ist <i>As long as I want, Aha</i>	
			<i>/laughing</i>	
...				
48	RIT	a/ auch [eine Frage stellen].	Ich schreib Sie dann mal auf.	Äh sagen Sie mir <i>Er will you tell me</i>
	RAT		Ja, bitte?	Hm
			<i>/laughing</i>	
49	RIT	Ihren Namen mal? <i>your name, perhaps?</i>	Olga.	• Ja • Yes.
	RAT		Ich bin Olga. O el ge a. Das ist mein Vorname. <i>I am Olga. That's my first name.</i>	Ja?

The answer given by the caller, “I’m from Madagascar” in reply to the landlord’s query, “Where do you come from” in score area SC 33 leads to a jocular section which gives the conversation an almost homileic character.⁶¹ In SCs 36–38, the caller introduces herself, providing unsolicited information about her age and her doctoral thesis and then introduces herself by her first name: “My name is Olga” (SC 37). These pieces of information and the way in which they are worded suggest to the German landlord RIT an action system that is almost confidential, indeed private, but which is only partially to be seen as following a social measure on her part since it is not based on a German standard. Instead, she seems to be indiscreetly yielding her own zone of integrity with this private tone. Unsolicited introductions presupposing an unmediated transgression to action system stage VI are inappropriate in German, because *in German* the first name presupposes a reciprocal relationship in which the familiar “du” (thou) is used.

In reply to the landlord’s polite query: “Will you tell me your name, perhaps?” (SC 48/49) with interrogative intonation + German “mal” (*perhaps* and many other meanings) used as polite manifestations as described by Bublitz (2004), the Madagascan woman introduces herself for a third time and a second time by her first name: “Ich bin Olga.” (I am Olga). It is not the personal deixis “ich” (I) as such but rather the naming of her first name which brings her system of presuppositions *abruptly* into contact with his, as her utterance seems to stem from an action system that has already been established. This stage is

not, however, reached until both parties to the interaction have completed the passage through the following stages:

- a “strangers space” at the initial contact when people first become acquainted, sometimes fleetingly, where the “Sie” address and the usage of the last name are normal among German adults (stage IV);
- a longer-term relationship of being acquainted, where a degree of social integration exists (stage V);
- a familial type “close” relationship of trust, where “du” and the first name are used in German (VI).

Furthermore, the name in the predicate “am Olga” (“bin Olga”) shows characterizing properties, the verb “to be” (*sein*) underlying it (which is also used for the inherent qualities of *objects*) is distinct from: ‘I am called...’ or ‘My name is...’: The purpose of using “am” (“bin”) is to focus the German hearer on the presentation of her identity⁶² which then makes her self-introduction seem like a yielding of intimate parts of her zone of integrity.

Compared to German or English, in Malagasy, first and last names have different interactional functions. First of all, they are not introduced until in the middle of a conversation, and secondly they point to the social position of a person.⁶³ It will be argued that these functions of names are reproduced in the lingua franca communication. This hypothesis is illustrated in the light of the following authentic exchange in Malagasy. (Again, the example is taken from the ShiK-corpus.)

(E 12) ShikMAD_016,8.xml, 279-283

During a telephone conversation recorded in a coastal town of Madagascar, VER, a female landlord, asks an accomodation seeker’s name in the context of making an appointment; ARM, the accomodation seeker, belongs to the higher social class of Madagascar and lives in Tananarive, the capital in the mountainous area of the island:

VER: Monsieur ra iza moa azafady ianào?
 Monsieur [prefix name] who then please you [“thou”]
 Sir, what’s your name then please?

ARM: Raha tsy hahadiso Monsieur Armand an!
 if not pushy Monsieur Armand in fact”
 Without wanting to be pushy: Monsieuer Armand, in fact!

Taking the previous example (E 11) extracted from a German discourse as a contrastive background for analysis we can record the following observations:

VER puts forward the question with polite particles “azafady” (please) and “moa” (then).

Obviously, the landlord VER employs “ianào”, a TU-form, which, however, is the standard form of address in Malagasy among unacquainted people and signals something like social equality between them. (In German, on the contrary, the TU-form is used among unacquainted people but in constellations of social inequality like doctor-patient, native-/non-native relationships etc.). The neutral TU-form “ianào” is supported by “Monsieur”, a form borrowed from French and (beside “tompoko”) used as a polite address.

The WH-word “iza” (who), in combination with the prefix “ra”, realises the *illocution* of asking someone’s name. Here, the hearer is given an option by the speaker to choose the appropriate social measure in his/her answer. But in discourse constellations like the one above it would be, in fact, impolite if ARM addressed with the equality-signalling TU-form “ianào” answered with his last name because he would presuppose a social hierarchy between himself and VER.

All in all, the verbal polite elements in (1) and (2) lower the *potential of illocution* of requesting one’s name by means of “ra iza” (prefix name who) down to a *modest* request. Now, let us turn to the answer of ARM in (E 12):

The speech formula “without wanting to be pushy” (“Raha tsy hahadiso”) contains the negating element “tsy” which, in particular, neutralises in advance a possibly impolite illocution which is to be expected when verbalising one’s name together with an address form. It seems that the first name also indicates a certain degree of immodesty.

“Monsieur” serves as a local⁶⁴ hinge for neutralising the speaker’s (VER’s) request that ARM introduce himself with his first name.

In illocutionary terms, the answer is a self-introduction with a modest style. The employment of the first name realises the illocution of self-introduction at stage III of the action system scale (in Fig. 3 above) and presupposes reciprocal equality of the interactants, whereby modesty is underlined by the negative “tsy”-containing speech formula (“Raha tsy hahadiso” – if not pushy).

In contrasting the usage of first names in Malagasy and German it turns out that the first-name usage of the Madagascan woman in the German lingua franca example reflects an action structure bound to verbal practices in Malagasy. In particular, it is the illocutionary act which is bound to the employment of the first and last name in Malagasy which lies at the basis of the woman’s first name usage in German and which is used according to Madagascan social measures. The first name employment realises a neutral and nearly

modest illocution in Malagasy, indicating that a social relationship of equality and reciprocity under the social measure of modesty is the purpose of the utterance. Again, the term '*pragmatic transfer*' can be applied to this phenomenon in order to explain the reproduction of an actional deep structure of the native language using the superficial linguistic means of the lingua franca.

Referring to the above German example (E 11), this means that Y, the Madagascan, can in no way transform the barrier of being not acquainted directly into an integral familial type action system by stating her first name straight away, and cannot circumvent the stage of non-confidential acquaintanceship which comes before the more intimate phase. However, the landlord Z, although he remains within the general system of how to become acquainted, already feels that he is being addressed as "du" because the female caller has told him her first name and he may get the wrong impression and believe that the young Madagascan woman wishes to enter into a familiar relationship with him.

7. Pragmatic transfer in multilingual settings

There are five domains in which politeness, exercised in multilingual situations, has effects on the hearer. These are: social measures according to different traditions, speech formulae, action patterns, illocutionary acts, and procedures from different linguistic fields.

Social conflict can easily arise if the actors engaged in multilingual communication follow the *social measures* for social cooperation rooted in different linguistic traditions and then apply these social measures *tel quel* to multilingual communication. Often the annoyance caused by polite action the actors find unsuitable does not lead to an open breach but rather to a long-term exclusion and avoidance of contact. The actors can, however, perhaps together, start to reflect more closely on their own or foreign social measures which might even lead to the creation of new social measures for the restructuring of constellations. This then progresses to the use of the cultural apparatus (Redder & Rehbein 1987) through which the various linguistic dimensions of action can be altered in a productive manner (Koole & Ten Thije 1994; Rehbein 2002).

For multilingual communication, it is significant that politeness is expressed by a large number of *speech formulae* and similar conventionalized verbal means (cf. Coulmas 1981, 1981a, 1982, 1987, 1992) which are tightly bound to the deep structures of the cooperative action. Being anchored in the deep structures makes these elements particularly susceptible to various di-

mensions of transfer in the communication situation. For example, Germans are prone to say ‘thank you’ in the wrong places when speaking another language (for example the overuse of Turkish ‘teşekkür’ after being told the way etc.). Conversely, they often “forget” the English phrase “you’re welcome” after someone has thanked them for something.

The language of politeness is also affected by linguistic procedures of different *linguistic fields* (Bühler 1934; Ehlich 1986) of the individual languages:

- Expressions from the *deictic field*, especially those relating to personal deixis, appear impolite because they focus strongly on one party in the interaction. The polite “pronouns of address” are therefore very differentiated in many languages (cf. Rehbein 1996). For example, younger speakers of Vietnamese do not use the personal deixis form “I” when talking to older family members, but use instead the first name the family calls them by.
- The effect of expressions used in the *prompting field*, with which the speaker makes a direct appeal to the hearer’s action apparatus and emotional apparatus (e.g. imperative or vocative form, paraexpeditive expressions such as “please” and “thank-you” etc.), can seem impolite in many cases. To avoid expeditive expressions *symbol field expressions*, usually verbs or names, are often chosen instead.⁶⁵
- The *toning field* of a language is especially involved in the production of politeness for a particular language through its specific prosody. When introducing oneself for example, a friendly, outspoken tone is in order, when making a request, a slightly quieter one. In multilingual communication, languages’ different toning fields rub up against each other and are often transferred.⁶⁶
- The *symbol field* of a language with its expressions for titles, forms of address and familial relationships (with and without names) often causes misunderstanding. Symbol field elements are also activated in matrix constructions in order to place an utterance in its interactional framework (cf. Rehbein 2003). In the verbal area, the symbol field is important because of the use of *modal verbs* (cf. Redder 1999).
- Last but not least the *operation field* – with its complex, finite forms such as the subjunctive, optative, diathesis (where they exist), impersonal constructions, the use of particles etc. – is relevant in the expression of politeness.⁶⁷ The operation field is likely to be engaged in a lively exchange of transposition with the deictic field.

The forms of expressions are often distributed in the linguistic fields in a manner that is controlled by the specific typology of the language. It is interesting

to note that they are formed through *language contact* influence: it is likely that polite forms evolved *regionally*, in discourse, under the influence of the reciprocal implementation of social structures and formed through the contact language. Examples are polite forms in the Byzantine empire and later in the Ottoman empire stretching over multilingual areas, or the influence of China on Japan. The Arabian empire has also left traces, for example on the African east coast down to as far as Madagascar. The separate languages in a region are strongly influenced by their history of contact with neighbouring languages (cf. Ehlich 1992; Kasper 1997; Coulmas 1991, 1992).

By comparing naming in Malagasy and its L2-usage in German we found that components of the *illocutionary act* linked to naming may be transferred from a first language background to a L2-communication.

Above all, there is an influence of the *constellation* on the production of politeness (see above, the structural scheme determinants (i)(a)–(c)) in a multilingual setting.⁶⁸ Perhaps reference to this component will explain why polite forms in a language are particularly difficult to learn, with the understanding and reproduction of the forms requiring the competence on the part of all involved that is close to that of a native speaker (cf. House 1989). Communication between people of different mother tongues is especially endangered when they engage in polite speech actions, since when opposition occurs the familiar mediating forms of politeness no longer seem to apply, even if the actors are all using a common lingua franca (House 2002, 2003; Knapp & Meierchord 2002). Spencer-Oatey and Xing (2004) showed that business negotiations between Chinese and Britons can fail even when interpreters are employed, if a mutual unawareness of the forms of politeness leads to a mutual failure to recognize the opposite party's *system of presuppositions*.

Verbal politeness is expressed in a large number of *linguistic action patterns*, such as *asking* and *thanking*, *greeting* and *leave-taking*, *apologizing*, *offering* and *suggesting*, *inviting*, *congratulating*, *expressing commiseration* etc. As we argued, *introducing* a person to another person is an action pattern of politeness. It is clear that these patterns are deep structures of communication and are produced in a manner *specific to the language*. Knowing the patterns is part of *linguistic knowledge*, but is no guarantee that the *suitable formulae* will be produced in a foreign language. In multilingual communication parts of linguistic patterns and linguistic formulae are sometimes reproduced in the target language, but not always. They are used for the realisation of pattern positions in the deep structure of the lingua franca communication. The key for explanation is to be found in the concept of 'pattern knowledge' (cf. Ehlich & Rehbein 1977 for this term; Rehbein 2002).

Pattern knowledge is one of those knowledge structures which, when it is reorganised in the course of multilingual communication, gives rise to one of the positive effects of inter-cultural action and which, conversely, when the pattern is perpetuated, can lead to a fossilisation that is very hard to reverse. Earlier studies of pattern knowledge (such as the patterns for asking advice, making an appointment or a complaint, or those present in teacher-student communication etc.; e.g. Rehbein 1985; Redder & Rehbein 1987) examined only the aspect of how rigid action structures can collide when people of differing linguistic background communicate and how this leads to “misunderstandings” or “problematic communication” (s. House, Kasper, & Ross 2003). Positive adjustments could be seen in the partial revision of the “making a complaint” pattern in a retail shop (Ohama 1987).

Some cases in this paper have supported the thesis that pattern knowledge of the first language structures communication in the second language and therefore has, at least in part, an overarching linguistic effect, especially in influencing communication through a lingua franca. Here the notion of “influence” is not to be seen simply as a plain “transfer”, but as the effect of divergent action patterns on the communication in the lingua franca. This effect produces a *communicative synthesis* of patterns or elements of patterns in the medium of a common target language, with the partial retention of pattern positions formed by the native language of the speaker. The influence varies depending on the *language constellations* (cf. on this category Rehbein 2000), for example in a society of immigrants, in a linguistic area or Sprachbund (such as on the Balkans with Greek as a lingua franca), in urban multilingual communication, or in multilingual societies in Africa (cf. the study of Aگویا 2004 about multilingual schools in Kenia, where pupils transfer narrative structures from their diverse language resources like Kikuyu, Kiswahili, Dholuo a.o. into foreign languages as German and English).

In general, pattern knowledge seems to act as a *catalyst* for the influence of one language on other languages. In this paper, we tried to show some empirical cases of the usage of native pattern knowledge by Arabic, Turkish and Estonian students and by a person from Madagascar within the lingua franca communication in German.

Clyne (1994) examined “inter-cultural communication at work” in some Australian companies and studied the role of pattern knowledge of an immigrant society. He looked at conversations in English held by workers for whom this was not their first language, examining a “diversity of speech acts and how they are realised, in inter-cultural work situations, focussing on apologies, commissives, complaints and whinges, and directives” (89):

Discourse patterns and expectations can be attributed to cultural values systems, more particularly to 'sociocultural interactional parameters' (e.g. truth, harmony, uncertainty avoidance, individuality) and 'discourse-cultural parameters' (e.g. content orientation, directionality). This applies to both spoken and written discourse.

Each cultural group will use their own discourse patterns to cope with the power structures of the workplace in order to save their own face in terms of their own cultural values. Thus, there is cultural variation in the incidence of particular speech acts in our corpus. Apologies predominate among Europeans, directives among European men, commissives are performed largely by South-east-Asian women, and complaints by men, especially from South Asia and Europe. Communication in general is determined by the power hierarchy and social distance of the workplace, as well as the type of interdependence between the different units of production. So, in the office situations and in meetings, there is more symmetrical communication than in the car factories with their 'sequential work interdependence'... and the turns are longer than in the catering unit. (Clyne 1994: 203)⁶⁹

Many people who communicate in a lingua franca such as Australian English or German in Germany, *per presupposition*, have at their command the pattern knowledge in their native tongue and *in part* the same or a similar *pattern knowledge in the target language*.

To generalise: in the domain of polite action, there are influences of pragmatic L1-structures on the forms of acting and speaking in L2, especially regarding social measures of polite action from different traditions, linguistic formulae, action patterns, illocutionary acts and linguistic procedures from different linguistic fields. In summarizing, we label these influences 'pragmatic transfer'.⁷⁰

If the *lingua franca* is retained as the target language for some time it does seem possible that the system of presuppositions, even of "culturally" different and fossilized pattern positions, can be altered through reception when the lingua franca – through the medium of *intercultural* communication – is synthesized into a linguistic action tool (Bühler 1934) for the actors which they expand to produce *innovative communication patterns and apparatuses*. A reorganization of the expectations tied to pattern knowledge, which is first initiated purely as a receptive response, can lead successively to an altered *lingua franca interculture* with a *multilingual* base. This effect may be due to a 'cultural action' of speakers and hearers (Koole & Ten Thije 1994; Rehbein 2001; Clyne 1994).

In example (E 4) we saw that the non-German participants have not mastered all the elements of introduction. Nevertheless, the conversation does not

become sharper in tone, but quite the reverse: the dinner passes in an atmosphere of animated conversation with bantering, story telling, some gossip and small talk. An intercultural discourse on topics of mutual interest develops. In functional pragmatics this type of non-institutional linguistic action is called ‘homileïc discourse’; in this type of discourse impoliteness can be *de-escalated* to a large extent, because – for reasons of the discourse constellation – the *respective control fields* of the interactants are reduced or even neutralised. This is diametrically opposed to discourse with authorities (Rehbein 1998), in and through which impoliteness or the absence of politeness will *escalate* a situation.

Homileïc discourse is the basis for a range of other types of discourse and linguistic patterns such as story telling, describing, bantering etc. and colours these discourses. Characteristic is the way how those involved play with the patterns of everyday action, break them apart or subject them to irony. In terms of politeness, homileïc discourse is the type which has a global function in establishing an action system between the persons present and defusing any potential aggression. This type of discourse, therefore, delivers the foundation for the creation of social mediation and thus the foundation for polite action. Such mediation also has a *style-forming* effect, which both specifies the cultural differences and “traditions of speaking” (Schlieben-Lange 1983) found in the varying native languages of the participants and turns such specification into a common, reciprocally functional base with mutual acceptance. In this manner the homileïc discourse constitutes per se the transition to the action systems of stage V.

Due to its socially mediating effects, the homileïc discourse seems especially suited to communication in a lingua franca.⁷¹ This in turn demonstrates the finesse of cultural action which takes the form of communication through which new modes of common action develop.

Patterns of introduction are different in different languages, but their form also depends on the *communicative framework*. Is it perhaps a *homileïc discourse*, in which people of varying backgrounds hold animated conversation, or is it a *bourgeois party conversation* with selected guests, a *pupils’ and students discourse*, *international business negotiations* or an *international academic conference* up to the level of *diplomatic talks*, is it a *family communication* (Blum-Kulka 2002), an *institutional agent-client discourse* such as communication with a local authority or an *agent-agent discourse* such as a job interview, perhaps a *discourse in everyday institutions* such as talks about rental agreements or looking for a job, perhaps *contact conversations* between strangers and locals to ask the way, the time or for other information that will help the asker?⁷² The same

people who use the polite “Sie” in such contact conversations would use the familiar “du” in the *empractical discourse* in a sports setting.

We shall cautiously call this framework the *type of discourse* and consider it one parameter for the linguistic realisations and the functional structure of linguistic action in the analysis of introductions or, more generally, the process of becoming acquainted. In empirical terms, such differentiation proves necessary, since the simple distinction between ‘formal’ and ‘informal’ contexts is not enough to encompass all the data.

There are three variable components in one type of discourse: the *constellation*,⁷³ the *stylistic* reference of the language to the constellation and the anchoring of the utterance in the S-H relationship through the specific *illocution* (for the concept of style as understood here cf. Rehbein 1983). However, not all the elements of the constellation are relevant for an introduction; of particular significance here are the *speaker-hearer relationship*, the *actual participants* and the various stages of *mutual expectations* (presupposition systems), since the type of discourse⁷⁴ provides a preliminary organization to the common knowledge in pre-structured forms of cooperation. Furthermore, the type of discourse will determine the “style” in which linguistic patterns are realized in the actual constellation.⁷⁵

Notes

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1. The English term ‘social measure’ corresponds to German ‘Masstab’ which refers to concepts like dignity, freedom of choice, integrity, human rights etc. and which the speaker reconstructs and facilitates in the act of being polite as the supposed guideline and social foundation of the hearer’s action. By contrast, ‘convention’ and ‘norm’ imply a more formal, objectivistic or even behaviouristic regulation to which speaker and hearer are subjected in

any case, even if they are impolite. – For a further discussion of the concept ‘social measure’, see n. 8.

2. “Politeness (French *courtoisie*) is an expression qualifying social and in particular linguistic action, in which an underlying social measure of courteous goodwill in reference to the needs of the other person is chosen and employed. Positive or negative qualification of social action is subject to changes in the social measure itself, which has evolved over the course of history and which is adjusted to fit the overall structures of society at any particular point in time” (Metzler Lexikon Sprache 1993:249).

3. On the varying extent of levels of co-operation, from simple collaboration to speaker-hearer interaction (Ehlich 1987a: ‘material co-operation’) to social co-operation, see Rehbein (1979).

4. In a project on “Language of politeness in intercultural communication (SHiK)” (“die Sprache der Höflichkeit in der interkulturellen Kommunikation”) which has been funded by the VW foundation (see also the research report on the website of Hamburg University).

5. S. Rehbein (1977) for an explanation of the terms ‘control field’ and ‘action field’; for a glossary of English, Dutch and German terminology of Functional Pragmatics, s. Ehlich, Mackenzie, Rehbein, and ten Thije (2000).

6. Abbreviations: ‘S’: Speaker, ‘H’: Hearer, ‘F’: action.

7. Norbert Elias showed a close correlation between the history of European politeness (especially as regards table manners) and the history of social change.

8. Examples of ‘social measures’ as mentioned above in n. 1 are dignity, freedom of choice, integrity, generosity, human rights etc. By using action-theoretical terms, one may formulate:

- S offers H a choice in relation to F, e.g. he gives H the chance to reject the proposal, or he refrains from using force
- S asks H for permission to perform F (instead of simply going ahead)
- S stresses the capabilities of H (for some action F)
- S merely announces his intention to perform F, but not his will (that would place an obligation on H)
- S verbalises F in such a way that H does not lose face either in the performance of F or by his refusal to perform
- S evaluates H’s agency of F / refrains from a devaluation of H or else devaluates his own agency / refrains from any evaluation: respect of S for H
- S restores the integrity of H in the performance of F or ensures such etc.

By “social measures” we mean the ordinary criteria used to judge actions in the social context (benchmarks) which are *not* created by S and H *ad hoc* in the interaction, but are activated during its course. The general opinion is that the social measures of politeness e.g. in German culture differ from those of French. In the examples of social measures which are evidenced in German verbalisations of politeness, one cannot determine in advance how generally they are implemented in other languages. Research may show that social measures can display differences in “reach” for different cultures; on this point see the paper by Matthes (1992) on the “face-saving” rule. The concept of a “cultural variation” for such so-

cial measures, which would seem logical, does, however, as Matthes said in (1992), contain the danger that a Eurocentric or culture-centric tertium comparationis would be applied to the variation being examined.

9. According to the proposals of Kristin Bührig and Angelika Redder.

10. For the structural scheme the approximation of standard linguistic terms that is customary in pragmatics has been chosen (cf. initially Rehbein 1996). – There is not enough space here to show the successive development of each separate step in the scheme. The research project SHiK has done concrete work here with regard to linguistic analysis and provided a scheme clearly differentiated by cultural or intercultural perspectives.

11. In west European languages the process of reflexivity is expressed with various linguistic forms such as modals, matrix constructions, particles, subjunctives, certain characteristic elements of prosody etc. (cf. Bublitz 1980 for English; Raible 1987 for French).

12. The thesis that “politeness” is a specially constructed social *apparatus* which generates verbal means of communication for its expression and in particular linguistic formulae specific to each language (the forms of expression are bound to basic positions in the language pattern), can not be detailed here (see Rehbein 1996, 2000, 2002).

13. In the following pages, we shall be paying special attention to the process of becoming acquainted with someone as the basic premise behind the roles of speaker and hearer if there is to be mediation through communication.

14. “Indirectness” is not, properly speaking, a linguistic term at all, since wherever polite or impolite action is expressed in language, it is always evidenced by linguistic forms – and thus directly verbalised.

15. Many of the “polite strategies” collected by Brown and Levinson together with their verbalisation would be better described as “feints and deceptions”.

16. There is no doubt that speaking of one’s “own” presuppositions is a short form because, in fact, presuppositions are based on knowledge shared by different individuals. In migrant situations, however, social life is fragmented in such a way that immigrants have to lock their own stocks of knowledge into the stocks of knowledge which only the members of the new society have in common.

17. With reciprocating formulae (which are adjacency pairs) the fundamental distinction between initiator and responder is important (cf. Edmondson & House 1981). When introductions are made, the initiative is often taken by Y or X as the intermediary.

18. The sensible distinction between “casual” and “planned encounters” (in the latter the “host” is the initiator) is introduced in reference to ‘welcomes’ by Edmondson and House (1981:192).

19. We thank Kristin Bührig for pointing this out.

20. Laver (1981:291) noted that “social introduction... involves the mediation of a third party... Ostensibly, the introducer is merely imparting information about the nominal identity of each of the participants to the other. Tacitly, however, in accepting the role of introducer he also accepts the social responsibility of standing as guarantor of the social integrity and worth of each of the participants.” We agree with these observations, although it is not clear why the underlying acceptance of a guarantee when introducing someone should

be considered an “indirect” speech act. In multilingual communication, such as in example (E 4) above one can also see the extent to which the politeness of “introductions” is tied to their appropriate linguistic realization, such as the specific choice of the social deixis. – Today, the acceptance of a guarantee is usually asymmetrical, being undertaken for Y in relation to Z more than in relation to X (X appears to require “more responsibility” in the case of mediation than Z).

21. A reminder of Goethe’s Faust: “Schönes Fräulein, darf ichs wagen...?” (“Beautiful Miss, may I dare...?”).
22. Laver (1981:292) argues on the same lines as Brown and Levinson that the performative question formula ‘May I introduce Y?’ not only saves Y from loss of face but Z as well, since Z is offered the choice of accepting or rejecting (seldom the case) having Y introduced to her/him, but at the same time makes it more difficult to refuse. The formula is not simply a request for permission to introduce X but also a pre-anchoring of the name of a person and this person as such in Z’s action system and thus an act of becoming acquainted, a fleeting acquaintanceship as a *preliminary step* on the way towards establishing a social relationship (see below).
23. Concerning the membership, there are several possibilities when *two* persons A and B who are not acquainted with each other arrive at or stay with a group: (a) the arriving A is a member of the group, the staying B isn’t, (b) the arriving A is not a member of the group while the staying B is; or (c) both A and B are arriving and are not members of the group (according to a proposal of Willis Edmondson). It is probable that different languages distinguish these possibilities as basic constellations of polite forms of speaking and acting; moreover, linguistically, other memberships of the non-members could be accounted for (in this respect, cf. the Turkish introduction in (E 3) below). In example (E 4), case (a) occurred.
24. In modern German these phrases are “obsolete”.
25. In English there is a greater repertory of *welcomes* (cf. Edmondson & House 1981, see below §4.2).
26. The barrier can be overcome when the intermediary X or Z himself uses polite patterns such as inviting, asking in or asking the person to come closer. Conversely, an impolite command to approach or the like would reinforce the barrier.
27. E.g. names of official positions, professions, political functions or other (traditional, familial) names.
28. Cf. the description of the pattern positions [4] in §2.4 above.
29. In communication with authorities and between doctors and patients, perhaps as a general feature of the institutional agent-client relationship, the acquaintanceship between Y and Z is not reciprocal in nature and thus barely reaches stage IV.
30. Until stage V “Sie” is the usual form of address in German, from stage VI on “du” and the first name.
31. This process may also be characterised as Z’s successive creation of a ‘face’ for Y – with ‘face’ in its original meaning of ‘social role’ (see above §1).

32. Using the terminology of Bühler and Wunderlich's early pragmatics: Y progresses from being a person about whom people talk to becoming a person that people talk to, in other words someone with a potential status as speaker or hearer.
33. Also Haddad (1987) says of the data he collected using questionnaires, that, in contrast to German, the personal introduction by name is not customary in the Arab world (p. 68), but that the relationship with the interaction partner is the focus of attention.
34. In our view these formulae have illocutionary force because they realize deep structure pattern positions in standardized form on the communicative surface.
35. Introductions are not treated separately by Edmondson and House (1981); the special case, "introducing oneself," is discussed under "disclosure" (name, social identity etc.) (ibid.: 176f.).
36. Politeness phenomena in English and Greek are compared by Maria Sifianou (1992).
37. Cf. also Fan (1989:46); Weggel (1988:43); Günthner (1993:305).
38. The self-presentational sequence following the typical opening questions such as "what do you do?", "where do you come from?" or similarly, the process of becoming acquainted during conversation is commented thus: "Finding an involving topic is the best thing that can happen, whereas a conversation that never gets past this 'interviewing stage' is experienced as boring and unengaging" (Svennevig 1999:91).
39. A recent critique asked: "An intriguing question I thought of while reading the work has to do with the situations in non-Western languages, i.e., is what has been reported here for conversations in Norwegian applicable to conversations in, say, Japanese or Arabic?" (Kaye 2003:80).
40. The case (selected here) is one of more than 100 similar recording situations from the corpora of our ENDFAS and SKOBI projects with Turkish families in Turkey.
41. During the follow-up talk the student says: "In neighbourhoods [s.c. in Turkey] like this it is considered normal for housewives to pay each other a short visit without being invited. The relationship is not distanced but very familiar. We two visitors, however, were there for the first time, to perform a specific task and came from an institution, which is why we were addressed as "Hanım". In family surroundings one can communicate with the members of a family without knowing their names (at least that is my experience). One does, however, know about the different relationships between the people. The "community" aspect is very important."
42. Başoğlu (2002) examined Turkish literature and found concrete evidence of a wealth of names for family relationships in Turkish, which show how the people in the encounter are anchored in the social sphere by giving their position within the wider family instead of stating the name – as long as the family is the most important social structure.
43. On "reciprocity" the student said in the follow-up talk: "Unfortunately I cannot remember whether she (the neighbour) said "Hoşgeldin" or not. There is nothing to be heard of her on the tape. Perhaps I assumed that she also belonged to the family and simply said "Hoşbulduk". Or I would assume that the neighbour said Hoşgeldin very quietly."
44. In theoretical terms, the *variation* in linguistic form that is *related to the constellation* can be subsumed under the term *style* (Rehbein 1983) of a discourse or text.

45. All names used in the transcript are pseudonyms.
46. It may seem strange that a Lebanese student should be nicknamed 'Peter'. The fact is that this is what he is called in the hall of residence, although no one now knows why. Presumably this is a lingua-franca phenomenon because the non-Arab students found his Arab name difficult to pronounce or hard to remember: The Lebanese student has obviously adopted his new name for daily communication. In the course of the conversation the subject of his nickname "Peter" does in fact crop up (his real name is "Budros" as Kemal says at one point), whereby the origins of the name and the European variations of "Peter" as the "Rock of faith" are discussed. Perhaps there are factual and formal, phonetic reasons for the first name.
47. In functional pragmatics a certain type of non-institutional linguistic action with a high degree of social pleasantry is called a 'homileic discourse' (cf. Ehlich & Rehbein 1980; Rehbein, Fienemann, Oldörp, & Ohlhus 2001; s. also Kotthoff 2002). Characteristics of homileic discourse are e.g.: a circle of people talking while doing something enjoyable, i.e. eating (homileic discourse space); no clear rules about turns exist; often people "talk all at once"; topics are often changed due to association; in particular relationships with people are subjects for conversation; experiences are dealt with in a communicative manner, whether made together or embedded in prior common knowledge to which the speakers allude; there is an unusually large number of linguistic procedures involving the toning field and the prompting field together with frequent use of exclamations etc.
48. A "stretch of discourse" contains several segments (utterances) which belong together because they form a coherent element of the interaction; a stretch of discourse is less inclusive than a "section".
49. One might call it a 'pre-introduction'.
50. To support the assertion that this is a transfer, a monolingual Turkish introduction in a similar constellation has been analysed above (s. example (E 3) in §4.5).
51. The expressive procedure of the *toning field* produced here with its specific prosody might also be based on a transfer from Turkish (s. same excerpt (E 3)).
52. On the *toning field* in German see Redder (1994).
53. Cf. on this point the data-based examination by Bouchara (2002) which is discussed above in §4.1; see also Haddad (1987).
54. With reference to becoming acquainted in Chinese (Liang 1998; Zhang 1998) we term such queries "becoming acquainted queries". As an element in the pattern of becoming acquainted they are added on to the introduction in German, in other languages they form a separate pattern. In Chinese they are especially elaborated (see above §4.3). Obviously the Russian traveller in China, Alekseev, was one of the first people to document the special elaboration of this pattern in Chinese in 1907. Svennevig (1999) (above §4.4) draws an important distinction between *formal* questions and those which *evince interest* during the process of "getting acquainted", which we shall pick up later on.
55. From the examples here and the usage of "how are you?" in Bouchara's data one may conclude that Arabic has a greater formalised connectivity of speech formulae than German. These formulae are more dissociated from the presuppositional knowledge structure of the

speech situation than in German, where the choice of speech formulae for greeting and introducing are more closely linked with the specific origins of the underlying action system.

56. Cf. Sonja Methnani, pers. information.

57. We thank Willis Edmondson for this interpretation.

58. S. the instructive study on mealtime interaction comparing Estonian, Swedish and Finnish families Tulviste, Mizera, de Geer and Tryggvason (2002).

59. One could even say she is ridiculing the feudalistic, Western formulae of politeness.

60. In Turkish there are two separate expressions: 'lütfen' for requests, 'buyurun' for offering.

61. For the analysis of such jocular sections, one must take into consideration the fact that the Madagascan woman's interest is divided between the desire to find a flat and the provision of data for the research project.

62. We thank Ludger Hoffmann for these remarks.

63. In Malagasy, 'ra-' is – according to Rasoloson (1997:28–32) – a “personal article”, which is (besides 'Andria-') prefixed to names, to first and last names likewise. As to “ra” (in E 12), it is left open by the asking landlord if ARM in answering fills in the slot with his first or last name. The difference is of high marking: the usage of the *first name* as the neutral form corresponds to the social categorization of speaker and hearer into neutral roles and is bound to stage III of the action system scale (s. Fig. 3 above). – Contrary to the first name, the *last name* does not simply mean a predication within the pattern of introduction at stage III of the action system scale, but, moreover, indicates a definite position of an individual within the net of hierarchical social class structures of the country (based on family structures, yet), presupposing an action system of stage V to VI among the interactants. It is due to the reciprocal social knowledge of the family system in Malagasy that the employment of a last name would implement a social class position (with hierarchic implications) to speaker and hearer as well and, for these reasons, seem to be impolite, especially when the first name is expected as a neutral form. “Impolite” means, in the category of verbal elements at hand, a high degree of immodesty, which is no social measure for either of the interactants in Malagasy. The usual practice in Malagasy seems to be the use of polite forms and the naming of the first name, without a verb “to be” (we thank Ziria Ralalarison (Project SHIK) for pointing this out).

64. “Local” in a conversation analytical sense (personal communication of Kristin Bührig).

65. In German, at any rate, this is the explanation for the frequent use of modal verbs to express one's will to the hearer. This also explains many uses of expressions often classified by researchers as “indirect”.

66. Cf. Gumperz' (1982) report on the potential for conflict inherent in the *differing* toning fields in the speech of Pakistani job applicants in England, who employ a strong, staccato-like accentuation; in Urdu this expresses especial interest in one's interlocutor, in English it signals badgering.

67. Cf. for example the analysis of 'mal' in Bublitz (2003).

68. Cf. for references to the English language literature on variables in spoken politeness such as “social hierarchy”, “age”, “gender”, “language impairment” see Kasper (1997).

69. The speech acts examined by Clyne, especially *complaints*, *commissives* and *apologies*, the knowledge of which stemming from deep structures and patterns anchored in the first language guides the surface realization in Australian English and results, at least partially, in mutual incomprehension.
70. Already pointed out by Griesshaber (1990). – According to Clyne (2003), discourse and politeness phenomena like addresses, diminutives, modal particles, and discourse markers undergo “pragmatic transference” when their equivalences are used in a second language, esp. in a constellation of immigrant languages (s. Clyne 2003:215–233).
71. Homileic discourse has an especially large potential for code-switching in communication between multilingual speakers, e.g. Ladino-Turkish, German-Turkish, Russian-Kazakh, Italian-Vinsgarian, Russian-German and many others, to name some examples personally experienced.
72. Kasper (1997:384/385) lists the English literature on the “linguistic variables” of politeness such as “institutional discourse”, “workplace communication”, “interpersonal discourse”, “discourse in different media” and “written discourse”, but without putting them into any theoretical context.
73. On the status of the ‘constellation’ in theory see Rehbein (1977), Ehlich and Rehbein (1979) and Bührig (1992), who suggests ‘categories of action space’ for the analysis of constellations (s. also Rehbein & Kameyama 2003).
74. The affinity of types of discourse with the lingua franca communication cannot be detailed here.
75. “‘Style’ also depends on which actors are dealing with the linguistic pattern, the kind of hearer the speaker expects, how explicitly he performs certain illocutions, how extensively he uses additional procedures or to what extent he assumes a naturally given body of common knowledge. In short, common knowledge of the illocutional and propositional dimensions of the linguistic pattern is an important factor. This common knowledge has been termed ‘pattern knowledge’ (Ehlich & Rehbein 1977). This is bound up with the concrete action systems of those involved.” (Rehbein 1983:23).

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PART IV

**Grammar and discourse
in a contrastive perspective**

Modal expressions in Japanese and German planning discourse

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1. Speech action in multilingual constellations

Problems related to interactions in *multilingual constellations* (cf. Rehbein 2000), i.e. discourse among participants with different L1s, can be traced back to different aspects of *linguistic action* (cf. Ohama 1987; Rehbein 1994). Among other reasons, the problem may be due to:

- a. deviation from the standardized course of action or asynchronicity within a *speech action pattern* or *discourse type*,
- b. culturally divergent *structure types of knowledge*,
- c. the *realization of speech actions* through particular *linguistic means* (constructions, simple and complex expressions) which deviate from the L1-standard.

This article is concerned with the latter problem mentioned, that is, the realization of speech actions through particular linguistic means which deviate from the L1-standard.

The reconstruction of problems occurring in multilingual constellations requires that the linguistic means concerned are analyzed with regard to the mental processes activated by these means on the hearer's side within a discourse.

A hearer mentally processes an utterance by identifying the action characteristics of the linguistic means used by the speaker (cf. Ehlich & Rehbein 1986:104 et seqq.). Guided by discourse knowledge and by the action characteristics of the linguistic means, the hearer tries to reconstruct the overall plan underlying the speech action of the speaker (cf. Rehbein 1976, 1977: 185).

Successful *reception* thus leads to a form of *understanding* (cf. Kameyama 2004: §4.3).

In multilingual constellations, as opposed to monolingual constellations (L1-discourse), the hearer has to be more tolerant of the linguistic means used by L2-speakers, because in foreign-language discourse L2-speakers tend to deviate from standard L1-use in their selection of linguistic means (cf. Ehlich 1986; Liedke 1998). Accordingly, during their mental processing, the hearer has to adjust his or her reception in order to ignore, or more accurately, to (mentally) adjust certain disturbing and misleading deviations used by the L2-speaker. For the hearer who is not familiar with interaction in multilingual constellations, this kind of processing can lead to difficulties. Thus, a hearer not accustomed to deficient L2-utterances may not be able to reconstruct the utterance at all (“non-comprehension”/“non-understanding”), or, due to the use of deviating linguistic means, may wrongly assume the action plan of the L2-speaker (“miscomprehension”/“misunderstanding”).

Our research project, “Japanese and German expert discourse in mono- and multilingual constellations”, is based on the hypothesis that there are linguistic means that are critical for hearer processing and particularly vulnerable to problems related to understanding. We have attempted to analyze problems of interaction in multilingual constellations by reconstructing the action characteristics of linguistic means. We compare L1-German utterances to L1-Japanese utterances (“contrastive analysis”), and L1-Japanese utterances to L2-Japanese utterances with regard to the deviations of learner utterances from standard L1-use (“learner language analysis”). Both steps focus on particular linguistic elements that are regularly employed in specific domains of purpose, i.e. specific groups of speech actions. (For further methodological considerations cf. Hohenstein & Kameyama 2000; Rehbein 2002, for an outline of the project cf. the project webpage, URL: <http://www.rrz.uni-hamburg.de/SFB538/forschung/kommunikation/k1-en.html>)

2. Contrasting modal expressions across languages

The group of linguistic means I will address in this article are part of the field of *modality* (cf. Palmer 1986/2001; Bybee & Fleischman 1995). The notion of modality covers a wide range of diverse phenomena sub-divided into various categories such as mood (verb, sentence, utterance mood), epistemic (cf. Nuyts 2001; Janik 2002), evidential (cf. Chafe & Nichols 1986; for evidentials in Japanese cf. Holzapfel 2002), deontic, dynamic, presupposed, negative, and in-

terrogative, among others. Modal expressions can be of different scope, that is, they can operate on elements of the proposition, on part of the proposition, or on the proposition as a whole. In the latter case, modal expressions “instruct” the hearer as to *how* the knowledge verbalized in the propositional act is to be interpreted. In other words, through the “presentive” use of “utterance mood” (cf. Rehbein 1999) or through the “descriptive” use of “matrix constructions” (cf. Rehbein 2003; Armbruster in prep.) they serve to express a “processing direction” and to specify *illocution* further. The difficulty encountered here is that the abstract notion/category of modality has to be somehow related to the different language specific modal expressions/modals, as the form repertoire and the system of modals varies across languages. Therefore, a well-defined tertium comparationis is required for contrasting modal expressions in typologically different languages with diverse modal systems like German and Japanese.

A brief look at modal expressions from the two languages reveals that the forms to be compared differ in many respects. German exhibits a “realis-irrealis”-distinction through the indicative and subjunctive (I and II) forms (cf. Redder 1992: 132). German also has a set of modal verbs (“möchten”/“mögen II”, “wollen”, “sollen”, “müssen”, “dürfen”, “nicht brauchen”, “können” and “werden”) interrelated to each other (cf. Ehlich & Rehbein 1972; Brünner 1981; Brünner & Redder 1983; Redder 1984). Japanese has neither a morphological differentiation of indicative versus subjunctive, nor a set of lexicalized modal verbs comparable to German or English. Instead, it has a set of evidentials such as: “sou (da)” (hearsay), “you (da)” (sensory evidence), “mitai (da)” (apparent), “rashii” (inference), among others. In addition, epistemic and deontic modality is expressed in Japanese through the use of complex modal constructions formed by morphemes of different morphosyntactic status (cf. Rickmeyer 1983; Narrog 1999), as can be seen in the following utterances found in a Japanese L1-discourse:

- (1) *Nijuu-ni-nichi-taisaku* *o: • saki* *ni ya-tcha-tta*
 twenty-two-day-measures ACC beforehand DAT do-PART.finish-PF
hou *ga* *i-i* *ka mo shi-nna-i* *ne.*
 direction NOM good-PRS INT CTOP know-POT.NEG-PRS AUG
 ‘Maybe it would be better to have the measures for the twenty-second done beforehand.’
- (2) *Kanarazushimo*, *yappari*, *ashinami wa sorow-ana-ku-te* *mo*
 necessarily after.all pace TOP match-NEG-ADVR-PART CTOP

i-i n ja na-i ka to omo-u.
 good-PRS NR ESS.TOP NEG-PRS INT QUO think-PRS

'After all, I think that perhaps we do not necessarily need to fall into step.'

In (1) the speaker uses the complex epistemic expression, “ka mo shi-*na-i*”, which is the contracted form of “ka mo shi-*re-na-i*”. The expression literally means “one can not know whether ...”. The construction consists of an interrogative particle “ka”, a co-topic particle “mo”, and the verb “shi-ru” (“know”) in its negated potential form. The utterance is completed by a “final particle”, “ne”, which prompts the hearer to agree with what has been said (morphologically labelled as augmentative).

In (2) the speaker uses the modal “kanarazushimo” (“necessarily”) corresponding with the complex deontic expression “(sorrow)-*ana-ku-te mo i-i*” (“not (to match) is good too” – “not need to (match)”). This proposition is nominalized and modalized further. The speaker asks if the proposition might be true with the expression “no ja *na-i ka*” (contracted form of “no de wa *na-i ka*”, “isn’t it that”), and then qualifies this as a quotation of his own thought by the use of the matrix construction “to omou” (“I think that”) – a conclusion that came into his mind “after all” (“yappari”).

What can be seen here is that it is quite hard to find neatly “corresponding” linguistic means in German (or English) for means used in Japanese constructions. Having little to work with in terms of form, that is having few forms that “correspond” in both languages, we need to consider a functional tertium that allows comparison across the typologically diverse languages.

The search for such a tertium may, for instance, lead to abstract notions like “indirectness” or “indirect speech act” (cf. Searle 1975), “hedged performative”, “hedges”, or “mitigation” (cf. Fraser 1975, 1980), “(epistemological) stance” (cf. Mushin 2001), or “politeness” (cf. Brown & Levinson 1987; Watts, Ide, & Ehlich 1992). Within a functional-pragmatic perspective holistic categories like these could be elaborated upon further for the purpose of a contrastive analysis (cf. Rehbein 2002) through an empirical examination of occurring forms. Important to consider is:

- a. the *functional mechanism* a specific linguistic means bears (on its own),
- b. the way this linguistic means is employed and its functional potential is unfolded *within a specific constellation of action / discourse type / pattern of speech action*,
- c. the *composition of complex expressions*, i.e. what kind of *procedures* (elementary morphemic and submorphemic units of linguistic action), those expressions can be divided into, and

- d. the *mental processes* triggered within the hearer by (each of) these procedures.

3. Modal expressions in planning discourse

Planning (cf. Rehbein 1976a/b, 1977:§5–7) is primarily a mental activity. The purpose of a “planning discourse” (cf. Koole & ten Thije 1994) is that the participants verbally outline and elaborate on an overall plan for a cooperative activity in the future by interacting and exchanging elements for a plan.

What is typical for planning discourse is that the participants talk about potentially occurring and developing forms of reality that, at the time of planning, exclusively exist in their “heads” (“mental sphere”; cf. Ehlich & Rehbein 1986:96), e.g., anticipated situations of action, imagination of an emerging fact, plans for future actions, and so forth. Thus, plans are verbalized by the participants through expressions of action modalities, i.e. as motivation, volition, wish, necessity, need, intention etc. Another characteristics of planning discourse is that the participants have to evaluate verbalized plans in order to reach decisions for the overall plan.

Within these types of utterances, modal expressions are regularly employed to express that the action modalities and the evaluations expressed have the *status of “mental reality”* and are not (yet) obligatory for the hearer. Such formulations indicate that the hearer does not have to share the same point of view as the speaker, and that there is no need for the hearer to commit to anything he or she does not agree with.

In our analysis we focus on forms of modal expressions serving this specific function within planning discourse. These modals can, in fact, be seen as one specific realization form of *politeness*: The speaker respects the hearer’s point of view and possibility of decision-making, and through the use of these modals considers and applies a “basic underlying scale of courtesy with regard to the needs of others” (cf. Ehlich 1995: 30; Ehlich 1992; Rehbein 2001: 15; Fienemann & Rehbein 2004).

Politeness, in this sense, is essential for planning discourse, because in a planning discourse the interactants have to converge their needs and wants in order to come to an agreement with regard to the decisions to be made and to arrange a cooperative common ground for joint future action. All these purposes could not be accomplished without complying with the minimal requirements of politeness and mutual appreciation.

4. Modal expressions in L1-German utterances

The following four utterances ((3)–(6)), drawn from a German L1-planning discourse demonstrate the verbalization of action modalities (that anticipate the realization of planned actions and related matters) – additionally fine-tuned through the use of adequate modal expressions realizing *politeness* as described above.

- (3) *Wir möcht-en eigentlich nich • hier noch n Sturz*
 we like.SUBJII-1PL actually NEG here additional a.ACC lintel
hab-en, in dem dann...
 have-INF, in REL.DAT then..
 ‘Actually, we wouldn’t like to have an additional lintel, in which then...’
- (4) *Das müßt-e umlaufend gemacht werd-en, genau.*
 DEI must.SUBJII-3SG revolving do.PART.PST become-INF exactly
 ‘This must be done revolving, exactly.’
- (5) *Soll-t-e man irgendwie berücksichtig-en.*
 shall.SUBJII-3SG one somehow consider-INF
 ‘Should somehow be considered.’
- (6) *Also ich würd eigentlich lieber dieses •• Glas/ nur*
 so I become.SUBJII.1SG actually rather DEL.ACC glas just
dieses Festfeld da mach-en und die Tür geschlossen.
 DEL.ACC hard.panel DEI do-INF and the.ACC door close.PART.PST
 ‘So I actually would rather take just this hard-panel and the door closed.’

The action modalities lexically verbalized in the utterances above are: motivation (“möchten”) in (3), necessity (“müssen”) in (4), (advisable) requirement (“sollen”) in (5), and preference (“lieber”) for a decision (“werden”) in (6). However, what is more important here is that all the predicates use the *subjunctive II form* (therefore highlighted in the interlinear gloss). According to the analysis of the German verb system by Redder, the subjunctive II form qualifies the predicate as being part of “mental reality” (cf. Redder 1992: 133). Subjunctive II forms in German express that the action modality verbalized by “modal verbs” still exclusively belongs to the mental sphere of the speaker (“Wir”, “ich”) or is knowledge concerning modalities presumably shared by speaker and hearer, but *not yet presupposed as being completely obvious or obligatory* for both. Additionally, three utterances are modalized by the use of other modals like “eigentlich” (“actually”) or “irgendwie” (“somehow”). The modal “eigentlich” in (3) and (6) expresses that the motivation in (3) and preferred

option in (6) *are not the only possible options* for a future action to be taken, but just those the speaker would “actually” prefer. The other modal, “irgendwie”, used in (5), expresses, that the manner of consideration is *left open*.

By using these kinds of modal expressions, that is, modal words and constructions, the speaker avoids forcing his point of view on the hearer and gives him or her the option of coming to a decision on his or her own.

The next three utterances ((7)–(9)) are examples for the verbalization of evaluations made by the speaker:

(7) *Das, das wär-e natürlich nun nicht mehr so schön.*
 DEI DEI be.SUBJII-3SG of.course NOW NEG more so nice
 ‘Now that, that of course wouldn’t be so nice any more.’

(8) *Ich glaub-e, wir krieg-en s mit ner*
 I think.PRS-1SG we manage.PRS-1PL PHO with a.DAT
Stahlzarge einfach eleganter •• hin.
 steel.frame simply elegantly-CMP
 ‘I think, we simply manage this more elegantly with a steel frame.’

(9) *Ich glaub-e nicht, dass so ne Klimaklasse drei*
 I think.PRS-1SG NEG COMP such a.NOM climate.class three
dort sinnvoll oder/• anzubringen/ anzusetzen ist.
 DEI sensible or/ install-INF/ attach-INF be.PRS.3SG
 ‘I don’t think that it makes sense to install/ attach such a climate-class three there.’

The evaluations are expressed by words like “nicht mehr so schön” (“not so nice any more”), “eleganter” (“more elegantly”), “sinnvoll” (“sensible”). In the first example, the evaluation is modalized by two expressions with different tendencies. The expression “wäre” (“be” in subjunctive II form, translated in English by “would be”) marks the evaluation as being *part of “mental reality”*, whereas “natürlich” marks the evaluation as being obvious. In (8) and (9) the speaker uses matrix constructions consisting of a speaker deixis (“ich”), the mental verb “glauben” (“think”), and a cesura element indicated in the transcription by punctuation (comma). What distinguishes the latter from the former construction is that the matrix construction in (9) is realized by a complementizer, making the propositional part of the utterance syntactically a complement clause of the matrix. The clear subordination of the complement clause emphasizes the illocution of the matrix clause. This gives the fact that the speaker “thinks” something the characteristic of being the speaker’s decided opinion. The negation in (9) merely states that the speaker contradicts the evaluation.

The use of conjunctive II in (7) and the use of matrix constructions in (8) and (9) give the hearer the option of performing an evaluation of his or her own that might deviate from the evaluation of the speaker, thus realizing a form of *politeness* as we have discussed.

5. Modal expressions in L1-Japanese utterances

The next four utterances ((10)–(13)) show how verbalizations of action modalities are modalized for *politeness* in Japanese L1-discourse:

- (10) *Kore wa, chotto genchi chousa ni i-tte. • mou ichi-do:*
 This TOP bit field survey to go-PART • more one-time
kouzou to ka o tashikame-ta-i to omoi-mas-u.
 structure so.ON ACC check-VOL-PRS QUO think-FRM-PRS
 ‘Concerning this, I think that I want to go on a field survey and check the structure and so on once more.’
- (11) *Soko no tokoro o: • mâ: sono hiyaringu de wa • mou*
 There GEN place ACC • EXO that hearing ESS TOP • more
sukoshi kii-te mi-ta-i to omoi-mas-u.
 bit ask.PART try-VOL-PRS QUO think-FRM-PRS
 ‘I think that I want to ask a bit more about this at that hearing.’
- (12) *E: to ne:, honrai naraba, kore o ne:, hyou ni*
 EXO QUO AUG AUG originally COND.HYP DEI ACC AUG chart DAT
shiy-ou ka na: to omo-tte-ta no ne.
 do-DUB INT DEL QUO think-PART-PF NR AUG
 ‘Well, originally, I was thinking that perhaps I would put this into a chart, right?’
- (13) *Da kara ma, kore o beesu ni chotto • motto fukuramas-ou*
 COP SR EXO DEI ACC base DAT bit more blow.up-DUB
ka na tto omo-tte-mas-u.
 INT DEL QUO think-PART-FRM-PRS
 ‘So, I am thinking that perhaps I would blow it up a bit more, having this as a base.’

Utterances (10) and (11) are verbalizations of the speaker’s volition coded by the volitive form “-ta-i”, a suffix adjective. Utterances (12) and (13) are verbalizations of the speaker’s intention coded by the dubitative “-o-u”, a verb flexive. All instances are followed by a construction consisting of the quotative “to” and a form of the verb “omo-u” (“think”). This construction characterizes

the propositions of the utterances as *quotations of thought* or *quoted thought*. The corresponding forms for these constructions in German would be “ich möchte”, “ich wollte”, or “ich würde (gerne)” (subjunctive II-forms), and certainly *not* the combination of the modal verb “wollen” expressing volition and the German matrix construction. There are no occurrences of constructions such as “ich glaube, ich will ...” in the German part of the corpus. In (10) and (11) the matrix construction “to omou” directly succeeds the volitive “-ta-i” -form. In (12) and (13) there is an interrogative particle “ka” and a final particle “na” that indicate *doubting* and *deliberating* inserted between dubitative “-o-u” and the matrix construction “to omou”, making the proposition sound even more like a *provisional* plan. In both utterances, (12) and (13), the verb “omo-u” (“think”) is given an additional continuative reading by the aspectualizing “te”-converb (participle, “-ing”) and “i-ru” (“to be”). In (12) the perfect form “-ta” is added, and in (13) the formal suffix verb “mas-u” in present tense form is added. The “mas-u”-form marks the speech constellation between speaker and hearer as a formal one. Thus in (11) the corresponding English translations would be, “I was thinking that”, and in (12), “I am thinking that”. Another modal expression used in both (10) and (13) is “chotto”, meaning “(a) bit”, and having the predicate in the propositional clause in its scope (in (10) “tashikame-ru” (“check”) and in (13) “fukuramas-u” (blow up)). It gives the action coded by the predicate a *momentary and passing nuance*, and strengthens, in this way, the *provisional ad-hoc character* of the verbalized intention.

In the next two utterances, (14) and (15), evaluations are verbalized by the speaker, again accompanied by modalizing constructions:

- (14) *De: ato wa, chotto kono seimitsu/ seibi-imeeji-zu*
 ESS rest TOP little DEI detail/ maintenance-image-diagram
de A-an ga wakar-i-yasui ka dou ka tte koto o
 ESS a-plan NOM understand-easy to INT how INT QUO thing ACC
chotto: • kentou shi-te mora-e-tara i-i
 little consideration do-PART receive-POT-COND.PF good-PRS
ka na to i-tta kanji de.
 INT DEL QUO say-PF impression ESS
 ‘As for the rest my impression is, perhaps it would be good, if you could consider a little bit whether the A-plan in the maintenance-image diagram is easy to understand or not.’

- (15) Tabun, *kore wa, ano:• e:: koko no chiku no ne, kore*
 probably DEI TOP EXO EXO here GEN area GEN AUG DEI
ga ichi-ban sunao na yarikata na no ka na tte
NOM one-number natural AT method AT NR INT DEL QUO
i-u ka, kochira no e:: sono shushi de ya-tta
say-PRS DISJ DEI.direction GEN EXO EXO tenor ESS do-PF
hou ga •• ano::• e: Meguro-ku ni to-tte mo
direction NOM EXO EXO meguro-ward DAT take-PART CTOP
sore kara moderu-shi ni to-tte mo i-i no ka
DEI ABL modell-town DAT take-PART CTOP good-PRS NR INT
na, to i-u ki ga shi-mas-u.
AUG QUO say-PRS feeling NOM do-FRM-PRS
 ‘I have the feeling that probably this would be the most natural way for this area, or perhaps doing it under that tenor is good for the Meguro-ward, as well as for the modell-town.’

The evaluating expression in both (14) and (15) is a simple “i-i” (“good”), followed by modal constructions comparable to the constructions in (10)–(13). In (14) the evaluating “i-i” is modalized by *questioning* “ka” and *deliberating* “na”. The whole proposition is characterized as a *quotation* (“to”) of an *impression* (“kanji”) that could be “expressed” (“i-tta”) as being stated in the preceding propositional clause. The utterance final essive particle (very much like an utterance-final participle “-te”-form) opens the utterance to the discourse, that is, it connects the content of the utterance to a preceding or to an upcoming utterance, to discourse knowledge, or to supplementing mental processes on behalf of the hearer. The utterance could be interpreted as a verbalization of a volition, expressed by the directional verb “morau” (“receive”) with potential form and perfect conditional ending appearing before the evaluating expression (“shi-te mora-e-tara i-i”, “(it) would be good, if I could receive ...done”). In (15) the evaluating expression is nominalized by “no” (nominalizer) and, after that, *questioned* through the use of interrogative “ka” and particle “na”, *indicating deliberation*. The nominalization ties the whole preceding propositional clause into a whole and places it into the context of an exposition of the speaker. This construction is followed by the *quoting* “to iu”-construction, as in (14), and the modal construction, “ki ga suru” (“I have the feeling, that ...”). The utterance consists of two propositions that are framed by the same type of construction (the first part ends with “no ka na tte i-u” and the second part with “no ka na to i-u”) and is connected with the disjunctive “ka”.

In addition, there are other utterances that are modalized with the above mentioned “to omo-u”-construction instead of finishing with constructions that use “to iu”-quotation in combination with nominal-centered constructions, such as “kanji da” or “ki ga suru”.

The utterances considered so far indicate that the Japanese L1-speakers – compared to the German speakers of our corpus – seem to have the tendency to be very *vague* and *careful* in presenting their own plans and evaluations of plans in a (formal) planning discourse.

6. Modal expressions in L2-Japanese utterances

I now want to discuss corresponding utterances of an L2-speaker of Japanese in a comparable constellation of planning discourse against the background of the L1-utterances we have analyzed so far.

The speaker presented here is a German graduate student of architecture and town sociology at a university in Tokyo. He is a permanent resident of Japan having married a Japanese woman, and at the time the discourse took place he had already stayed in Tokyo for three years. While his Japanese is sufficient for everyday needs, he has some difficulties with Japanese in formal settings. In short, he could be characterized as a learner of Japanese at the “intermediate level” (“Differentialstufe”; cf. Ehlich 1986).

In the utterances below ((16)–(19)) action modalities are verbalized by the same L2-speaker in a stretch of discourse:

- (16) *Hitotsu wa, • ano: san.gatsu ni: • ano: • chiisai workshop*
 One.(thing) TOP, • EXO March in • EXO • little workshop
yari-ta-i n • des-u kedo mo.
 do-VOL-PRS NR • COP.FRM-PRS ADVRS
 ‘One thing is that we want to do a little workshop in March.’
- (17) *Äh: tabun • ni-kai ano, ano shu:matsu de:, • deki-tara*
 EXO perhaps • two-times EXO EXO weekend ESS, • can-COND.PF
Kamimeguro de: sore o yari-ta-i n des-u ne.
 Kamimeguro LOC DEI ACC do-VOL-PRS NR COP.FRM.PRS AUG
 ‘You see, (it is that) we want to do that on two weekends, if possible, in Kamimeguro.’

- (18) *Tsuki o: mi-ru no o ano: form/ platform mitai na:*
 Moon ACC watch-PRS GEN ACC EXO form/ platform like AT
koto o tsukuri-ta-i n des-u ne.
 thing ACC make-VOL-PRS NR COP.FRM-PRS AUG
 ‘You see, (it is that) we want to make something like a form/ platform for watching the moon.’
- (19) *Demo sono, sono toki ni mo jouhou dashi-ta-i*
 But this this time DAT CTOP information provide-VOL-PRS
n des-u ne.
 NR COP.FRM-PRS AUG
 ‘But we want to provide information at this, this time also.’

What can be observed here is that the utterances all have the same “n desu” construction after “-ta-i” (volitive). The whole “-tai”-clause is nominalized with “n”, the short form of “no” (nominalizer). The particle verb “desu” turns the nominalized clause into an assertion with the volitive-clause embedded. The “n desu” construction gives the utterance the illocution of *explaining*, of *justification*, or of *effective reasoning*, depending on the context of action (cf. Hohenstein 1994, 2002) and can be approximately rendered in English with an embedding matrix construction like “it is that...”. In (16) the wish of the speaker, once stated, is suspended by the adversative “kedo mo”, and open to objections from the hearer. But in the other three examples ((17)–(19)), the wish of the speaker is intensified by the augmentative “ne”, prompting the hearer to give a positive evaluation.

At first glance the construction used by the German speaker may seem to be a functionally adequate one. It helps to explain the speaker’s intention and asks the hearer for either a positive evaluation or possible objections. However, for a Japanese L1-hearer utterances using the construction “-tai n desu” have a slightly inconsiderate touch. In the worst case, the speaker, through the repeated usage of “n desu”, may appear to be an insensitive and self-centered person (but cf. Aoki 1986: 236 who claims quite the opposite; according to his analysis, “n desu” is “used to [...] soften the expression of desire [...]”).

Additionally, in the following utterance, the speaker-centered use of “to omo-u” for the modalization of evaluations verbalized by the speaker also contributes to this kind of (mis)interpretation.

- (20) *Moshi soko de nani ka deki-tara, sore mo*
 If there LOC what INT can-COND.PF DEI CTOP

- 3 YOK kangaete ite/ • iru ka tte iu no o chotto hanashite itadakemasu
 YOK-IL right now?
 YON Hm
 YON-IL Hm
- 4 YOK ka? Betsu ni Doitsu-go de mo ii desu. ((lacht))
 YOK-IL It's all right, you can speak German. ((laughing))
 SCH Hai. • • E' getsu(youbi). Jaa
 SCH-IL Yes. • • Well Mon(day). Then I'll
- 5 YOK Hai
 YOK-IL Yes
 SCH Nihon-go de saki ni • • (hanashimasu).
 SCH-IL (say) it in Japanese first.
 YON • C no
 YON-IL • That's part C,
 UED ((lacht))
 UED-IL ((laughing))
- 6 YOK So' C-kikaku. [Memo],
 YOK-IL Exactly, plan C. There is a
 SCH • • Mâ, getsu-yobi no
 SCH-IL • • Well, at the meeting on
 KUR So' C no bubun.
 KUR-IL Exactly, part C.
 YON bubun da yo ne? Êê:, e', e', e'.
 YON-IL isn't it? Yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah.
- /memo*
- 7 YOK [memo] ga arimasu. Hm
 YOK-IL memo, a memo. Hm
 SCH [mi:tingu] de: • • • a::no:: s/ sonna ni atarashii koto wa
 SCH-IL Monday we actually did not have • • • hm:: so many new ideas.
/meeting
- 8 YOK Â: Hâ:, hâ:
 YOK-IL Hm: Oh yeah, yeah
 SCH dete konakatta n desu keredo. Ma:: chotto: [sukeju:ru] no hou
 SCH-IL Well:: we actually considered uhm • uhm a
/schedule
- 9 YOK Hm
 YOK-IL Hm
 SCH ni ano • ano:: iroiro: kangaeta n desu kedo mo. Hitotsu
 SCH-IL little bit, this and that about the schedule. One thing is,
- 10 YOK Hm
 YOK-IL Hm
 SCH wa: • ano:: san-gatsu ni: • ano:: • chiisai workshop yaritai n •
 SCH-IL that we actually want to do • hm:: • a small workshop • hm:: in March.

- | | | | |
|----|--------|--|---------------------|
| 11 | YOK | Hâ, hâ, hâ | Hâ, hâ, hâ |
| | YOK-IL | Oh yeah, yeah, yeah | Oh yeah, yeah, yeah |
| | SCH | desu kedo mo. Sono go-gatsu no [ibento] no a:no:: | |
| | SCH-IL | Uhm we actually want to do a workshop for the uh:m:: preparation,
<i>event</i> | |
| 12 | YOK | Hâ, hâ, hâ | Naruhodo, hai |
| | YOK-IL | Oh yeah, yeah, yeah | I see, yes |
| | SCH | <i>preparation, junbi no workshop yaritai n desu kedo mo. Äh::</i> | |
| | SCH-IL | preparation of that event in May. | We |
| 13 | YOK | | Hm |
| | YOK-IL | | Hm |
| | SCH | tabun • <u>nikai</u> ano ano shu:matsu <u>de:</u> • dekitara Kamimeguro | |
| | SCH-IL | hm:: probably want to do this • twice hm hm on weekends, • possibly in Kamimeguro, | |
| 14 | YOK | Ha: | |
| | YOK-IL | Yeah | |
| | SCH | <u>de:</u> sore o yaritai n desu ne. Sono toki ni ano:: • sono:: • nan ka | |
| | SCH-IL | okay? At that time we want to do uh::m • uhm:: • | |
| 15 | SCH | • sono:: • <u>koko</u> de:, ano sono eranda basho <u>de:</u> | |
| | SCH-IL | something uhm:: a somewhat soft preparation • uhm:: • <u>here</u> , uhm <u>at</u> a chosen place | |
| 16 | YOK | Hm | H:m Hai |
| | YOK-IL | Hm | Hm: Yes |
| | SCH | chotto: • e:: [sofuto] na junbi o yaritai n de su ne. Ano sono • | |
| | SCH-IL | , okay? | We want to talk |
| | | <i>/soft</i> | |
| 17 | YOK | | Hm |
| | YOK-IL | | Hm |
| | SCH | hito-tachi/ ano sono (su/) ano: ju:min-tachi to hanashite:: • | |
| | SCH-IL | uhm uhm • to the people/ uhm uhm (res/) uh:m resident, a::nd • we want to • uh::m | |
| 18 | YOK | | Hm |
| | YOK-IL | | Hm |
| | SCH | mâ:: ano:: sono watashi-tachi no kangaeta koto • <u>o:</u> ano:: | |
| | SCH-IL | present, well:: uh::m uhm what we have considered, a::nd we want to do those sort of | |
| 19 | YOK | Hm | Hm Hm, hm, |
| | YOK-IL | Hm | Hm Hm Hm Hm |
| | SCH | shoukai <u>shite::</u> , sou i u koto o yaritai n desu ne. | |
| | SCH-IL | things, okay? | |
| 20 | YOK | hm | |

In score areas 1–4 the moderator YOK asks the L2-speaker SCH to summarize the results of the meeting SCH had had with his group “on Monday” and to tell the participants of the ongoing meeting “what kind of things” they have planned. After the *request* there is a short intervention (score area 4–7), during which the moderator, as a joke, suggests that the report could be given in German (only one of the five participating Japanese speaks German), and another speaker makes sure that he refers to the right paragraph of the handout

(“part C”). In score area 6–8 the L2-speaker SCH complies with the request of the moderator and admits that “at the meeting on Monday” they did not have “so many new ideas”. SCH uses the “n desu” (explaining) construction in combination with “keredo” (adversative) in this *admission*. Nevertheless, he tries to *explain* the results of the meeting to the other participants in the following utterances (area 9–20, and further). In many of his utterances SCH continues to use the same simple “n desu” construction repeatedly, changing only from defensive “ke(re)do (mo)” (adversative) to offensive “ne” (prompting for positive feedback).

The transcript above reveals that it is the speech action of the L1-speaker at the beginning of the section (request for a report) that forces the L2-speaker to concentrate on the action of ongoing *explanation*. To accomplish this task the L2-speaker overuses the “n desu” construction and refrains from using modalizing constructions for *politeness* as discussed above for the L1-speakers.

It should be noted that in the further course of the discourse deviations of the L2-utterances as described in this section among other things become problematic, because the Japanese discourse participants allege, that the German speaker is not capable of evaluating the circumstances given and to recognize the requirements for realizing the planned event.

7. Conclusions

We started by asking what differences we could find between German L1-speakers’ and Japanese L1-speakers’ use of modal expressions within specific domains of planning discourse. Next, we considered what effects the deviating use of Japanese modal expressions by a German L1-speaker in Japanese planning discourse could possibly have. Finally, I discussed possible reasons why, in the discourse presented in this paper, the L2-speaker could have deviated from the standard realization forms of politely modalizing action modalities and evaluations.

The differences found between German L1-speakers’ and Japanese L1-speakers’ use of Japanese modal expressions for *politeness* in planning discourse can be summarized as follows:

(a) *Politely modalizing an evaluation*

Both in German and Japanese planning discourse, evaluations made by the speaker have to be modalized in the sense that they have to be marked as not being obligatory for the hearer. In *German* planning discourse, the speaker in-

icates that it is only *his or her own subjective* evaluation. A typical means for this are “matrix constructions”, with lexical elements (verbs) expressing active mental processes of ongoing evaluation on behalf of the speaker, for example, “ich glaube, dass...” (“I think that”) or “ich würde sagen...” (“I would say...”). The evaluation is qualified as a matter of subjective mental categorization of the speaker. In *Japanese* planning discourse the speaker additionally restricts the validity of an evaluation as being *preliminary and tentative*. He or she does this by using complex modal constructions with operative elements, such as negative statements “no de wa nai”, interrogatives “ka” and expeditive elements, such as the deliberative “na” (“no de wa nai ka na”, “isn’t it that, may be”), and with symbolic elements expressing *vague and unstable mental states* such as “ki ga suru” (“I have the *feeling* that”) or “kanji da” (“the/my *impression* is”). The former and the latter are connected by the quotative “to” and the verb “iu” (“say/call”). Compared to German L1-speakers, Japanese L1-speakers seem to prefer more *cautious* and more *restrained* modal expressions for modalizing an evaluation.

(b) *Politely modalizing an expression of action modality*

Both in German and Japanese planning discourse, action modality verbalized by the speaker has to be modalized in order to indicate that a wish, obligation, or decision is part of “*mental reality*”, that is, to indicate that a potential has not yet, and will not automatically turn into “*reality*”, and that it is not self-evident, but an object of consideration. In *German* planning discourse the speaker uses the *subjunctive II* for this purpose, *operating* directly on the predicate and qualifying the predicate as being part of “*mental reality*”. In *Japanese* planning discourse the speaker frames the proposition by using *quotative “to” and the verb “omou” (“think”)*. The quotative relates the proposition to the predicate with the quoting verb (in our case to the mental verb “omou”, “think”) that *symbolically/lexically* characterizes the proposition as *quoted thought* (cf. Shinzato 2004 who claims that the mental verb “omo-u” represents the “internally cognized (private)”).

If we compare the L1-speakers’ utterances to the utterances of the German speaker, we can clearly see that there are differences in the way evaluations and verbalizations of action modality are modalized. From a Japanese L1-hearer’s point of view, the use of speaker-oriented construction “to omou” is marked for the verbalization of *decided opinion*. Expressions for action modality, like the volitive “-tai”, used without adequate modalization for politeness *accentuate the speaker’s claim* for their realization too strongly (in the case of “-tai” without “to omou” the speaker’s volition is accentuated too strongly). The Ger-

man speaker's improper use of Japanese constructions, as described above, has the unintended effect that he may appear self-centered, insensitive, careless and uncooperative.

This investigation of modal expressions in German and Japanese planning discourse suggests that both L1- and L2-interactants could benefit from a greater awareness and better understanding of the diverging functional means used in different languages for corresponding domains of discourse to be better prepared for problems of communication in multilingual constellations. For L2-speakers of Japanese an earlier focus, within language lessons on the matter of how modal expressions are employed in Japanese utterances for the purpose of *politeness* would be helpful. For Japanese-learners with L1 German it would be helpful to be confronted with the linguistic means used in authentic L1-Japanese constellations and to contrast these to the linguistic means used in German. In this way they would be able to reflect on the different functional mechanisms underlying the linguistic means in both languages for the same purpose of *politeness*.

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Abbreviations

•	pause, less than 0,3 seconds	EXO	exothesis (plan indicator)
••	pause, 0,5 seconds	FRM	formal
•••	pause, less than 1 second	GEN	genitive
((2s))	pause, 2 seconds	IL	interlinear translation
:	lengthening	INF	infinitive
/	repair	INT	interrogativ
...	interruption	L1	first language
1	1st person	L2	second language
2	2nd person	NEG	negation
3	3rd person	NOM	nominative
ABL	ablative	NR	nominalizer
ACC	accusative	PART	participle
ADVR	adverbializer	PART.PRS	present participle
ADVRS	adversative	PART.PST	past participle
AT	attributor	PF	perfect
AUG	augmentative	PHO	(ana/kata)phoric
CMP	comparative	PL	plural
COMP	complementizer	POT	potentialis
COND	conditional	PRS	present
COND.HYP	hypothetical conditional	PST	past
COND.PF	perfect conditional	QUO	quotative
COP	copula (essive verb)	REL	relative pronoun
CTOP	co-topic	SG	singular
DAT	dative	SR	subordinator
DEI	deixis	SUBJI	subjunctive I
DEL	deliberation	SUBJII	subjunctive II
DISJ	disjunctive	TOP	topic
DUB	dubitative	VOL	volitive
ESS	essive		

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A comparative analysis of Japanese and German complement constructions with matrix verbs of thinking and believing*

と思う “to omou” and “ich glaub(e)”

Christiane Hohenstein

1. Introduction

In this article I will focus on a type of verbal matrix in L1 Japanese and L1 German, which has been reported to create problems for L2 speakers, even at a high proficiency level. Aiming at a possible functional explanation of problems in L2 use, I will discuss the use of the constructions and their functions in highly professionalized L1 speech situations. By looking at occurrences, frequencies, and the construction types in our corpus I will attempt to specify characteristic functional differences, and I will try to identify similarities, which may bear a part in problematic L2 use of those verbal matrix constructions.¹

A notable feature that verbal matrix constructions of thinking and believing have in common is that they are frequently expressed in speaker-deictic forms.² In Germanic languages like English and German an almost formulaic use with a speaker's deixis of first person singular (“I”; “*Ich*”) can be observed. Since speaker-deictic use occurs almost exclusively in our corpus, and has been reported on as a specific discourse phenomenon in several studies regarding various languages (cf. Simon-Vandenberg 1998, 2000; Aijmer 1998), I will restrict my analysis to speaker-deictic uses and refer to the constructions under discussion with the general term ‘*I think-constructions*’.

The main purpose of this paper is to illustrate both differences and similarities in the German “*ich glaub(e)*”-construction and the Japanese “*to omou*”-construction with respect to expert discourse, in order to help a discourse-oriented understanding of these grammatical constructions. To that end, I

will compare the Japanese to the German sub-types of ‘*I think*–constructions’ according to their respective frequencies, and I will try to account for their functional (dis-)affinities to the discourse task at hand in our German and Japanese corpus.

It should be noted, however, that as the current study is based on a matched corpus of institutional discourses belonging to the genre of ‘oral presentation’ (conference talks and product presentations), it is not within the scope of this study to make overall generalizations about the “*to omou*”- and “*ich glaub(e)*”-constructions. In fact, we expect considerable differences in use and function according to the situational contexts of genre, orality, textuality, and written language.³ Moreover, the paper does not claim that the German “*ich glaub(e)*”-construction and the Japanese “*to omou*”-construction are grammatically, semantically or functionally equivalents of each other, as, indeed, they are not. However, I will argue that certain functional overlaps occur, limited to specific construction types in certain discourse contexts.⁴

1.1 L1 constructions and L2 problems

The constructions under discussion are formed with *verbs of thinking and believing*, which exert control over a *proposition*. Usually that proposition is *subordinated by means of a complementizer* equivalent to English “that”. However, in German, certain ‘de-grammaticalized’ verbal matrix constructions, which do not involve a complementizer, but grammatically different constructions (cf. §4.2, §4.3; cf. Rehbein 2003), do occur with high frequencies. In Japanese, on the other hand, the “*to omou*”-construction combines with a range of subordinated predicative constructions, forming a complex superordinate predication. These subtypes of ‘*I think*–constructions’, we assume, play a crucial role in non-target language-like uses. They will be discussed under the term of ‘construction types’ of the respective “*ich glaub(e)*”- and “*to omou*”-constructions (cf. §4).

Evidence from our L2 corpus suggests that Japanese L2 German speakers, as well as German L2 Japanese speakers, tend to treat these constructions as equivalent to each other. At the same time, Japanese native speakers observe that German L2 Japanese speakers tend to overuse utterance-final “*to omou*”-constructions.⁵ Observations of a non-native like L2 use of ‘*I think*–constructions’ have been reported for several languages, including L2 English spoken by L1 Japanese speakers (Maynard 1997:123f.; Ono-Premper 2002).⁶ Moreover, Asian speakers (L1 Thai, Chinese, Korean) have also been observed

to have difficulties with the use of ‘I think–constructions’ in L2 Japanese (cf. Hashimoto 2003).

Considering the fact that many languages from different language families (e.g., apart from German and Japanese, English, French, Italian, Russian) have developed a discourse usage of similarly composed ‘I think–constructions’, so frequent as to be identifiable as some kind of ‘conversational routine’ (cf. Coulmas 1981), the question arises, whether these routinized speaker-deictic matrix constructions of thinking and believing do serve general communicative needs, or universally developed interactional purposes. From that angle the realization that ‘I think–constructions’ do present L2 speakers of various mother tongues with difficulties in terms of native-like production bears interest to us for two reasons: Firstly, it suggests that ‘I think–constructions’ – even though they carry features which invite crosslinguistic comparison, namely being composed of a speaker-deictic matrix verb of thinking and believing which embeds a whole proposition – are in fact non-equivalent in ways *specific to individual languages*. And secondly, since L2 speakers are reported to produce these constructions itself in a grammatically correct way, the problem seems not to concern grammatical knowledge or competence (e.g. on the level of syntactic rules), but *pragmatic knowledge regarding a situationally adapted use of the construction*. Thus, what happens in non-target language-like L2 uses of ‘I think–constructions’ may be labeled ‘pragmatic failure’ rather than ‘grammatical error’ (cf. House & Kasper 1981; Thomas 1983; see also Kameyama this vol.). Consequently, it is the pragmatic aspects of German and Japanese ‘I think–constructions’ and possible repercussions they may exert on grammatical constructions we are interested in here.

With regard to the data at hand, we assume that ‘I think–constructions’ are pragmatically specified, that is, they serve different purposes in the German and Japanese spoken expert discourses under study. The focus of the current paper is on how these constructions may be put to interactional use in different ways in L1 German and L1 Japanese, and whether and where similarities might be located. In the following section the constructions are highlighted by corpus examples.

1.2 General features of German and Japanese ‘I think–constructions’

The ‘I think–constructions’ under study are *prima vista* identifiable as a complement construction involving a *verbum sentiendi* matrix verb and a complementizer, and similar constructions are known in a wide range of diverse languages. Examples (1) and (2) from our L1 corpus of academic conference

presentations illustrate the basic construction types of the construction under examination. The speaker deixis, finite predication, and complementizer (“that”) are underlined. The original utterance is given in the upper line, the interlinear gloss in the line below, and an English translation in the third line. In the brackets following the English translation, the transcript’s identification number in the corpus is given.

(1) German

“Ich glaube trotzdem, dass ein Unterschied besteht.”

I believe nevertheless that a difference exists

“I nevertheless believe that a difference exists.”(0002)

(2) Japanese

「この／ええ そこまでに辿り着く (=) は、あの・・・仮定が示されていると思います。」

“Kono/ ee soko-made-ni tadoritsuku (=) wa, ano .. katei

This/ uh there-until-to reach.finally (=) TOP uh premise/s

ga shimesarete-iru to omoimasu.”

NOM were.shown-be that I.think.POL

“This/ uh we have now arrived at (a point), where uh I think that now the premises have been shown.” (0504)

The constructional pattern in both examples is that of complementation: A predication formed by a *verbum sentiendi* matrix verb is complemented by a subordinate clause containing a complete propositional act. The subordinating complementation is exerted through German “*dass*” in (1) and Japanese “*to*” in (2) respectively. However, differences start with the complementizers: German “*dass*” originates in a deictic expression, i.e. is based on a procedure orientating a hearer with respect to ‘here and now’ in the speech situation toward an entity the speaker wants to focus the hearer’s attention on (cf. Ehlich 1989, 1992). Even though historically remote, that deictic trace is still effective as a substratum in the complementizer (cf. Redder 1990; Rehbein 2003). By contrast, Japanese “*to*” has no deictic root at all and is capable of operating as a postposition in a variety of constructions: marking a dependent complement as a quote or a comparison, followed by a verb of speaking, listening, thinking, doing; linking nouns; linking sentences or parts of utterances, marking the dependent as conditional, to name but a few. These differences in operative potential between both complementizers clearly show that the internal structure of ‘I think–constructions’ in German and Japanese is different. Comparing examples (1) and (2) more differences come up.

In example (1) “*dass*”, traditionally termed a subordinating conjunction, functions as a complementizer introducing an assertion which becomes subcategorized as a subclause. In this kind of construction the superordinate predication is utterance-initial, and the subordinate clause introduced by a complementizer causes topological inversion.⁷ Thus, in the German construction the subordinate proposition is not endowed with an illocutionary force of its own, but is committed to the assertive illocution produced by the matrix verb predication. Example (2) shows that the Japanese complementizer, the quotative postposition “*to*”, follows a complete assertion. The Japanese construction positions the superordinate finite predication at the end of the utterance, without effects on word order or constituent order. In the linear process of uttering an assertion it becomes clear only after adding “*to*” that the preceding utterance is subcategorized: The “*to omou*”-construction subcategorizes *retrospectively*, giving no beforehand hint to the hearer of the ongoing grammatical process.

It is possible to capture this procedural difference between the Japanese and German complement constructions typologically: In Japanese syntax the head follows its complements, whereas German constructions are head-initial. Also, in Japanese the order ‘dependent complement – head’ is strictly followed, while in German, based on word order variation, constituent insertion, and verb valency a set of differing constructions is possible which are not possible in Japanese.

Moreover, in both German and English a speaker-deictic expression (‘pronoun’; in example (1): “*Ich*”, “I”) is obligatory in such constructions; additionally, German employs a speaker deictic predicate morpheme as well (verb inflectional “-e”). In Japanese, on the other hand, there is no surface expression of the speaker as a nominative or a thematic argument.⁸ Instead, the Japanese utterance in (2) is marked for a certain speech situation type by the inflectional (para-)deictic suffix verb “-masu”, which characterizes a shared, somewhat formal speech situation between speaker and hearer.⁹ This, combined with the lack of indicators for thematic or nominative arguments other than the actual speaker, leads the hearer to infer speaker-deictic meaning in the given speech situation.¹⁰ Given the differences discussed above, in comparing the German and Japanese ‘I think–constructions’, the question is not as much where and how they differ, but as to what pragmatic aspects make them comparable.

2. Methodological considerations

Matrix constructions with *verba sentiendi* – verbs of thinking and feeling – have been researched within a range of theoretical frameworks. In functional semantics they are interpreted as expressions of ‘epistemic modality’ denoting mental states and/or activities which systematically express ‘subjectivity’ and are, at the same time, related to ‘evidentiality’ and ‘hedging’ (cf. Nuyts 2001; Chafe & Nichols 1986; Hyland 2000). The constructions have also been understood as a means of ‘propositional attitude’, speaker’s ‘stance’ or ‘subjectivity’ towards the subordinated proposition (see Halliday 1994; Biber et al. 1999; Iwasaki 1993). Additionally, in an effort to highlight the hearer-related effects of the constructions, they have been associated with the categories of ‘modality’ and ‘relevance’ (see e.g. Blakemore 1999; Palmer 2001). While all of these approaches have their own merit in focussing on various aspects of semantic, propositional, illocutional and hearer-related functions, it remains difficult to relate those descriptive categories to each other in a clear-cut, distinctive manner. Also, in the light of these categorizations, it remains unresolved whether the evidential matrix construed by a *verbum sentiendi* holds its own illocutionary force or merely imposes a specific propositional or illocutional value on the proposition of an embedded clause. This question needs to be answered with regard to interactional purposes in texts and discourses, in a manner which incorporates both hearer and speaker, or reader and writer.

Corpus studies on English revealed that although ‘I think–constructions’ are used in a variety of discourse types and genres, their function and frequency varies considerably from genre to genre (cf. Simon-Vandenberg 1998, 2000). Findings on academic texts in L1 English show that matrix constructions of thinking and believing, along with a set of other linguistic means, are used to convey epistemic information regarding the asserted proposition. This is seen, for example, in statements carrying ‘authorial judgements’ or assessing scientific claims (e.g. Hyland 2000; Markkanen & Schröder 1992, (Eds.) 1997). If these ‘hedges’ are not recognized and processed correctly, L2 readers may misinterpret crucial parts of the proposition, as Hyland (2000) shows in a study on Asian students’ comprehension of English academic writing.

From these findings it can be interpreted that matrix constructions of thinking and believing in English cover a certain *assessment function* related to the purposes of academic texts. Oral speaker deictic think–constructions form one part of that more general type of matrix constructions of thinking and believing. Since a major function of communication in scientific and academic interaction is the *verbalization of evaluations as academic assessments* (cf.

Redder 2002), the linguistic means conveying those assessments are especially important in both academic texts and discourses. A hypothesis which follows from this is that the speaker deictic 'think-construction' might also play a role in the *verbalizing of evaluative assessments* in German and Japanese academic discourses (i.e., oral academic communication). This will be discussed with regard to possible differences in occurrence and frequency between types of expert discourse (§3). The way 'I think-constructions' work, on the other hand, requires an analysis of its components, as well (§4). Following this line of thought, I hypothesize that in spoken academic discourse a function of expressing the speaker's evaluative assessment is realized by 'I think-constructions'.

Another question that could be raised is, whether a specific construction type, like the 'I think-construction' belongs to the same kind of modality, subjectivity, epistemic modality, or evidentiality in different languages. While modality in a broad sense encompasses mood (indicative, subjunctive, sometimes imperative and interrogative as well), deontic or root modality (desideratives, potentials etc.) and epistemic modality (evidentials, judgments, recurring to source of knowledge and type of mental act), 'subjectivity' captures phenomena somewhat complementary. Iwasaki (1993) relates subjectivity to linguistic phenomena of perspective, distinguishing S(peaker)-perspective, O(ther)-perspective and Zero-perspective and links it to features of deixis, transitivity, information accessibility and tense. Since evaluations fall within S-perspective, 'I think-constructions' in general are part of the speaker's perspective.

The function of matrix constructions in general, according to Rehbein (2003), is to enable the hearer, through linguistic means, to access the embedded proposition in light of a speaker-controlled interactional dimension (cf. Rehbein 2003:256ff.). Dimensions of interaction, which are made use of in most speech situations without being verbalized explicitly, become verbalized through a matrix construction in order to explicitly be utilized in the shared discourse knowledge. Rehbein (2003:252f., 255f.) systematically distinguishes those matrix constructions, which are a type of 'descriptive realisation', from a 'presentive realisation' of verbal interaction. To characterize utterances in which the matrix is alluding to an illocutionary act, Rehbein (2003) introduced the term "descriptive realization of an illocutionary act"; *verba dicendi*, among other constructions, are used to make an allusion to an illocutionary act which is not actually carried out, but verbalized assertively by the matrix verb. A considerable number of cases within this class of utterances fall under the category of "performative speech acts". Still, the term 'performative speech act' distinguishes uses of utterances by considering the symbol field value of a ma-

trix verb to be the actual illocutionary force carried out. In verbal interaction, however, the symbol field of a matrix verb does not determine the illocutionary force of the utterance it is used in. Also, the use of the matrix “ich glaube, dass” (“I believe that”) is not a performative because it does not carry out an act of believing (cf. Rehbein 1977: 38). Rather, the symbol field of a matrix verb names an ‘archetype’ of verbal or mental action as a category of knowledge in order to make the hearer (H) process the subordinate proposition under this category of knowledge (cf. Rehbein 2003: 253f.). This is the perspective on utterances with matrix constructions taken in this paper. I will come back to the characteristics of ‘I think–constructions’ as matrix constructions in Sections 4 and 5.

3. Incidence and corpus under study

For methodological reasons of comparability all data were sampled from the *genre of presentational discourse*, which encompasses ‘concatenative’ institutional discourse types.¹¹ To further ensure comparability, the discourse types in the corpus were restricted to *academic conference presentations* and *commercial presentations* on similar subjects in both German and Japanese. These two discourse types form subcorpora, which can be further divided into two subsets of each discourse type (see Tables 1 and 2). The academic presentations are subdivided into *humanities-related* and *natural sciences-related* academic presentations. The commercial presentations consist of *product presentations* given at product fairs and *expert round table presentations* given in expert plenary discussions at product fairs and trade- and economy-related institutions. The latter discourse type is bordering on sequential discourse, as several speakers in turn give short presentations of a product aspect, and comment on each other’s presentation. For the German corpus, one additional round table discussion was included where experts present statements concerning issues related to economics.¹² The corpus used for this study comprises a total of 32 L1 Japanese speakers and 45 L1 German speakers from 18 Japanese and 18 German academic conference presentations and 8 Japanese and 9 German commercial presentations, roughly 200.000 words segmented into more than 10.000 utterances. Table 1 presents an overview of the corpus with regard to ‘I think–constructions’ investigated.

Table 1 shows the relationship between instances of ‘I think–constructions’, the number of discourses investigated (each transcript represents one discourse, some discourses have more than one speaker), and the number of

Table 1. Discourse types, number of transcripts and speakers, and frequency of 'I think-constructions'

Discourse type	Number of transcripts		Number of speakers		Frequency of I think-constructions	
	Jap	Germ	Jap	Germ	Jap	Germ
Academic conference presentations	18	18	18	19	160	50
(Humanities subset)	10	10	10	11	136	47
(Natural sciences subset)	8	8	8	8	24	3
Commercial presentations	8	9	14	26	140	50
(Product presentations subset)	7	7	9	15	125	20
(Expert round table presentations subset)	1	2	5	11	15	30
Total	26	27	32	45	300	100

Jap = Japanese corpus; Germ = German corpus

speakers across discourse types and languages. The total amount of 'I think-constructions' found was 400. Even though the corpus is matched in the number of transcripts, the amount of 'I think-constructions' differs greatly between Japanese and German: of all 400 instances analysed, 75% are found in the Japanese corpus, compared to only 25% in the German corpus. And even though the number of German speakers exceeds the number of Japanese speakers in the corpus, the L1 Japanese transcripts present roughly three times more instances of 'I think-constructions' than the L1 German transcripts. Evidently, in highly professionalised expert discourse, L1 German speakers use 'I think-constructions' much less often than L1 Japanese speakers do in comparable discourse constellations. Thus, if, as discussed above, German L2 speakers of Japanese use too many "to omou"-constructions, it is likely that this strongly depends on the actual discourse genre they are interacting in.¹³

Since we assume that the functionality of linguistic means, in turn, is connected to the interactional purposes carried out in (institutionalized) discourse types, a linguistic construction occurring frequently in a specific discourse type may be interpreted as serving specific purposes within that discourse type. This relationship becomes clearer still when the frequency of occurrence is calculated per transcript and per speaker, as shown in Table 2.

Table 2 presents the frequency (%) of 'I think-constructions' across the corpus, as well as the calculated mean values for the occurrence of 'I think-constructions' in the Japanese and German subcorpora per transcript and

Table 2. Number of 'I-think constructions' (%) within corpus and mean occurrence across languages per transcript and speaker

Discourse type	Corpus %		Occurrence (Ø) per transcript		Occurrence (Ø) per speaker	
	Jap	Germ	Jap	Germ	Jap	Germ
Academic conference presentations	40%	12.5%	8.9	2.7	8.9	2.6
(Humanities subset)	34%	11.75%	13.6	4.7	13.6	4.3
(Natural sciences subset)	6%	0.75%	3	0.4	3	0.4
Commercial presentations	35%	12.5%	17.5	5.5	10	1.9
(Product presentations subset)	31.25%	5%	17.8	2.8	13.9	1.3
(Expert round table presentations subset)	3.75%	7.5%	15	15	3	2.7
Total corpus	75%	25%	11.5	3.7	9.4	2.2

Jap = Japanese corpus; Germ = German corpus

speaker. Table 2 enables us to see differences within the corpus between discourse types and between Japanese and German. This allows us to hypothesize about possible functional relationships of 'I think–constructions' to discourse types.

Findings within the academic discourse type show that Japanese instances of 'I think–constructions' are about 3 to 7 times higher than German instances. However, there is a parallel in that in both Japanese and German in the humanities subset of academic conference presentations transcripts and speakers present high frequencies of 'I think–constructions' compared to the natural sciences subset. Again, the gap between occurrences in the humanities and natural sciences subsets is much wider in German than in Japanese. This tendency to show lower frequencies in the natural science discourses in general might be attributable to differences between humanities and natural sciences in scientific approaches and correlated discourse structures.¹⁴

In the German corpus 'I think–constructions' occurred with greatest frequency within the humanities-related academic conference presentations, at a rate of about 4 instances per transcript and speaker. Compared to the Japanese corpus, this figure is low. However, it might point to a marginal functional correlation of German 'I think–constructions' with humanities-related academic conference presentations.

Concerning the economy-related commercial presentations, Table 2 reveals that within the subset of product presentations 'I think-constructions', again, occur much more frequently in Japanese than in German. Yet, within expert round table presentations the construction appears almost as often in German as it does in Japanese. Still, although the figure (of about three instances per speaker) represents the second highest frequency for the German 'I think-constructions', it represents a low ranking within the Japanese corpus. Whether their relatively high frequency within that German subcorpus is due to the sample or to the fact that German and Japanese actually differ with regard to the discourse type of expert round tables will have to be the subject of further research.¹⁵

If frequency of occurrence hints at the functionality of a construction within a specific discourse type, the results in Table 2 suggest that 'I think-constructions' are highly functional in both Japanese humanities-related academic conference presentations and commercial presentations of the product presentation subset. Frequencies range at nearly 14 instances per transcript and speaker in the academic, and at nearly 18 instances per transcript and 10 per speaker in the economy-related discourse type. This means that if functionality is connected with discourse purposes, Japanese 'I think-constructions' serve a discourse purpose which is equally prominent in Japanese academic conference presentations of the humanities subset and in commercial product presentations. At the same time, 'I think-constructions' seem to serve a less prominent discourse purpose in expert round table presentations and natural sciences conference presentations. Moreover, the higher frequency of 'I think-constructions' in all Japanese discourse types and subsets points to a higher versatility of this construction in discourse, whereas in German, use and functionality of 'I think-constructions' seem to be more restricted.

This preliminary quantitative corpus analysis confirms that according to specific discourse types German 'I think-constructions' occur with frequencies and distributions which are distinct from the Japanese corpus. In general, 'I think-constructions' of all discourse types, with the possible exception of expert round table presentations, occur in German with much less frequency than they do in Japanese. A quantitative comparison of the data also suggests a more limited functionality of these constructions in the German than in the Japanese corpus. The quantitative differences in frequency strongly point to functional variation of 'I think-constructions' between the individual languages, but it reveals nothing about discourse purposes it may serve. To determine their actual and specific functionality, qualitative interpretive methods are necessary. A survey of construction types occurring in the German (Section

4.1) and in the Japanese (Section 4.2) corpora will yield further insights into functional aspects of German and Japanese ‘I think–constructions’ in expert discourses.

4. Construction types in the corpus

The German and Japanese examples (1) and (2) presented in §1 are part of the wider phenomenon of ‘I think–constructions’ in discourse which encompasses a variety of constructions in both languages. This variety of constructions is restricted by grammatical potentials of each individual language on one hand, and exploited for communicative and interactional purposes which may be specific to certain socio-cultural communities as well as to genres, institutions and the like, on the other hand. In the following sections, the construction types occurring in the German and Japanese corpora under study and their frequencies therein are shown and commented on. The most frequent constructions are illustrated and interpreted following the overall presentation.

4.1 German ‘I think–constructions’ in the corpus

4.1.1 German construction types

The German ‘I think–construction’ types found in the corpus are schematized in Table 3. Typifying example verbalizations are given in italics in the row below each construction. Each type-example cites the most frequently used verb of thinking and believing for that construction. The symbol ‘p’ represents the proposition taken into operational scope of the ‘I think–construction’.

Quantitatively, the data in the table clearly demonstrate that matrix constructions as shown in example (1) above, which operate on a proposition ‘p’ by embedding and subcategorizing it by means of a complementizer, are not predominant in the German corpus (16%). Rather, verbal matrix constructions without a complementizer, which exert control over ‘p’ only by means of their verbal valency – taking ‘p’ as a sentential object – are used more often (25%). For distinctive reference, this construction type will be called a ‘bare’ *matrix*, meaning that no complementizer is employed, but some kind of subordination of ‘p’, still interpretable as a matrix construction and syntactically apparent in the word order inversion of the embedded ‘p’, takes place. Finally, ‘de-grammaticalized constructions’ (cf. Rehbein 2003), in which the matrix *verbum sentiendi* no longer processes a subordinate proposition, are most frequent in German (59%). Within this group I found four subtypes in the cor-

Table 3. Frequency of German construction types (%)

Construction type	Frequency %
Matrix constructions	41%
“ <i>Ich glaube, p</i> ” S-deixis + verb of thinking “-e” + main clause-proposition	25%
“ <i>Ich glaube, dass p</i> ” S-deixis + verb of thinking + “dass” + subordinate proposition	16%
De-grammaticalized matrix constructions	59%
“ <i>p(a), glaub(e) ich, p(b)</i> ” main clause-proposition with inversed insertion (verb of thinking + S-deixis)	33%
“ <i>Ich mein p</i> ” S-deixis + verb of thinking- \emptyset + main clause-proposition	12%
“ <i>p(a), ich glaub(e), p(b)</i> ” main clause-proposition with insertion (S-deixis + verb of thinking)	8%
“ <i>p, glaub(e) ich</i> ” main clause-proposition with augmentation (verb of thinking + S-deixis)	6%
Total German corpus	100%

pus, which again show different patterns of word order and inserted position in an utterance. If judged by the differences in frequency, they appear to be distributed differently. Within the scope of this study, it is impossible to interpret and compare all of these types qualitatively, so I will focus on the differences between full matrix construction (§4.1.2), so called ‘bare’ matrix construction (§4.1.3) and the ‘de-grammaticalized’ matrix constructions (§4.1.4). Another notable point is, that even though the *verbum sentiendi* “*glauben*” (“believe”) is by far the most frequently used verb in our German corpus (60%), the verbs “*denken*” (“think”, 24%) and “*meinen*” (“mean, reckon”, 16%) are used as well in German ‘I think–constructions’. Either one can be used with all construction types, but in one ‘de-grammaticalized’ matrix construction, “*meinen*” is used more frequently than both of the other verbs. This, and the fact that they are used with quite different frequencies in the corpus points in the direction that these verbs are not simply interchangeable, generic or bleached in their meaning. On the contrary, their lexical meaning – or more specific: their symbol field value (cf. Bühler 1934; Ehlich 1989) – contributes to the use of the construction, that is, it specifies its pragmatic function by naming

the exact interactional dimension a speaker makes use of when uttering an ‘I think–construction’. This aspect will be discussed with the help of examples.

4.1.2 German full matrix constructions with complementizer “dass”

In example (3) below, example (1), which was presented in section 1, is expanded to include additional context and commentary.¹⁶ The ‘I think–construction’ in (3) features a matrix verb construction with a complementizer introducing the subclause (found in 16% of the German corpus).

In the discourse section preceding the utterances cited in (3), the speaker anticipates possible objections to a theoretical distinction she had been developing in the course of her presentation. From (s29) to (s31), not cited in (3), she gives an example which could be interpreted as a possible counter-argument, arguing that it does not work as a counter-argument. In (s32) she comments on the previously verbalized example sentence. In (s33) the speaker uses the ‘I think–construction’ in an utterance defending her position. Note that it is not the ‘I think–construction’, but the adverb “*trotzdem*” (“nevertheless”), which exerts the illocution of defensive rejection of a formerly verbalized proposition. In the subsequent utterance (s34) she gives an explicative account of the proposition embedded in (s33). By a comparison (“*mehr*”, “more”) she specifies the “difference” that she claims exists between the phenomenon distinguished theoretically and the example commented on in the utterances (ss29–32), defending her line of argumentation.

(3) *from: humanities subset of academic conference presentations*

(s32) *“Die/ der soll GEISTIG sich vergegenwärtigen, ‘Amerika’, und
She/ he is.to mentally RFLX visualize america and
was DA •• möglich ist.
what there possible is
“She/ he is meant to visualize MENTALLY ‘America’, and what is possible
THERE.*

(s33) *Ich glaube TROTZdem, dass ein Unterschied besteht.
I believe nevertheless that a difference exists
I NEVERTHEless believe that a difference exists.*

(s34) *Da WIRD • äh die, die, die äh ((1s)) ja, da WIRD
There becomes uh the the the uh yes there becomes
die Rezeptions- • -arbeit mehr in den Vordergrund gestellt.”
the reception- -process more in the foreground is put
There IS • uh, the, the, the uh ((1s)) yes, the reception-process IS given
more emphasis in that case.” (0002)*

Descriptively, utterance (s33) can be considered a manifestation of speaker's 'stance', or 'subjectivity'. Interestingly, if we use Iwasaki's (1993: 17ff.) distinction between S(peaker)-perspective, O(ther)-perspective and Zero-perspective on that utterance, the 'I think–construction' is interpretable as a means which embeds a partial utterance in zero-perspective, where an event with no animate subject is observationally described, into a superordinate S-perspective utterance, where subject and speaker are one in the deictic center of the utterance, and the assertion is based on the speaker's own experience. Characteristic of 'subjectivity' in Iwasaki's terms, as well, are high transitivity features in the matrix construction, whereas the embedded construction is low in transitivity features (*ibid.*: 21f.). This linguistic encapsulation of different perspectives may bear relevance to the interactional purposes the 'I think–construction' serves.

In order to reveal the interactional purposes, an analysis concerned with the actional quality of linguistic means, aiming at the interactional consequences in terms of illocutionary force and subsequent actions systematically required by the hearer, has to attempt a further dissection of the linguistic means used. In such an attempt, Bührig and Rehbein (1996) and Rehbein (2003) described the interactional function of matrix constructions on the behalf of the speaker (:S) as expressing that S has mentally processed, conceptualized, and adapted the embedded propositional content to her or his knowledge structures within Π^S , the speaker's mental sphere in the interactional dimension.¹⁷ A further characterization, elaborated by Rehbein (2003: 257f.), is that the matrix construction is a linguistic means enabling a hearer (:H) to access the embedded proposition in light of a speaker-controlled interactional dimension. It is the symbol field components of the matrix that determine the interactional dimension in question by naming it.¹⁸

In (s33) of example (3), the German verb "*glauben*" ("believe") carries the core lexical meaning of the matrix, or more precisely, it carries the symbol field the matrix establishes as a reference point for H: the symbol field names parts of (internal or external) reality. In the case of "*glauben*", the verb's symbol field value is distinct from "*meinen*" and "*denken*" (cf. examples (4) and (5) below), in that it denotes a 'mental state of believing'. *Asserting* such a mental state is not identical with committing a mental act of believing (cf. Note 2). It is a linguistic act which enables H to reconstruct otherwise inaccessible (mental) parts of reality belonging to the speaker's subjective dimension. Moreover, the embedded proposition ('p-construction': "a difference exists") in (s33) is subcategorized by the matrix 'I think–construction' plus complementizer as a 'fact' subjected to a 'belief' on S's part. Interactionally, naming the knowledge category of 'belief' instructs H to process the subsequent embedded construction under

this category. This means that the assertion of a ‘belief’ as a type of knowledge employs the speaker-controlled interactional dimension of the ‘evaluation mechanism’ rather than the ‘belief mechanism’ (cf. Rehbein 1977:36f.). In Π^H (H’s subjective mental dimension), consequently, the p-construction does not become integrated as fact knowledge, but as an evaluation on S’ part.

In German, the same type of ‘I think–construction’ is found with a few other *verba sentiendi*. Two of those verbs, “*denken*” (“think”) and “*meinen*” (“mean, reckon”), occur in the corpus, though much less frequently than “*glauben*” does. In example (4), a biologist is giving a talk about a species he has studied. He evaluates the pattern he has analyzed for this species as valid for other species as well.

- (4) *from: natural sciences subset of academic conference presentations*
 “Aber ich DENke, dass sich • das MUster auf viele ANdere
 But I think that itself the pattern on many other
Amphipodengruppen in Mitteleuropa übertragen lässt.”
 amphipodes.groups in middle.Europe transfer lets
 “But I THInk that the PATtern is transferable to MAny other groups of
 amphipodes in middle Europe.” (0012)

The ‘I think–construction’ in example (4) differs from example (3) in that the matrix verb “*denken*” (“think”) is employed. The symbol field of “*denken*” names a ‘mental process of reflection’, which is not a state as “*glauben*”, but a systematic purpose-oriented or theory-related process which results in a kind of conclusion.¹⁹ The matrix “*ich denke, dass*” in (4) thus names a category of knowledge arrived at by reflection or deliberation and places the p-construction under the category of a ‘reflection’. In action theoretical terms the *assertion of a ‘reflection’* may be interpreted to belong, as I argued above in the case of an assertion of ‘belief’, to the speaker-controlled interactional dimension of *evaluation mechanism* (cf. Rehbein 1977). Again, in example (4), the proposition of the subclause is subcategorized by means of “*dass*” as a fact. The matrix construction then makes the p-construction accessible to H as S’s evaluation as a reflected fact.

In example (5), the speaker uses the matrix verb “*meinen*” (“mean, reckon”). The symbol field of “*meinen*” names a mental process or state of “being opinionated” or “holding or supporting an opinion”, which often is based on perception or impression.²⁰ The speaker in example (5) engages in an argument regarding aspects of certain scientific classifications he rejects.

- (5) *from: humanities subset of academic conference presentations*
 “Öhm es geht mir • um ein • bestimmtes PhänoMEN,
 Uhh it relates for me to a specific phenomenon
 von dem ich MEIne, dass es einen eigenen Ausdruck •• verdient,
 of which I mean that it an own expression deserves
 um zur DEUTlichkeit •• entwickelt zu werden.”
 for into clearness developed to become
 “Uhh, I am dealing with a specific phenoMENon, of which I MEAN
 (=think) that it deserves its own term in order to be developed into
 CLEARness.” (0005)

The p-construction (“that it deserves its own expression...”) is subcategorized as a fact which is placed under the category of an ‘opinion’. The *assertion of an opinion* belongs, as the assertion of a belief or a reflection, in the speaker-controlled interactional dimension of evaluation mechanism. H is given access to the p-construction under the evaluative category of ‘opinion’ on the side of the speaker.

The specific matrix construction type employed in examples (3)–(5) consists of an ensemble of linguistic procedures which have been analysed in detail by Rehbein (2003). Crucial elements are the speaker deictic means (“*ich*”; verb inflectional “-e”), which *anchor the whole assertion in the speech situation*. In the case of the speaker-deictic matrix construction, this *procedure of anchoring* may be conceived of as the *linking* of a proposition and illocution during the utterance act with a speaker who is at the same time subject-agent of that utterance and in the deictic center (: ‘origo’) of the utterance.

The para-operative procedure “*dass*” subcategorizes the embedded proposition and enables it to gain a status as a fact (‘factivity’).²¹ This operation on the embedded proposition (p-construction) is characterized as a “mediated raising of p” (cf. Rehbein 2003:259); the propositional act thereby assumes an informative status and is anchored in discourse only via the matrix construction.²² The embedded proposition is released from its immediate anchorage in the actual speech situation and – as a p-construction – carries no illocutionary force of its own.

It is specific to this full matrix type of ‘I think–construction’, that it is capable of expressing a strong conviction on the part of S, no matter which of the above verbs is used. Thus, the matrix constructions in examples (3), (4) and (5) all realize certain parts of the *verbal action of ‘assessment’*, specifically an academic or scientific assessment, within the discourse of academic conference presentations. In all cases, a proposition verbalizing conclusions drawn

from S's own research is subcategorized into a p-construction transporting a propositional 'factivity', and placed under a category of knowledge representing a speaker-controlled interactional dimension. Moreover, the categories of knowledge named in the symbol fields of "*glauben*", "*denken*", "*meinen*", make different aspects of S's evaluation mechanism accessible to H. In academic discourse, this type of matrix construction may be functional in order to make assessments within 'eristic dispute'.²³ Within the corpus, 16% of all the German 'I think-constructions' represent the type of matrix construction discussed in examples (3)–(5). Frequency figures for the academic and the economy-related commercial subcorpora regarding this type of matrix construction are about equal. This suggests that this type of assessment is not just specific to academic discourses. With regard to the qualitative-interpretive analyses given above, more qualitative analyses may confirm its use for eristic or argumentational purposes in a wider variety of expert presentational discourse.

4.1.3 German 'bare' matrix with main clause topology

A second type of matrix construction, which occurs more frequently (25%), is formed without a complementizer. I therefore call them 'bare' in distinction to 'full' matrix constructions. The p-construction in the 'bare' matrix construction displays main clause word order, as in example (6). Again, this construction is most frequently used with the verb "*glauben*" ("believe"), 50% of the tokens representing this type.

(6) *from: humanities subset of academic conference presentations*

(s239) *"Ich glaube, das kann man WIRKlich vertiefen.*

I believe that can one really deepen
 "I believe it is possible to REALLY deepen this [analysis].

(s240) *Ich kann das nur jetzt kurz an einem Beispiel machen."*

I can that only now briefly at one example make
 I can only briefly show this with an example now." (0002)

The utterance (s239) which comprises the matrix construction occurs close to the end of the speaker's presentation. In the utterances immediately preceding, S critically evaluated further research prospects and requirements regarding her subject. In (s239) she verbalizes an assessment regarding the necessity for further studies, evaluated as 'belief', and she announces a subsequent illustration of her evaluation in (s240).

Unlike the constructions discussed in examples (3) to (5), the matrix construction in (s239) involves no para-operative procedure of subcategorisation

and no neutralisation of the illocutionary force of the p-construction. Consequently, the p-construction does not have the quality of factivity. Rather, the p-construction (“it is possible to deepen this analysis”) presents a complete assertion, which is placed under the symbol field of the matrix verb (“*glauben*”) by means of the verb’s valency. Prosodically, both assertive parts of the utterance (s239) are processed as separate intonation units, divided by a caesura. Thus, the matrix verb exerts control over the p-construction mainly through its valency and takes the p-construction as an object. This procedure integrates matrix and p-construction into a shared, enlarged symbol field of the utterance.²⁴ Both matrix and p-construction hold their own anchorage in the speech situation through finite verbal inflection. Since no mediation of the p-construction by a complementizer is taking place, the p-construction is processed by the hearer as an integrated, assertive illocution relating verbalized knowledge (the complex symbol field of the utterance) to extralinguistic reality within the actual speech situation.

Notably, as in the examples above, a switch of perspective occurs between matrix construction and p-construction, this time not to Zero-perspective, but to O(ther)-perspective. The matrix construction is in S-perspective, with its deictic center in a unified speaker-1st person subject, while the p-construction represents an O-perspective with a generic 3rd person subject agent “*man*” (cf. Bührig & Meyer this vol.) and a deictic object; the speaker remains an uninvolved observer.

The evaluation in this kind of ‘I think–construction’ does not carry a strong conviction on the speaker’s part. This is because it does not relate to a fact, but to an assertion, since the p-construction – bare of mediated raising – remains an intact speech action with its own situational anchorage. The evaluation thus has a *quality of assumption* rather than conviction and is, as in example (6), often used as an evaluation of interactional consequences drawn from previous verbalizations. It thus represents a type of assessment distinct from full matrix ‘I think–constructions’ which employ a complementizer.

4.1.4 German ‘de-grammaticalized’ matrix constructions

A sub-type derived from the matrix construction without complementizer occurs in about 12% of all German tokens. It is the same construction as in example (6), but occurs without the speaker-deictic verb inflection “-e” in the matrix verb. The phonological deletion of the inflectional morpheme causes the matrix construction to have an enclitic status in relation to the p-construction. In addition, the caesura between the matrix and the p-construction is bridged prosodically. While in example (6) both parts of the utterance bear a phrasal

accent, in enclitical ‘I think–constructions’ the phrasal accent is on the p-construction and the matrix is merely an insertion or augmentation. Rehbein (2003: 270f.) describes such constructions with augmented, as well as inserted, matrixes as ‘de-grammaticalized’ matrix constructions.

The ‘I think–construction’ presenting the highest frequency in the German corpus (33%) is a non-matrix construction represented by example (7). In these constructions, an inversion of subject and finite verb occurs in the matrix construction, and the finite verb is expressed predominantly without the speaker deictic inflectional “-e”. The construction is inserted into or attached to the end of an utterance and is predominantly realized with the verb “*glauben*” (“believe”). It is rarely realized with the verb “*meinen*” (“mean”). Functionally, because the propositional content preposed to “*glaub ich*” is in its scope, the construction bears a likeness to modal particles.

In example (7) a biologist, whose research concerns the habitat and migration of various oceanic crustaceae, is in the process of presenting his finding, which includes a description of a new species he discovered. In the utterance in example (7) he reports, after presenting his evidence, that a description of the newly discovered species, written by a colleague of his, is to be published imminently.

(7) *from: natural sciences subset of academic conference presentations*

“Das kommt • in einem der nächsten Hefte von •• ‘Journal
That comes in one of the next issues of ‘Journal
of the stational (==), glaub ich, die Beschreibung dieser
of the stational (==) believe I the description of this
Art.”

species

“That will be published in one of the next issues of the ‘Stational (==), I believe, the description of this species.” (0014)

The inverted matrix (“*glaub ich*”, with verb – speaker-deixis topology instead of speaker-deixis – verb) is inserted between the announcement of the publication and a postposed supplementary explication of the utterance-initial deictic “*das*” (“that”). Topologically, the proposition preceding the matrix is topicalized. The matrix is unstressed and merely parenthetical; it is no longer capable of controlling a p-construction. Moreover, it gains a fixed, phrasal character. It is possible to insert this type of matrix at almost any point of an utterance. Since the proposition in this construction type is no longer dominated by the matrix in terms of illocutionary force, and since the symbol field of the matrix gains a “typed” character, its function changes as well: it is transposed as a

composite expression into the prompting field, becoming an ‘expeditive procedure’ (cf. Rehbein 2003: 270f.). The discourse function of expeditive procedures is to coordinate mental and interactional processes between S and H within the immediate speech situation by direct intervention in H’s interactional dimension.²⁵ As an expeditive procedure, the matrix construction expresses that S’s mental operation is important for H’s processing of the proposition in regards to the speech situation and the joint interactional dimension of S and H. The mental operation, typified by the residual symbol field of the matrix construction as “believing” in example (7), is applied to the proposition of that assertion. It expresses an insecurity on S’s part about the relation of the proposition (p) to reality (P). The “*glaub ich*”-construction is most often used in verbalizations where a speaker comments on an aspect of P perceived, come to mind, or interfering which he cannot control or handle in the actual speech situation. An assessment is thus involved in this construction type as well. However, it is left to H to evaluate whether or not the proposition verbalized by S applies to the extralinguistic reality in S and H’s joint interaction system. This kind of German ‘I think–construction’ clearly differs from both other types, and is the only one which would qualify as an ‘evidential’, as it tags an assertion as uncertain speaker knowledge.

4.2 Japanese ‘I think–constructions’ in the corpus

4.2.1 *Japanese construction types*

In contrast to the German corpus, all ‘I think–constructions’ found in the Japanese corpus are fully functional matrix constructions without phonological reduction or cliticization, despite the fact that ‘I think–constructions’ are highly frequent in Japanese and that the matrix verb is overwhelmingly “*omou*”.²⁶ Still, regular variation does occur. Illocutionary modalizations of the subordinated proposition appear as complex predicate constructions with the matrix ‘I think–construction’. An overview of all construction types occurring in the corpus and their respective frequencies is presented in Table 4. The symbol ‘p’ represents the subordinated proposition.

Apart from the first type listed in Table 4 (seen in row one), which has a p-construction in the present tense, all p-constructions are formed with predicative modalizations (verbal suffixes and verbal inflections of the past tense, present tense negation, potential form, particles of the interrogative or deliberative, etc.) as composite constructions relating to the matrix (for more detail, see examples (10) and (11)).²⁷ More than 80% of all instances of Japanese ‘I think–constructions’ are utterance-final, finite predication; of those, about

Table 4. Frequency (instances, %) of Japanese construction types

Construction type	Instances occurring	Frequency %
“V- <i>u</i> / V- <i>ru to omou</i> ” p-Present + “ <i>to</i> ” + verb of thinking	92	30.66%
“V <i>ka to omou</i> ” p-Interrogative + “ <i>to</i> ” + verb of thinking	66	22%
“V- <i>tai to omou</i> ” p-Volitive + “ <i>to</i> ” + verb of thinking	59	19.66%
“V-(<i>r</i>) <i>eru to omou</i> ” p-Potential + “ <i>to</i> ” + verb of thinking	20	6.66%
“V- <i>ta to omou</i> ” p-Past + “ <i>to</i> ” + verb of thinking	16	5.33%
“V- <i>ou</i> / V- <i>you to omou</i> ” p-Hortative + “ <i>to</i> ” + verb of thinking	12	4%
“V- <i>nai to omou</i> ” p-Negative Present + “ <i>to</i> ” + verb of thinking	11	3.66%
“V- <i>ba to omou</i> ” p-Conditional + “ <i>to</i> ” + verb of thinking	10	3.33%
“V <i>ka na to omou</i> ” p-Deliberative + “ <i>to</i> ” + verb of thinking	8	2.66%
“V-(<i>r</i>) <i>areru</i> / V-(<i>r</i>) <i>eru to omou</i> ” p-Passive + “ <i>to</i> ” + verb of thinking	6	2%
Total Japanese corpus	300	100%

70% are polite verb forms, about 10% are modalised finite predicates, as seen in example (11).

4.2.2 Japanese basic matrix construction type

As seen in Table 4, the basic Japanese “*to omou*” construction, with an embedded proposition in present tense (‘p-Present + “*to*” + verb of thinking’), is the most frequent type of p-construction in the Japanese corpus, occurring in almost 31% of all instances. Example (2) from section 1 is presented here again as example (8) and supplemented by interactional context. The ‘I think–construction’ under discussion appears in utterance (s104). The section cited immediately precedes the speaker’s conclusion at the end of her academic conference presentation.

(8) *from: humanities subset of academic conference presentations*

(s103) 『ちょっとあの時間の関係で、

あの真ん中の部分を省きましたけれども。

(s104) この／ええ そこまでに辿り着く (=) は、あの・・
仮定が 示されていると思います。』

(s103) “*Chotto ano:: • jikan no kankei de, ano mannaka no bubun o habu- • -ki-
• -mashita keredomo.*

“A little, uhh because of the time, I have skipped the part in the middle.

(s104) *Kono/ ee soko-made-ni tadoritsuku (=) wa, ano •• katei*

This/ uh there-until-to reach finally (=) TOP uh premise/s

ga shimesarete-iru to omoimasu.”

NOM were.shown-be that I.think.POL

*This/ uh we have now arrived at (a point), where uh I think that the
premises have been shown.” (0504)*

In the utterances preceding (s104), the Japanese speaker comments on a diagram illustrating the results of her investigation (in (s102), not cited here). The utterance (s103) is a parenthetical comment giving a reason (“lack of time”) for skipping over parts of her illustration. In (s104) the speaker concludes that she has shown all relevant aspects so far, and she ends her utterance with a polite ‘I think–construction’, “*to omoimasu*”. The next utterance (not cited here) verbalizes S’s evaluation of the propositional content she has been trying to convey.

The ‘I think–construction’ in utterance (s104) functions as an assessment of the interactional point reached at that time. Interactionally, with this utterance S assesses her exposition as being complete. The ‘I think–construction’ manages, through the quotative particle “*to*”, to neutralize the illocutionary force of the preposed assertion; the preposed assertion is categorized retrospectively as a subordinated p-construction which is the ‘content’ of the hierarchically superordinated “*to omou*”-predication. Kameyama (this vol.) describes the p-construction of “*to omou*”-predications as a “quoted thought”. Linguistically, this operation is different from the operation achieved by German “*dass*” in that there is no deictic trace in the complementizer “*to*” and no categorization of the p-construction as a fact. Rather, the embedded assertion achieves its status as a p-construction solely by exploitation of the subordinated predicate form: the verbal suffix “*-u/-ru*” realizes an attributive form which historically came to take on the function of final-finite form of the predicate as

well. By subsequent “*to*” it is marked as dependent, its finite reading is suspended; it becomes a quoted proposition asserted as a content of the speaker’s believing/thinking/feeling. Here, it is important to consider the symbol field quality of “*omou*”, which differs from the German Verbs “*glauben*”, “*denken*” and “*meinen*” (see below). In example (8), S thus quotes as a reflection a statement regarding a certain completion point in her presentation; in effect, she makes her statement an evaluation of *its interactional quality*, not in its propositional, but in its interactional status. It is questionable whether this operation is comparable to a ‘mediated raising’, as discussed in §4.1.

Almost 20% of the constructions in the Japanese corpus present a predication type in which the ‘I think–construction’ itself is subordinated to a hierarchically higher predication, as in example (9) below.

(9) *from: humanities subset of academic conference presentations*

「で、通常の古語辞典のように、ええ用言の場合 五十音順に 並べたものよりも シソオラスの階層分類に従って、たとえば、グラフィカルに表せば え 基本的な用言ほど多義だと思われま すので、複数の場所に配置されます。」

“*De tsuujou no kogojiten no you ni, ee*
And normal GEN Old.Jap.dictionary GEN way in uh
yougen no baai gojuu-on-jun ni narabeta mono
declinables GEN case 50-syllables-order in arranged thing/s
yorī mo ((1,4s)) shisoorasu no kaisou-bunrui ni
rather than Thesaurus GEN hierarchy-classification in
shitagatte, tatoeba gurafikaru ni arawaseba, ((1,3s)) e
following for.example grafical in show.if uh
kihon-teki na yougen hodo tagi da to omoware-
basic ATT declinables scale polysemy is that believe.PAS
masu no.de, fukusuu no basho ni haichi- saremasu.“
POL because plurality GEN places in arrangement. make.PAS.POL

“And as in Old Japanese dictionaries, in the case of declinables (i.e. predicative expressions) – rather than arranging them in the 50-syllables order – ((1,4s)) it follows the hierarchical classification of a thesaurus; if, for example, presented grafically, ((1,3s)) they (“*yougen*”, i.e. declinables) are allocated in multiple places, because the basic declinables (“*yougen*”) are believed to be polysemous.” (0508)

The speaker in example (9) verbalizes a complex utterance describing the arrangement and classification of a class of Japanese expressions in an electronic dictionary under construction and justifies their treatment as multiple entries. In example (9), the p-construction, "basic declinables ("yougen") are polysemous", is unmodalized with a present tense particle verb (traditionally referred to as 'copula') "da". Yet the "to omou"-construction itself is modalized by passive verb inflection ("-are-") and subordinated by the particle combination "no.de" ("since, for, because"), which renders the assertion complemented by the passivized 'I think-construction' a *justification*.²⁸

As in example (8) above, the p-construction is categorized as a *quoted assertion* by the complementizer "to". The p-construction is expressed as being subject to the mental process the Japanese verb "omou" names. This verb may translate as either "think", "feel", or "believe", yet its precise symbol field quality differs from those English and German translatorial 'equivalents'. In addition, the symbol quality of "omou" differs from other Japanese verbs of thinking ("kangaeru") and feeling ("kanjiru"), as it occupies a unique place in the Japanese symbol field. In a semantic study, Takahashi (2002) describes "omou" in contrast to "kangaeru" ("think"), as a mental process responding to external stimuli.²⁹ He states that "omou" names a mental process of which S is not completely master (ibid.: 193ff., referring to Nitta 1991). Accordingly, the basic meaning of the verb "omou" is 'being or becoming aware/conscious, of an object or object-related quality or matters which is caused by external stimuli' (ibid.: 200). Following this line of thought, Takahashi states that (2002: 198ff.) "omou", with regard to people or organizations, can assume an evaluative meaning of its object as 'held in high esteem'. Even though this semantic account of "omou" focusses on the speaker's role, it makes it possible to characterize the symbol field of "omou" as naming a specific mental process.

This mental process is initiated by an external, P-related influence and causes S to process knowledge in such a way that S becomes and is consciously aware of it. It is not purely subjective, or restricted in its origin to the mental sphere of S, because it relates to sources in the interactional system, the joint interactional dimension, and extralinguistic reality. In using the "to omou"-matrix construction, S verbalizes for H an embedded proposition as subjected to this specific mental process. Consequently, H processes the p-construction under the category of S's mental process and reconstructs its relation to sources in the interactional system, the joint interactional dimension, and extralinguistic reality. The p-construction categorized by a "to omou"-matrix is thus more than a "quoted thought" being introduced into discourse knowledge. It verbalizes a speaker's assessment of the verbalized proposition as being relevant

to interactional processes, which H is required to reconstruct. Additionally, it differs from the German matrix verbs discussed above in that it does not name an interactional dimension that is completely speaker-controlled. Rather, it makes an embedded proposition accessible for H in the light of a joint action dimension which S evaluated as interactionally important. In the highly complex utterance in example (9) the assertion ‘basic declinables are polysemous’, which on its own would hold an illocution of contention, is complemented by a subsequent passivized ‘I think–construction’ and thus receives a propositional reading as being the content of “*omowaremasu*”, a mental operation of an unspecified agent. The effect of that passivized ‘I think–construction’ is that it states the assertion as a generally held assessment accessible to and – via its anchorage in the speech situation (“*masu*”) – shared by H, rather than being the statement of a fact. This means, the Japanese ‘I think–construction’ imposes on the *interactional status* of the assertion in its scope in order to further utilize it for interactional purposes, in the case of example (9) for a subsequent justification, by adding “*no.de*”.

4.2.3 Japanese modalized construction type

More than 60% of Japanese ‘I think–constructions’ are formed with modalized subordinate predicates which form a complex predication with the matrix. This construction type is grammatically impossible in the German matrix construction with “*dass*”. Quantitatively speaking, the two most important complex predication constructions are formed by the speaker deictic volitive verb inflection (“*-tai*”) and the interrogative particle (“*ka*”), which modalize the predicate of the p-construction preceding the matrix.

Almost 20% of all Japanese modalized composite constructions are formed with the verbal inflection suffix “*-tai*”. It forms a speaker-deictic volitive, asserting the speaker’s desire to carry out the action named by the modalized verb. An example from the beginning of an academic conference talk, in which the speaker has just put up an OHP film showing the prospective contents of her talk, is given in (10).

- (10) *from: humanities subset of academic conference presentations*

「このような順番でお話ししてまいりたいと思います。」

“*Kono you na junban de o-hanashi-shite mairitai to*
This way of order in HON-tale-making I.wish.to.go that
omoimasu.”

I.think.POL

“I think that I would like to give my talk in this order.” (meaning: “I will proceed as follows.”) (0502)

In example (10), the speaker-deictic volitive “-tai” (= “I want to do ~”) operates on the proposition “going to give a talk in this order” and renders it an asserted desire of the speaker. The ‘I think–construction’ operates on top of that construction and makes the speaker’s asserted desire a quoted content of a mental operation, “*omou*”. That mental operation categorizes the p-construction as an object that the speaker has become aware of as important in relation to the joint interactional system. Here, the ‘I think–construction’ neutralizes the illocutionary force, expressed by morphological means in the sub-categorized predicate, into an asserted proposition. The utterance verbalizes the speaker’s action plan as an action plan that S has categorized as interactionally important. Especially these ‘I think–constructions’, suspending the more directive illocution of a speaker’s wish to do something, are commonly considered as politeness forms. The politeness of this verbalization type is an effect of reducing the desiderative illocution directly accessing the hearer by rendering it a quote and by categorizing it with “*omou*” as part of an interactionally relevant dimension.

Another 22% of complex composite predications with ‘I think–constructions’ in the Japanese corpus is formed with the utterance final particle verbalizing interrogative illocution, “*ka*”. Example (11) presents an utterance from the beginning of an academic conference presentation, from immediately after the speaker’s announcement of his presentation’s title and affiliation. The utterance is additionally modalized by a concessive utterance-final particle “*ga*”, which announces a subsequent elaboration or explication.

(11) *from: natural sciences subset of academic conference presentations*

「でー、A*先生は、えっと、これは、あの一今回の
発表とは、異なるかと思いますが。」

“*De e:: A-sensei wa, etto kore wa, ano: konkai no*
And uhh A-prof TOP uhm this TOP uhh this.time GEN
happyou to wa kotonaru ka to omoimasu ga.”
talk QUT TOP differs INT that I.believe.POL though

“Though I think that maybe my talk this time does differ from {what} Professor A. {presented/holds}.” (meaning: “I am convinced that my talk departs from what Prof. A has said.”) (0517)

In example (11), the speaker uses the interrogative particle “*ka*”, which carries the illocutionary force of a question. “*ka*” identifies a gap in S’s own knowledge (“is this time’s talk differing from Prof. A.”), the interrogative illocution of which is neutralized by the ‘I think–construction’ operating on top of the question. The p–construction is thus verbalized as a *questionable knowledge*. And it is this questionable status of the knowledge verbalized in the p–construction that the matrix verb categorizes as evaluated as important with regard to the interactional process. By means of this utterance, the speaker makes a prospective assessment of the contents of his talk as not being in line with a colleague’s statements. With regard to its interactional purpose, the utterance serves to prepare H’s interactional expectations by establishing an expectation structure excluding alternatives present in discourse knowledge.

5. German-Japanese functional variation

In Sections 3 and 4 I attempted to relate quantitative (S3) and qualitative (S4) results on German and Japanese ‘I think–constructions’. A comparison of the construction types and *verba sentiendi* most frequent in the corpus shows a picture of great diversity. In order to isolate common features, research on modality, evidentials, subjectivity and functional pragmatic discourse analysis offers interesting insights. Two features to be found in all constructions, German and Japanese, are (i) a relation of ‘I think–constructions’ to subjectivity and S–perspective; and (ii) a relation to evaluative processes and the verbalization of assessments.

On the basis of a quantitative corpus analysis (in Section 3), I hypothesized that a functional correlation between ‘I think–constructions’ and academic conference presentations, especially within the human sciences subset, might exist. Qualitative analyses of examples from the most frequent construction types in the German and Japanese corpora presented a more complex picture: In the German corpus, 16% of all matrix constructions are formed with the complementizer “*dass*” and the verbs “*glauben*”, “*denken*”, and “*meinen*”. These constructions relate to *modalities of knowledge* (cf. Kameyama this vol.). They express a speaker’s conviction, reflection, or opinion, respectively, regarding a medially raised proposition subjected to an evaluation based on mental states and processes named by the respective verbs. Their interactional purpose may be described as connecting expert knowledge of the speaker with the hearer’s knowledge, and establishing an ‘interaction coherence’ (Bührig, cf. Rehbein 2003).

Another German construction, termed 'bare' matrix construction, may relate to *modalities of knowledge* as well as *modalities of action*. It is interpretable as verbalizing an assumption based on evaluative states and processes regarding an assertion in their scope. That assertion may effect changes in the hearers expert knowledge, discourse knowledge, or in interactional processes, depending on its own illocution and the interactional perspective verbalized.

'De-grammaticalized' matrix constructions seem to communicate evaluations of perception, impression or insecure knowledge, where the actual matrix and its symbol field are merely 'tagged' onto and have acquired the function of immediate coordination with a hearer. This means they pertain to the *modality of (inter-)action*.

Japanese matrix constructions of thinking and believing verbalized with the verb "omou" occur in two main types: as a basic matrix construction with subordinate predicates in present tense without modalization, or as a complex composite predicate where the subordinate predicate is modalized and combines with the "to omou"-construction. Only in the case of combination with an unmodalized subordinate predicate some comparability with German constructions exists, insofar as S's mental process concerns an evaluation of the subordinate construction. However, even in that point Japanese and German 'I think–constructions' are distinct from each other, since in the Japanese construction the evaluation is oriented not to the proposition (p), but to the interactional quality the embedded assertion is to effect on H. That core function of Japanese 'I think–constructions' is even more apparent in modalized subordinate constructions, where mood or root modality (deontic modality) in the classical sense are subjected to epistemic modality. This is due to the features of the complementizer "to", which are distinct from German "dass".

While in German verbs of different kinds of mental processes of willed reflection resulting in a speaker's evaluation are used, in the Japanese corpus the matrix verb "omou" is used most frequently. Its symbol field names the commencing of a mental awareness process in reaction to facts or conditions within the speaker's perception and action field. Since these triggers of S's mental process are potentially available to H as well, the interactional dimension S' evaluation is based in is not purely subjective, unlike the mental processes named by the German verbs. Whereas the German matrix construction realizes an *assessment of verbalized research knowledge and possibly more general expert knowledge* in order to establish interaction coherence between Π^S and Π^H with regard to that knowledge, the Japanese matrix construction realizes an *assessment of the interactional status of verbalized knowledge* and achieves interaction coherence between the speaker's and hearer's perception and ac-

tion fields. In other words, while in the German ‘I think–construction’ with “*dass*” a *modality of knowledge is made accessible to H*, in Japanese “*to omou*”-constructions it is the *speaker’s action modality which is made accessible to H*. The modalized composite constructions verbalize different action types relating to the speaker’s and the hearer’s action fields. For this reason, the Japanese ‘I think’-matrix constructions are functional in those parts of discourse where a *speaker assesses an interactional point* previously reached or anticipated in order to organize the progress of discourse interaction.

With regard to the difficulties of L2 speakers, discussed in §1, the large number of German ‘I think–constructions’ realized either as ‘bare’ matrix (25%) or as ‘de-grammaticalized’ matrix constructions (59%) may play a role. Both construction types do not relate immediately to the purpose of the specific discourse types under study, but fulfill functions regarding action modality as well; they are associated with an assessment of the verbalized p-construction in relation to aspects of the action field. ‘De-grammaticalized’ matrix constructions, when augmented utterance-finally, present a topology especially similar to the Japanese matrix construction. However, they differ in every other aspect from Japanese matrix constructions. Especially the expression of ‘weak’ assessment, that is, evidential inference based in insecure speaker knowledge is impossible to express by Japanese ‘I think–constructions’ because they are always full-fledged matrix constructions. In general, the interaction coherence achieved by ‘I think–constructions’ differs in German and Japanese because of the differences in the complementizers and the symbol field qualities of the matrix verbs.

6. Further prospects

The current study focussed on problematic aspects of ‘I think–constructions’ in a limited array of discourse types. The interactional purpose of ‘I think–constructions’ could be partly clarified as making various relations between Π^S , discourse knowledge, linguistic and extralinguistic reality accessible to the hearer (Π^H) as parts of the interactional dimension. Yet, it still remains to be explained why ‘I think–constructions’ in natural science academic conference presentations are used with a much lower frequency than in the human sciences, since clearly, in a broad sense, they are functional for the purpose of academic conference presentations.

Another research question that remains open is whether Japanese “*to omou*”-constructions are used more often in concatenative verbal action (pre-

sentations, reports, etc.) than in sequentially organized interaction (debates, discussions, casual conversation). Since they are used frequently in academic writing as well, a comparison of written genres with spoken discourse in Japanese and German might bring about further insights. Also, it may well be the case that German matrix constructions of believing and thinking are preferred in sequential discourse.³⁰

As “*to omou*”-constructions obviously serve other needs, an extensive field for future studies remains the comparative analysis of verbal constructions actually used in eristic academic discourse and expert communication in order to express assessments of research knowledge and specified expert knowledge. Also, the constructions not included in the current study (“*omotte iru*”, “*to kangaeru*” and constructions with object and oblique arguments as well as nominalisations and “*to iu*”-constructions) remain open for further research. At the same time, comparing the tasks of modal verbs and conjunctive verbal mode in German with Japanese verbal constructions used in expert discourses may also uncover insights in the functional field of evaluation, and modality in general.

Notes

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1. Our corpus consists of academic conference presentations, commercial product presentations, and expert round table presentations in Japanese and German, given by native speakers (L1S). As well, a small corpus of case studies on Japanese and German academics using German and Japanese, respectively, as an L2 in their professions has been sampled. Evidence from these case studies of experts, who are proficient L2 speakers and who have an experience of no less than one year of working in the countries their L2 is spoken in as the domestic L1, suggests that a non-target language-like use of ‘I think–constructions’ does persist to a certain extent. Thus, even though this paper does not deal with uses of “*to omou*”- and “*ich glaub(e)*”-constructions in L2 discourse, a different handling of these constructions by L1 and L2 speakers in German and in Japanese may be more than a (passing) stage in the process of advanced L2 learning.

2. Shinzato (2004:869) remarks on various studies comparing verbs of thinking with verbs of saying (‘mental and speech act verbs’), where there seems to be an overwhelming tendency for verbs of thinking to be used with first person subjects, i. e. speaker-deictically. Shinzato

connects this to the semantics of verbs of thinking, described as expressing ‘internal reality’ in the ‘private domain’. However, if it was only the semantics of the verb causing the use of first person singular, third person uses of verbs of thinking would need extra justifying. Moreover, if a speaker states a proposition as the object of an act of thinking, that thought is no longer ‘private’ or ‘internal’, since it has been uttered vis-a-vis a hearer, or a public audience, as is the case in our corpus of public presentations. In general, Shinzato’s semantic analysis lacks a distinction between the mental act a verb of thinking depicts and the actual use a verb of thinking is put to within a given speech situation. This distinction is even more important, as in German the first person singular form is used almost exclusively in spoken language, which strongly points to functional restrictions not solely attributable to semantics.

3. A basic assumption the author actually shares with studies within the functional-pragmatic framework as well as within the wider framework of discourse analysis is that genres, discourse types, and types of written text do exert an influence on the linguistic means speakers/writers choose vis-a-vis hearers/readers to realize interactional purposes, and individual goals. Cf. the general discussion in Mayes (2003, esp. §2) regarding the necessity of making correlations between linguistic means and their functions in specific discourse settings and institutional situations, and the methodological considerations in Bührig and Meyer, this volume.

4. These modest overlaps raise the question of transfer from L1 into L2 performance, which is not in the scope of this paper to discuss. It may be noted, nevertheless, that an assumed transfer from a Japanese “*to omou*”-construction into a German “*ich glaub(e)*”-construction, or vice versa, would, as I argue here, not involve grammatical or syntactical transfer, as discussed for initial state L2 acquisition within the UG framework (cf. the critical account in Meisel 2000). Rather, it might be described as a pragmatic transfer in actual language use, that is, the L2 grammatical structures are acquired and produced correctly according to syntax, but the construction is used pragmatically dysfunctional in some discourse contexts.

5. Personal communication Yoshiko Ono-Premper, also discussed in her 2002 paper given at the German “Japanologentag”, Bonn 30.09.–03.10. 2002.

6. German L1 speakers have been observed to use too many ‘I think–constructions’ in L2 English as well (personal communication Juliane House). Whether this observation may relate to the Japanese–German contrast discussed here, must remain an open question. On one hand, German and English are typologically much closer to each other than both are to Japanese. On the other hand, as I argue in my paper, frequencies are likely to differ greatly even between genres of a single language and between closely related discourse types. A comparison of frequencies across languages, and between L1 and L2 use thus is a complicated matter involving a set of variables, including factors of institutionality and language proficiency as well as grammatical and typological factors.

7. Word order inversion cannot actually be observed in the German example (1), because the complement clause consists of nominative argument and predicate only. For German word order inversion, consider examples (4) and (5). The English construction with “that”, as can be seen in the translations, closely resembles the German constructional type presented in (1), but differs typologically in that English does not enforce inversion on the

embedded subclause. For details on morphosyntactic, typological, and grammatical aspects of Japanese consider Rickmeyer (1995), Ono (2002), and Martin (³1991).

8. In fact, even though it is grammatically possible to introduce the speaker as a nominative or thematic argument, this does not happen in the corpus. An L1 Japanese speaker obviously does not utter this kind of utterance by expressing the speaker deixis, while English and German learners of Japanese quite often do so. As has long been noted, thematic roles in Japanese are either inferred from the discourse situation or expressed by 'politeness', especially honorific markers and deictic verb constructions. The argument structure of Japanese has been discussed in various frameworks. In the terms of Kibrik (2001) Japanese is characterizable as a 'subjectless' multi-pivotal language where the subject-object-relation does not determine the clause structure (*ibid.*: 1414) and hence is not the core relation in syntax. Instead, characteristics of the flow dimension (topicality) and deictic/referential dimension (first and second person agents vs. third person animate/inanimate agents) are grammaticalized to express semantic relations independently of thematic role marking. Along similar lines Ono (2002) links the characteristic Japanese deictic verb predicates to the differentiation of zero-realization, caselessness, nominative, and topic marking of subject and thematic arguments in Japanese (see as well Felix 2000; Kanaya 2002; Ikegami 1991) for accounts from different perspectives.

9. See Narrog (1999).

10. Iwasaki (1993: 14f., 22ff.) discusses differences between speaker deictic vs. third person oriented forms of "to omou"-constructions. Following a common argumentation of Japanese traditional grammar, "to omou"-constructions are speaker deictic, while its gerund "to omotte iru" is considered to be the 3rd person form. Iwasaki shows that this is not the case and that a difference in transitivity vs. stativity is involved, connected with what he terms S(peaker)-perspective and O(ther)-perspective. While in S-perspective the speaker is the subject and deictic center of an utterance, in which speaker's own point of view regarding own experience and inner processes is taken, in O-perspective the speaker takes an observing point of view, where the subject is a 3rd person not identical with the speaker (*cf.* 1993: 79ff.). A more recent study by Hashimoto (2003) shows that "to omotte iru" is used speaker deictically when the subordinate p-constructions is an "expressive" (*hyoushutsu*), but not in the way L2 speakers use it, when speaker's judgment is involved. This seems to concur with Iwasaki's findings, insofar as a judgement involves an observational point of view. In the current study, the Japanese corpus exhibited almost 20% of "to omotte iru" constructions. They were disregarded in the current qualitative functional analysis, remaining open for further study.

11. E.g. lectures, sermons etc. Characteristically, these discourse types unfold in extended speaker turns, during which turn taking is suspended. As a generic group this genre has been termed 'expository discourse' as well, thereby encompassing written texts of several text types as well (*cf.* Hinds 1980).

12. The additional German discourse was included here for comparison across discourse types within L1 German expert discourses. Even though it is economy related and focuses on international trade, it is different from product presentations in that it is largely informative and evaluative of sales and marketing perspectives, without being actually part or prelude of the action pattern of selling (*cf.* Rehbein 1995 for the action pattern of selling).

13. A suggestion Juliane House made (personal communication) is that because of this overwhelming input regarding 'I think–constructions' from L1 Japanese, German speakers of L2 Japanese might overgeneralize its functionality and for that reason overuse it. This is an interesting aspect worthy of a study of its own on the basis of more L2 data.

14. The question whether academic conference presentations in the humanities do follow discourse structures, and discourse purposes distinct from natural sciences remains open for further studies. On the basis of the current corpus differences are evident, but they do not reach a scale as to assume discourse purposes of its own. Rather, different theoretical and methodological premises show up in the characteristic argumentative structure of scientific and academic interaction ("*Eristik*" – 'eristics' i. e. argumentative dispute, cf. Ehlich 1993, as a characteristic of academic discourse in the European tradition).

15. The corpus under study provides too little evidence of this specific subtype of economy-related/commercial presentations (1 Japanese, 2 German discourses) to give an account of its characteristics and differences.

16. Single utterances are given as numbered segments (s1) – (sn) when cited as a section from a transcript. Underscores are marking the constructions discussed, Full caps mark stress intonation.

17. In Rehbein's words the matrix is "Ausdruck der gedanklichen und begrifflichen Bearbeitung des Gehörten", as the embedded propositional construction is a reflection of S on prior verbalizations in the same discourse. In sequential discourse hearer-sided knowledge is subject of reflecting; this is the case especially in (consecutive) interpreting (cf. Rehbein 2003:274).

18. The term 'symbol field' was developed by Bühler (1934) to distinguish those elements of an individual language, the task of which is giving names to parts of reality, i.e. to abstract and concrete items, actual and mental facts, states and processes, actions and events. The act of naming renders extra-linguistic entities as parts of (social) reality and makes them socially manipulable in manifold ways. From a functional pragmatic view of language the term 'symbol field' holds the advantage of covering semantic aspects of nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, prepositions in a uniformly comprehensive way irrespective of traditional word classes, and at the same time enables us to a linguistic view of the concepts a society developed historically in its language. In this view, the interactional task of symbol field procedures is that a speaker, S, names a specific aspect of reality (termed 'P') to enable a hearer, H, to identify and reconstruct it as joint discourse knowledge (see Rehbein 2001; Ehlich 1989, 1994, 1999).

19. Actually, a more detailed analysis of "*glauben*", "*denken*", "*meinen*" going back to etymology and exploring transitivity, valency and other factors related to syntactic aspects as well is required in order to specify the exact symbol field values of the German expressions. The analysis I work with here is a proposal based on lexicon research on synonyms, related expressions and corpus examples from the larger corpus on written German in the project "Deutscher Wortschatz", cf. <http://wortschatz.informatik.uni-leipzig.de/>. A more detailed analysis is out of the scope of this article.

20. The symbol field of the German verb "*meinen*" is not identical with English "to mean" – even though both verbs share a common etymological root.

21. Propositions subordinated by “*dass*” gain factivity (cf. Rehbein 2003:258). Unlike other *verba sentiendi* and *dicendi* (e.g. German ‘*wissen*’, ‘*sagen*’) which function as matrix verbs, German ‘*glauben*’ is not factive (cf. Eisenberg 1989:92f.; see the discussion regarding this point in Rehbein 2003:254). The term ‘para-operative’ refers to the expression’s field quality, being transposed from an originally deictic expression to an operative expression. While deictics orientate the hearer towards non-linguistic entities of reality and the interactional dimensions in a global manner, operative procedures operate on linguistic entities by instructing H to process them in a specific manner with regard to other linguistic expressions (see Ehlich 1994; Rehbein 2001 in detail).

22. A ‘mediated’ proposition, realizing a descriptive speech action, differs profoundly from the same propositional act anchored in discourse by a presentive speech action, that is, carrying its own illocutionary act. A descriptive realization by a matrix construction makes the category, under which a proposition is processed a subject of reflection between S and H, whereas in presentive realizations the propositional act is processed by means of its illocutionary force (cf. Rehbein 2003).

23. Cf. Note 14 and Ehlich (1993), Moll (2002:53ff.), Redder (2002) for ‘eristic’ dispute as a crucial characteristic of academic discourse bringing about the elaboration of scientific knowledge.

24. Cf. Note 18 for ‘symbol field’; while expressions do comprise singular symbol field qualities, linguistic means are integrated into a composite symbol field with an anchorage in the speech situation when forming a sentence, or utterance, respectively (see Ehlich 1999; Rehbein 1999).

25. See Rehbein (1979) for an analysis of augmentation (‘speech action augments’) in discourse. See Ehlich (1994) for a concise presentation of linguistic fields and their respective discourse purposes. Interjections as expeditive procedures and the prompting field are elaborated on in Ehlich (1986).

26. Interestingly, cliticization of complementizer “*to*” and verb is taking place in Japanese matrix constructions with the verb of saying, “*iu*”. That construction, phonologically reduced to “*tte*”, is usually regarded as a “grammaticalized” form taking on functions differentiated from “*to iu*”. – If calculated together, Japanese ‘I think–constructions’ realized with the Japanese verb “*kangaeru*” (“*think about*, *reflect on*”) amount to about 14% of all instances in the corpus, against about 86% of all instances with “*omou*”; the verb of believing, “*shinjiru*”, does not occur at all. I disregarded the “*to kangaeru*”-constructions here, because “*kangaeru*” appears to be used much more often with an object or oblique argument (“*o kangaeru*”; “*ni kangaeru*”) and in nominalized constructions (“*to iu kangae de*”). A comparison of “*omou*” and “*kangaeru*” would have to consider these constructions as well, to get the full picture, which is not in the scope of this article.

27. The differentiation between ‘verbal inflection’ and ‘verbal suffixes’ follows Narrog (1999). ‘Verbal inflection’ covers all morphemes (e.g. “*-you*”) which cannot be inflected further; ‘verbal suffixes’ covers suffix verbs (e.g. “*-rareru*”, “*-masu*”), suffix adjectives (e.g. “*-tai*”), particle verbs (e.g. “*desu*”) and particle adjectives, which may become subject to further inflection. – Different verb stems cause alternate forms in some cases.

28. The Japanese passive form often receives a reading as representing a generic agent, which would make the example read “it is believed that”. However, Japanese native speakers do not rule out a first person singular reading. Given that the passive also is used to express the psychological subject’s involuntariness of being in the state denoted by the verb, the construction in (9) may well be understood as “since it happens to me that I believe that” or “because one cannot help but feel that”. The point here is not to find a “correct” translation, because there may not be a single one, but to illustrate some of the potential in the Japanese construction. Passive “*to omou*”-constructions appear in roughly 10% of the corpus tokens.
29. By contrast, “*kangaeru*” (“think about, reflect on”) names a mental process directed to a purpose.
30. A study by Armbruster (in preparation), focussing on discussions and debates by contrasting English and German epistemic matrix constructions is expected to clarify these aspects.

Annotation in Japanese examples

ATT	attribution particle
GEN	genitive particle (“no”)
INT	interrogative illocutionary particle
NOM	nominative particle (“ga”)
PAS	passive verbal inflection morpheme
POL	polite japanese suffix verb, deictic of speech situation
QUT	quotative particle
TOP	topic particle (“wa”)

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